

# The Phrygian Highlands, a postscript

## *Wilful destruction of the rock-monuments*

by Jaap M. Hemelrijk and Dietrich Berndt

In this paper we want to collect what we know of the disastrous destruction of the rock-monuments in the Highlands of Phrygia (fig. 1), which have so carefully been described and published by C.H.E. Haspels in her monograph, *The Phrygian Highlands* (1971).

It is a joint venture by two generations of Phrygiophiles: the one-time assistant of C.H. Emilie Haspels, Jaap M. Hemelrijk who made the drawings for Haspels' book as her assistant during her expeditions in 1953 and 1958 and therefore has a thorough knowledge of the monuments as they were in the fifties, and Dietrich Berndt who as a deeply involved student and amateur of antiquities travelled nearly every year extensively through the entire region from 1973 onwards, taking innumerable photographs.

When discovering the distressing demolition of the monuments Berndt repeatedly warned the Turkish authorities, who, however, are insufficiently equipped to deal with this huge problem. In several short papers Berndt has published his findings, but since these are widely scattered over different periodicals and new instances of demolition have come to his notice, a more complete assessment of the present state of affairs is called for.

### TREASURE HUNTERS

Why have rock monuments since early times, but especially since World War II, been damaged with axes and sledge hammers and why are some of them nowadays blown to pieces with dynamite?

The answer is simple and awful: it was already given by Prof. J.D. Carlyle and Philip Hunt who were in the service of Lord Elgin, the British Ambassador in Istanbul in 1800. These two enterprising gentlemen travelled, as W. St. Clair tells us, extensively through the whole of Turkey and drew up some notes as hints to their successors. In these notes they speak of the suspicions the inhabitants had against foreigners travelling through their country:

*The most current notion is that you are in search of hidden treasure, it being impossible for them to conceive that you travel merely to examine the mouldering ruins of ancient towns and temples<sup>1</sup>.*

As for the Highlands of Phrygia, Haspels tells a curious story<sup>2</sup>: speaking of her experiences in the years of her excavation of the Midas City, which took place under very primitive conditions from 1937 to 1939, she relates the following:

*One time a very mixed party came along, to view our excavation: a forester, a few recruits on their way to the provincial capital, a schoolmaster from a village far away, and some government officials. With these were two peasants from Bulgaria, who had got permission from the government to inquire into the matter of a treasure, which was lying hidden in the mountains. That treasure had been hidden there by Christians, who more than a generation before had left the country.... Those Bulgarians knew exactly the spot where they had to search, – with all its marks: among other things: “there, where there is a cross marked on the rock”. But they had not been able to find the treasure. A few days after the collective visit one of the Bulgarians again turned up in our village. And he sent me word, that he had hoped all the time to get to see me alone, but with all those Turks present it did not come off. For that treasure indeed still was there, he insisted, but it was not easy to raise. And whether I would not care to enter into partnership with them instead of keeping on digging here. Then we might go fifty-fifty over the finds.... For they will not and cannot believe, ever, that we are no sheer treasure-hunters. Who indeed would be so mad as to come and spend thousands, only to dig a few scanty walls, with broken pots between them, and a handful of bronze pins and arrow-heads!... And so I also one day received the mysterious message from another village: “The treasure you are looking for does not lie at all there where you are digging. It is hidden in a tower, farther away to the East”.*

This depressing superstition still dogged Haspels and Hemelrijk during their months-long trekking in 1953 and 1958, through the then still rather inaccessible countryside. They were constantly looked

<sup>1</sup> Clair 72.

<sup>2</sup> In a short report written in English between 1940 and 1945, preserved in her archive in the Allard Pierson Museum.

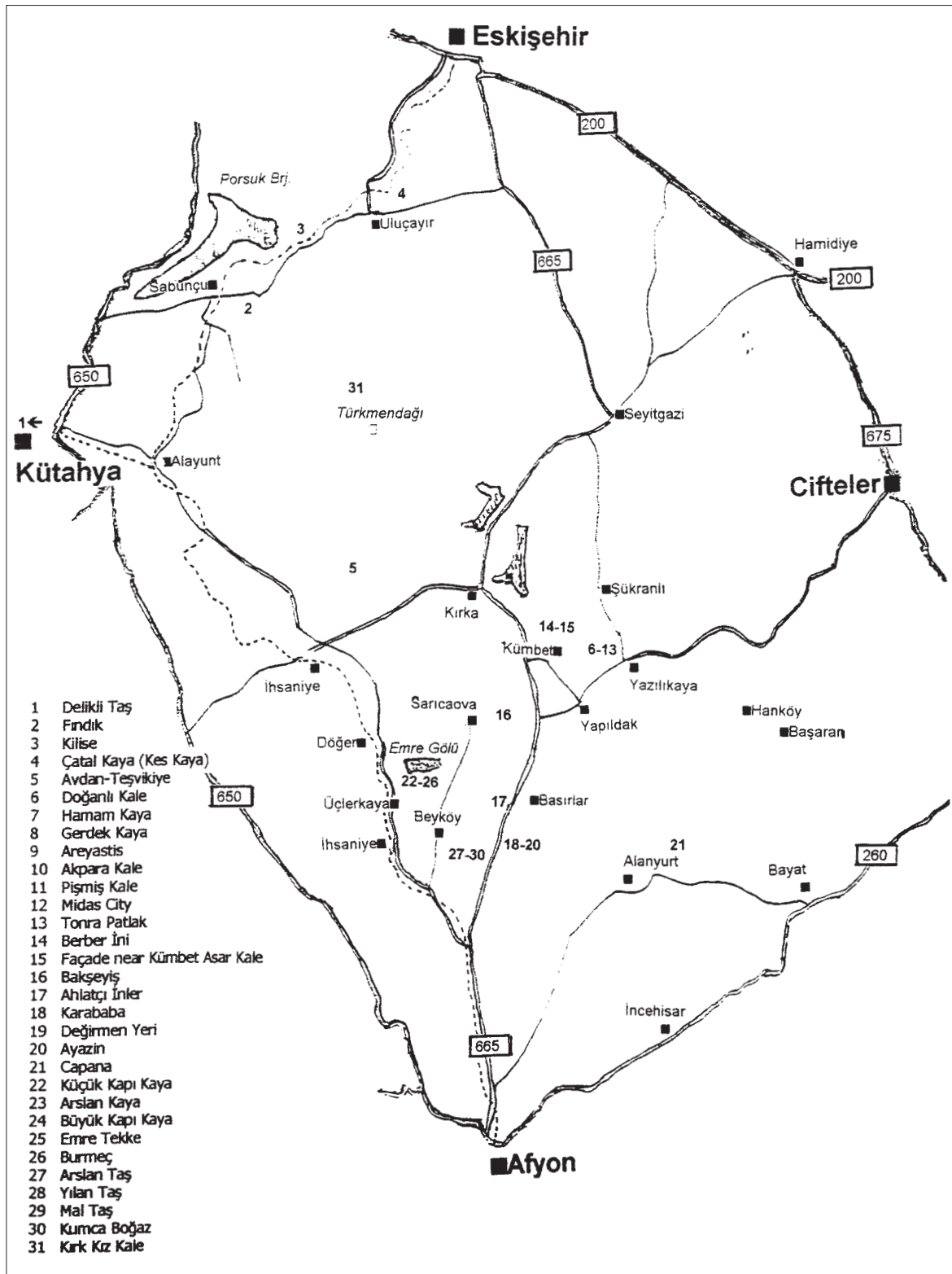


Fig. 1. Map of the Phrygian Highlands (Berndt)



upon with suspicion by the inhabitants – who, by the way, consisted of a fascinating ethnical variety: Öz Türks, Alevi's, Yürüks, Tatars, Circassians, Bulgarians, Gypsies and others. When they were not regarded as spies, they were thought to look for gold mysteriously hidden in the rocks and indicated by the cuttings and ornaments carved in these rocks. Thus by measuring, drawing and photographing the Phrygian rock-monuments they unwittingly instigated the dreams of these 'gold-diggers'. Their two Turkish assistants, the arabaci or horsecart-driver, Hüseyin Demir, and his brother Mehmet, who helped with measuring sites and monuments, knew, of course, better. Day after day they struggled through discussions with the onlookers in the field and in the village-rooms (oda's, where they slept). But they never succeeded in convincing all listeners – whose great hospitality, by the way, made the expeditions possible and at times quite agreeable. All this may sound relatively harmless. However, already in earlier times important monuments had been viciously attacked.

It started in Antiquity. The most spectacular early cases are, no doubt, the holes cut through the back walls of the niches of the gable monuments which are provided with a shaft: Mal Taş, Delikli Taş, Bakşeyiş<sup>3</sup>. At what period these holes were made is unknown but one may take it that they are early. They must have been made because the mysterious vertical shafts seemed to promise a treasure concealed in the rock. Wherever there was a Cybele image in the niche, the would-be robbers took it in their stride and demolished it (see the slight remains of the statue in the Delikli Taş).

Originally, of course, these shafts were not full of stones and earth, but they must have been filled soon after they went out of use (whatever this use may have been<sup>4</sup>), when the region became a wild and lonely place, where shepherds roamed with their flocks. Even nowadays their months-long stay in the hills makes shepherds look for excitement and exercise, and so they amuse themselves with destroying walls and throwing stones wherever they find an occasion to do so.

This longing for bodily excitement must have demolished most of the stone walls on the Phrygian *kales*, for the great blocks that once must have been present cannot all have been carried off from these fortified hills as building material to the sparse villages in the valleys: only very few remains of early Phrygian walls have been preserved, a small bit on Pişmiş Kale and some big blocks of a fine gateway on Akpara Kale which, significantly, means: *Silver Money Fortress* (see Haspels figs. 70-2, 78-82; 507). Elsewhere only the bed-cuttings indicate their for-

mer presence (see e. g., Haspels figs. 27, 116-7 etc.). An exception are the remains of great Hellenistic walls, built of large stones and rubble, one on the Kirk Kiz Kale near the central part of the mountains (the Türkmen Baba) and two at Capana in the South of the region (see Haspels figs. 258-62, 267-70, 546); they are situated in very lonely parts of the highlands and so could escape total destruction.

Also most caves and grottoes on the kales are, or were, at least partly filled with stones thrown into them: underground staircases, silos and cisterns<sup>5</sup>. To return to the shaft-monuments, the backwall of the niches has invariably been broken through by treasure hunters, but also the niches of the other, far more numerous, solid gable monuments (not provided with a shaft) are without exception damaged and all the images of the goddess Cybele, where present<sup>6</sup>, were wilfully defaced or thoroughly demolished apparently at an early date. One might expect that in Christian times they would have been regarded as images of the Mother of God (Theotokos; see the crosses cut in the façade near the Kümbet Asar Kale and in the Küçük Kapı Kaya, Haspels figs. 518.1 and 524.1), but they may already have been damaged at that time.

Early travellers also report such instances of demolition. Thus, Ramsay had found a gorgoneion above the door in one of the Roman tombs of Yapıldak, which Reber apparently still saw during his visit in summer 1896. One year later it was ruined, as J.G.C. Anderson noted in his diary: *Gorgon over door entirely broken recently* – a deliberate act of destruction triggered by Ramsay's interest in the gorgoneion, as Haspels tells us<sup>7</sup>.

In 1910, Brandenburg relates a visit to Berber İni (*the grotto of the barber*), a tuff-hewn church to the northeast of Kümbet Asar Kale<sup>8</sup>:

<sup>3</sup> Mal Taş: Haspels figs. 157-8 and 519-20; Delikli Taş: Haspels figs. 209-14 and 511-2; Bakşeyiş: Haspels figs. 124-5 and 516-7. The curious niche of the Değirmen Yeri was probably also first demolished in this way: Haspels figs. 161-6 and 520.4-521, and even the tiny Fındık shaft (Haspels figs. 221-2 and 527.4) seems to have suffered the same fate.

<sup>4</sup> The theory of the taurobolium, anachronistic and quite impossible because of the smallness of the shaft in Fındık (Haspels figs. 520.4-521) and the inaccessibility of the shafts of the other monuments, has recently been revived, which means a deplorable relapse into an almost forgotten former stage of Phrygia-research (Özkaya 89 ff.; see Haspels 100). Hemelrijk has suggested that the shaft may have contained part of a holy meteor-stone, similar to the somewhat later meteor of Pessinus; Hemelrijk 1986, 4-5.

<sup>5</sup> Haspels figs. 508-9.

<sup>6</sup> In gable monuments without shaft; e.g. Haspels figs. 99 and 518.1; 159 and 524.2; 184 and 522; 185 and 524.1 and also the monumental Cybele between two huge lions of fig. 187.

<sup>7</sup> Ramsay 1889, 182-85, figs. 28-32; Reber 596; Haspels 182 note 86, 159 note 78.

<sup>8</sup> Haspels 250-1, figs. 465-6, 594; Brandenburg 1910, 99.



Fig. 2. Yılan Taş: lion head with graffito (Berndt ph. 8/89)

*The walls were covered all over with Byzantine frescoes, with a large figure of Christ over the apse. In 1901 these effigies (mainly saints) were still well-preserved; regrettably, two years later they were badly demolished. The main room presented a magnificent sight; the lively faces against the dark background had an extraordinary touch of vividness. The more reason to deplore the destruction. The visit by a European seems even to incite people to keep up their vandalism.*

Of the richly coloured frescoes, only slight traces are now visible.

Further, Haspels lists her complaints about demolitions<sup>9</sup>: the left-hand cub of the Arslan Taş, the lion's head of the Yılan Taş, a tomb at Yapıldak, a whole corner of the Fındık Kale (!) and of the Göçeri Kale, the lion and column of Gerdek Kaya.

However, also the explorers themselves are not wholly free from blame. Some of them engraved their names on monuments in order to record their presence in the place. In 1834, Texier discovered the Areyastis façade – he called it a *monument to a*

*Phrygian king* – and carved his own name on it<sup>10</sup>. In 1886, Radet, the author of the book *En Phrygie* (1895), and his companion Fougères also left their graffitoes on the monument. Greek soldiers fighting the Turks in the Phrygian Highlands in 1921-22 scratched their names into the rock near the Broken Lion Tomb *Yılan Taş* and on the walls of early Christian churches, such as the cross-in-square domed basilica called *Hamam* near Ayazın<sup>11</sup>. Distressing is the stupidity of a Turkish tourist who disfigured the large lion's head of *Yılan Taş* by inscribing his name (fig. 2).

Before we start the account of the shocking, often downright stunning devastations, we have to ask who the modern culprits are. In view of the naivety of the belief that gold can be hidden by magic means in the rocks behind ancient reliefs, it is certain that, for once, the nearly omnipresent traffickers in antiquities

<sup>9</sup> See Haspels 159-160 note 78.

<sup>10</sup> Steuart 11; Haspels 7. The former name of the façade *Areyastis* is outdated, C. Brixhe-M. Lejeune, *Corpus des Inscriptions paléo-phrygiennes*, Paris 1984, 36.

<sup>11</sup> Haspels 278.





Fig. 3. Tonra Patlak (Haspels ph. 1938, cf. Fig. 32)

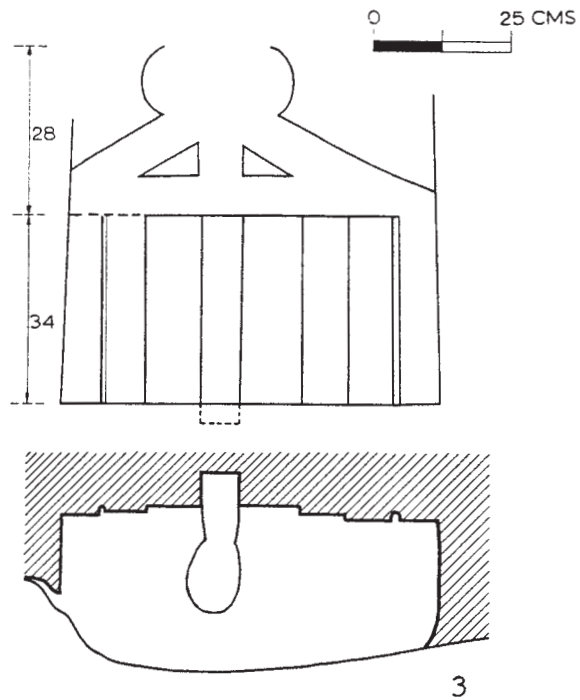


Fig. 4. Tonra Patlak (drawing Hemelrijk, Haspels fig. 518:3)

have nothing to do with it. No doubt, the inhabitants, prompted by occasional finds of pottery in tombs and coins in their fields, are convinced that similar, but greater, treasures are to be found by demolishing a carved rock monument or blowing it to pieces with dynamite. It is surprising that they entertain such primitive beliefs and yet know how to procure and handle dynamite – they may have learned it as workmen for the construction of roads in their rough, mountainous region or, perhaps, in the quarries. However this may be, the only remedy against this plague is, of course, a good education which might convince them of the stupidity of their treasure hunting. Unfortunately, so far there is no evidence that a successful beginning has been made with such an education.

The destructions in the Phrygian Highlands are an old, ever continuing calamity, but in the last decades it has worsened beyond belief. In this report we concentrate on the most serious cases of destruction and we shall only occasionally mention minor ones. It is to be feared that our report will prove to be far from complete. In the description of the monuments we follow Haspels' book. This means that we start with the Phrygian period (which concerns us most) followed by the Hellenistic period, Roman Imperial times, the Christian era and the Selcuks.

#### DESTRUCTIONS OF PHRYGIAN RELIGIOUS MONUMENTS

##### *Tonra Patlak (Haspels 84, figs. 32, 518:3)*

Tonra is the old name of a village now called Gökçegüney, situated between Yazılıkaya (Midas City) and Kümbet. Close to one of the trails from Midas City to Tonra, there was a small façade (fig. 3). It was a cult monument of the Phrygian period with all the typical elements (fig. 4): a gable with a king post and a curved akroterion, receding doorposts and a niche as its chief features. A hollow at the bottom of the niche once housed a Cybele statuette.

This façade must have been destroyed. Berndt searched for it many times in vain<sup>12</sup>. In 1996 Börker-Klähn discovered remains of a blown-up rock to the west of the Midas Kale, which may once have harboured the Tonra Patlak monument<sup>13</sup>. She regards the devastation as an act of pure malice, because for the production of quarrystones plenty of other boulders are available nearby.

<sup>12</sup> For location see Haspels fig. 494:2 and *k* in the map in Gabriel fig. 2 and p. 18.

<sup>13</sup> Börker-Klähn 10.



Fig. 5. *Değirmen Yeri* now lost (Haspels fig. 163)



Fig. 6. *Büyük Kapı Kaya*, Cybele image (Haspels fig. 184)

*Patlak* means *exploded*, apparently indicating quarry work of the village Tonra. Thus happened what the name of the façade seems to foretell.

*Değirmen Yeri* (Haspels 58-59, 86-87, figs. 161-166, 520:4, 521)

During their campaign in 1958, Haspels and Hemelrijk saw a colossal bulldozer on caterpillars near the monument of *Değirmen Yeri* (*place of the mill*) busily shoving earth and rocks from either side into a level dust-road for the North-South route through the Phrygian Highlands. On seeing this they felt sure that the monument would disappear entirely.

For a long time, Berndt tried in vain to locate *Değirmen Yeri*. In 1988, by comparing the range of hills in one of Haspels' photographs, he found what must have been the site. It is situated to the right of the Kırka-Afyon road, 200 m north of the road sign showing Afyon and Ihsaniye at a distance of 30 and 25 km. In 1995 the Director of the Archaeological Museum of Afyon informed him that not a single part of the monument has been salvaged<sup>14</sup>. Haspels discovered the monument in 1950: it was almost wholly covered by earth; only two rectangular blocks decorated with a primitive geometric pattern were above ground. Haspels' interest roused the curiosity of treasure-hunters and, shortly afterwards, the interest of the Turkish Service of

Antiquities, which excavated the site so that Haspels and Hemelrijk were able to record it in 1953 and 1958 (fig. 5).

The disappearance of the monument is the more to be regretted, because it was unique among the great Phrygian façade monuments.

A detailed description is given by Haspels. It consisted of a square court which may, according to Hemelrijk, have been roofed with a wooden ceiling. At the back of this square area there was a little façade opposite the entrance; it consisted of a shallow framed niche (the frame was double, the inner recessed inside the outer frame). It was provided, like a window, with a horizontal and a vertical bar. Behind the façade was a shaft. Through it a large hole had been hacked by treasure-hunters as in all the other shaft monuments. But there were also two small holes that were original in this façade. The hole on the right seemed complete, the other was only partly preserved. Apparently they communicated with the shaft behind.

*Büyük Kapı Kaya* (Haspels 87, 106, figs. 183-4, 522)

*Büyük Kapı Kaya* (*large door rock*) presents an unusual shape of a Phrygian façade, because it is

<sup>14</sup> Berndt 1990, 41; Berndt 1994, 167, figs. 1-2.





Fig. 7 Büyük Kapı Kaya, damaged (Berndt ph. 10/96)



Fig. 8 Büyük Kapı Kaya, totally destroyed (Berndt ph. 10/97)

low and horizontal. Haspels comments: „there was room in the rock for only the lower part of a façade”. It contains a wide niche with a large Cybele statue cut from the rock between two rectangular blocks (fig. 6): “Probably the bases for two lions, added separately”.

Until 1995, most of the statue, though damaged, was still preserved (the head and parts of the body had already been hacked away long before). In October 1996, Berndt discovered that the body of the goddess had been cut into pieces. A hole in the rear wall of the niche had been driven half a metre deep (fig. 7). In 1998, the cult niche appeared to have been smashed completely (fig. 8)<sup>15</sup>.

*Arslan Kaya* (Haspels 87-89, 105, 111, figs. 186 – 191, 523)

One of the most impressive monuments in the Highlands of Phrygia is the Arslan Kaya (*lion rock*, fig. 9). It is carved in a lone outcrop. The façade

contains a large niche with an image of the goddess in high relief flanked by two colossal lions in profile. There are two sphinxes in the gable, which clearly date the façade to the 6<sup>th</sup> century. The akroterion is curved as in many other gables<sup>16</sup>.

This monument survived for 2500 years in a comparatively undamaged state – except for the three images in the niche, which were badly battered already long ago. Now it has partly been blown up with dynamite: there is a crater of 1 square metre and some 50 cm deep above the niche terribly disfiguring the whole monument (fig. 10). Ehringhaus discovered the damage in May 1993 and was the first to report it<sup>17</sup>.

Even before this fearful attempt at a thorough destruction severe damage had been done. This

<sup>15</sup> Berndt 1998, 182.

<sup>16</sup> See Haspels fig. 518.

<sup>17</sup> Ehringhaus 1994, 169, figs. 7-10.





Fig. 9. Arslan Kaya (Haspels fig. 189)



Fig. 10. Arslan Kaya heavily damaged (Berndt ph. 11/93)

appears from a photograph taken by Ehringhaus in 1987<sup>18</sup>: a comparison with photographs taken by Haspels shows that a large irregular patch of the surface of the architrave (near its left upper corner, see fig. 10) had flaked off. It is likely, though not quite certain, that this was due to wilful damage. Further, there are at least two recent deep holes that look like bullet holes: one in the maeander field under the king beam, the other in the left hind claw of the left-hand sphinx, which has also lost the claws of its fore paws. Note that the *bullet hole* in the buttock of this sphinx and the smaller hole in the edge of the king beam are seen on all Haspels' photographs. On these photographs, taken between 1946 and 1958, the whole gable looks much fresher and far better-preserved. It is to be feared that these attacks will continue, for other crimes of this kind have recently been committed in the neighbourhood.

#### *Burmeç (Haspels 89 and note 73, fig. 175)*

Between Üçler Kaya and Bayramaliler runs a newly projected road, which meets the Beyköy – Sarıçaova road near the Bayramaliler kale. Not far from this

junction one finds the unfinished Phrygian monument of Burmeç. Its name is perhaps derived from *burmak*, which means *to castrate*, because it is incomplete. Only the upper part, the pediment, was carved out of the rock. It housed a pair of antithetic sphinxes clearly imitated, as Haspels says, from the Arslan Kaya. Already in her time, a hole had been cut between the two animals.

Since then this hole has been brutally enlarged and deepened (fig. 11). The right-hand rafter of the gable is gone and the sphinxes have almost wholly been destroyed (only parts of the left-hand sphinx remain). Rusty nails driven in the tufa show that the treasure-hunters climbed up the rock on its left side, probably with the help of ropes.

#### *Küçük Kapı Kaya (Haspels 89, 106, 254, figs. 185, 524:1)*

The small rock façade Küçük Kapı Kaya (*small door in the rock*) is to be found at a distance of 3 km to the southeast of Döğer. From Arslan Kaya, it is a

<sup>18</sup> Ehringhaus 1994 fig. 9.



*Fig. 11. Burmeç damaged (Berndt ph. 8/98)*



*Fig. 12. Küçük Kapı Kaya (Haspels ph. 1953?, cf. fig. 185)*



*Fig. 13. Küçük Kapı Kaya, split in two (Berndt ph. 7/94)*



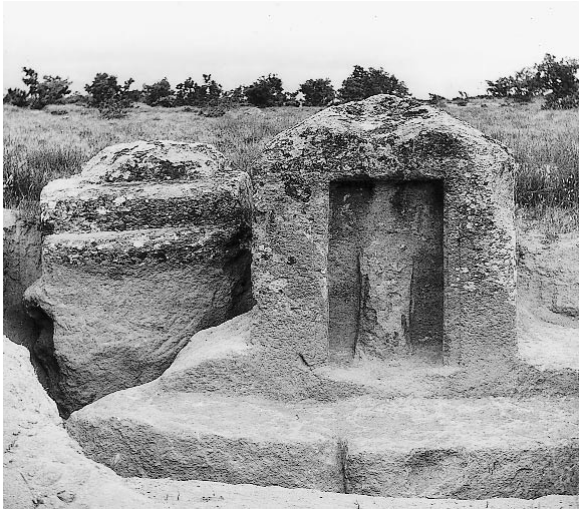


Fig. 14. Kumca Boğaz Kapı Kaya (Haspels fig. 159)



Fig. 15. Kumca Boğaz Kapı Kaya, lightly damaged (Berndt ph. 7/95)

2 km drive to the southwest. In a separate rock about 5 m high there is a simple monument with a niche, occupied by a rather battered Cybele with a large hole in the head.

Up to 1986 the monument was well-preserved (fig. 12). On 15.08.1986, Berndt saw the façade intact. On 20.05.1987, Ehringhaus found the monument destroyed: a deep hole had been drilled in the rock and filled with dynamite; the explosion had split the rock in two. The upper part with most of the gable and part of the niche, now lies at the foot of the monument (fig.

13)<sup>19</sup>. Besides, an ugly graffito of the MHP (*Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi; National Movement Party*) disfigures the unharmed surface on the other side. In a photograph of 1946 the unworked rock immediately behind it shows a wide rift from top to bottom, its front section leaning forward. Now this front section is lying on the ground, broken into large pieces.

The Turkish Ministry of Culture has promised to protect and repair the monument. However, in 1998 no restoration had as yet been undertaken.

The men guilty of destroying Küçük Kapı Kaya, Büyük Kapı Kaya and Arslan Kaya may be locals from Döğer and Üçler Kaya. Perhaps their identity is known among the inhabitants, who may not approve of their deeds, but apparently put up with them. Yet the patrolling guards of the Afyon Museum continually try to make them understand that Phrygian façade monuments consist of worthless tufa rocks and do not contain hidden treasures.

*Kumca Boğaz Kapı Kaya* (Haspels 32, 89-90, figs. 159, 524:2)

At Kumca Boğaz Kapı Kaya (*door stone in the sandy mountain pass*) in the southern Köhnüş

<sup>19</sup> Berndt 1990, 41-42, figs. 5, 6; Ehringhaus 1995, 168, figs. 11-13.



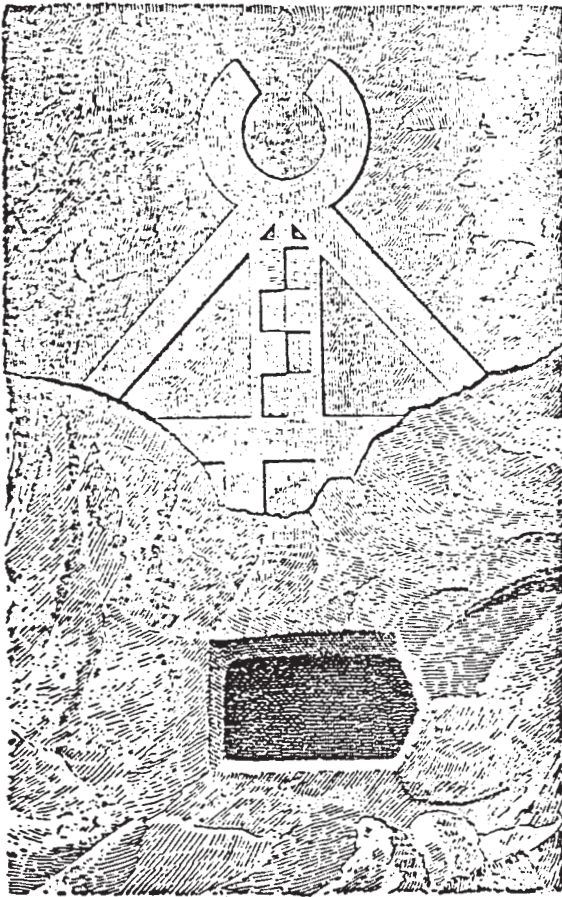


Fig. 16. Kilise 1894 (Körte fig. 8 p. 113)



Fig. 17. Kilise, badly deteriorated and damaged (Berndt ph. 7/93)

Valley, the frame of the niche which at the time of Haspels' photograph (fig. 14) was well preserved, is now damaged on the right side (fig. 15). Cybele's body in the niche has also suffered further damage and the step altar to the left too.

#### *Kilise (Haspels 91, 159 note 78, fig. 234)*

At Yenisoğça in the northern part of the Highlands of Phrygia, there are the remains of a façade monument. Much of the surface of the rock has flaked off long ago. Only the top of the pitched gable with curved akroterion and the upper part of the kingpost remain. The façade is called Kilise (*church*). In 1946 Haspels noted that two holes had been hacked in the field between the two arms of the akroterion. These two have now been made into a single large, deep hole in the rock. It is instructive to compare the drawing Körte published in 1898 (fig. 16) with Haspels' photograph taken in 1946 and the present condition (fig. 17).

#### *Karababa – Relief (Haspels 59, 98, fig. 517:3)*

The relief of Karababa, which means *black father*, or *venerable grey beard* lies 5 km to the North of Kayıhan-Kunduzlu, 300 m East of the Afyon – Kırka road. It was discovered by Ramsay in 1886. It is described as an *idol* by Haspels and Naumann, because it is flat and primitive; Berndt stresses the similarity to an image of Cybele<sup>20</sup>.

In 1993, treasure-hunters split the rock and knocked the relief down with crowbars. Now it is lying on its back, 4 m from its original place. It is difficult to take a good photograph of it because the relief is so shallow (fig. 18).

<sup>20</sup> Naumann 97, plate 10 b; Prayon 208, Kat. No. 53; Berndt 1997, 143 f., figs. 1-7, 9.





Fig. 18. Karababa relief, left below, split from its rock upper right (Berndt ph. 7/95)

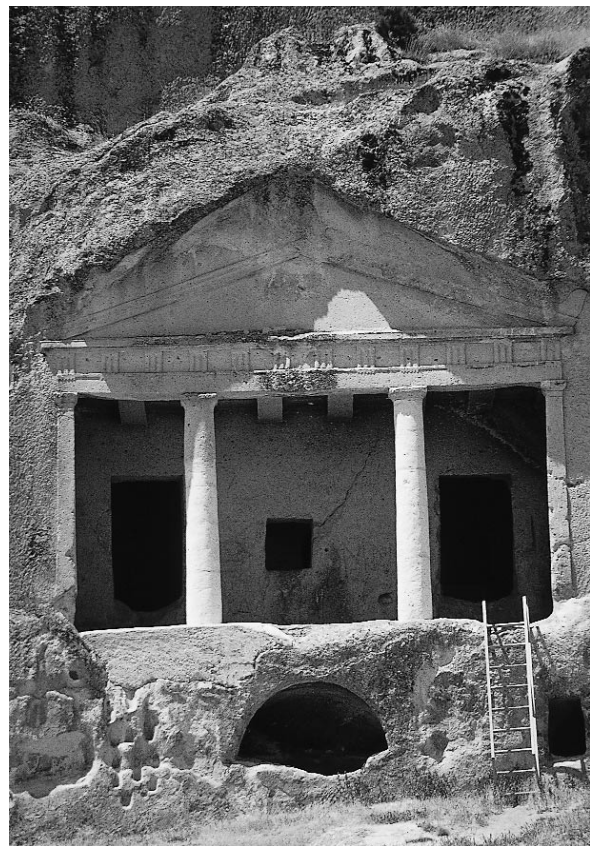


Fig. 20. Gerdek Kaya: tomb with lion's claws visible on top (Berndt ph. 7/93)

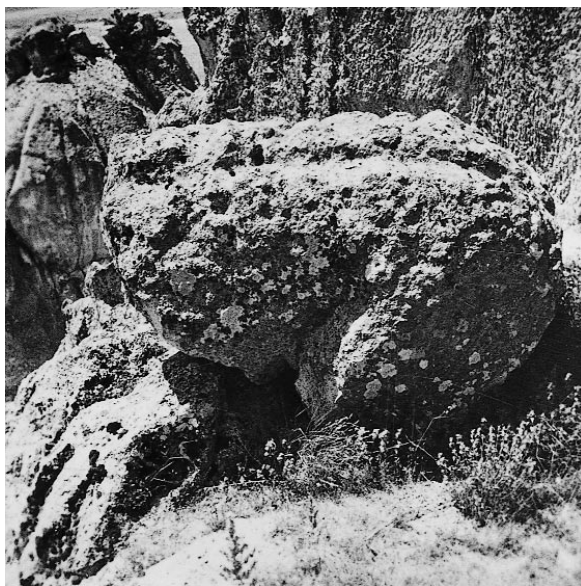


Fig. 19. Gerdek Kaya: remains of colossal lion above chamber tomb (Haspels fig. 87)

#### DESTRUCTIONS OF SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS

##### *The lion of Gerdek Kaya (Haspels 159, figs. 85-87)*

About the monumental lion once towering above the Hellenistic tomb of Gerdek Kaya (*gerdek* means *bridal chamber*) Haspels reports:

*Presumably it had been worked entirely in the living rock and had split off at the base and feet. When I first saw the lion, in 1938, the body was lying as in fig. 87 (here fig. 19) the head and the forepart missing. From below, as seen in fig. 86, paws and body combined looked rather like a low crouching frog. Fig. 85, however, taken in 1950, shows the chest as a white disk: the stone had been chopped off by the peasants. In fig. 332, taken in 1958, all had disappeared.*

However: the great paws are still visible (fig. 20)<sup>21</sup>. It must have been a very large animal and quite a lot of work to demolish it so thoroughly.

<sup>21</sup> Measures taken by Haspels 159 note 74: one foot measures across 1.10 m; the two feet, with intervening space, together 2.65 m.



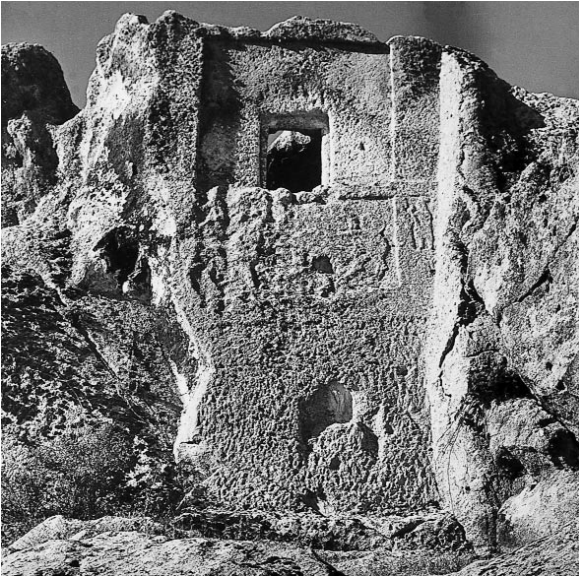


Fig. 21. *Hamam Kaya* (Haspels fig. 90)

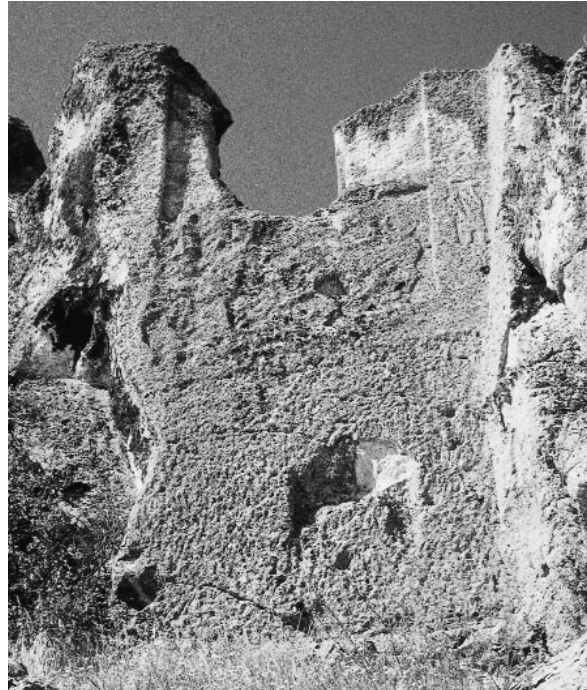


Fig. 22. *Hamam Kaya*, heavily damaged (Berndt ph. 7/93)

*Hamam Kaya* (Haspels 113, 135, 237-38, 306, figs. 89, 90)

Hamam Kaya, 600 m to the West of Gerdek Kaya, consists of two Phrygian burial chambers. The early one, facing east, is decorated below its entrance with a relief of a man fighting an animal; on the frame to the right two men in low relief are vaguely visible (fig. 21). In 1958, the rock was being demolished, as Haspels tells us<sup>22</sup>. Most of the roof of the Phrygian chamber and parts of the entrance have now been hacked away (fig. 22).

#### *A Phrygian tomb in the rock of the Midas City*

On the west side of Midas Kale, about 200 m to the south – west of the Unfinished Monument, deeply hidden at the foot of the rock (fig. 23), there is a tomb, which has recently been heavily damaged. It was unknown to Haspels. It is approached by a steep staircase descending into the rock.



Fig. 23. Entrance to the Phrygian tomb at Midas City, westside (Berndt ph. 10/97)

<sup>22</sup> Haspels 306 no. 25, 27.





Fig. 24. Phrygian tomb before destruction (Berndt ph. 11/94)

Its typically Phrygian doorway is small and plain, but its interior is richly equipped. Like all Phrygian chamber-tombs it is a stone replica of the interior of a wooden house. The ceiling is decorated with a ridge-pole and four pairs of rafters: one at both ends and two in between (fig. 24). These ceiling-beams continue along the wall vertically downwards. Further there are two pairs of purlins (or horizontal roof beams) and a gable with king post. The tomb is like Haspels' *Triclinium Tomb*<sup>23</sup>, but with only two couches, not three; the head rests are open-worked. At the lower part of the legs of the couches there was an extra pair of roundels half-way between the lower and the upper pair of roundels which decorate the narrow, probably bronze section of Greek wooden *klinai* legs (fig. 25). Exactly the same legs are found on Greek furniture of about 500 B.C. and earlier, for example on a throne of a relief in the Ludwig Collection<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> Haspels 127, figs. 542: 5-6.

<sup>24</sup> Ernst Berger ed., *Antike Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Ludwig, III Skulpturen*, p. 25 no. 222, see p. 38.

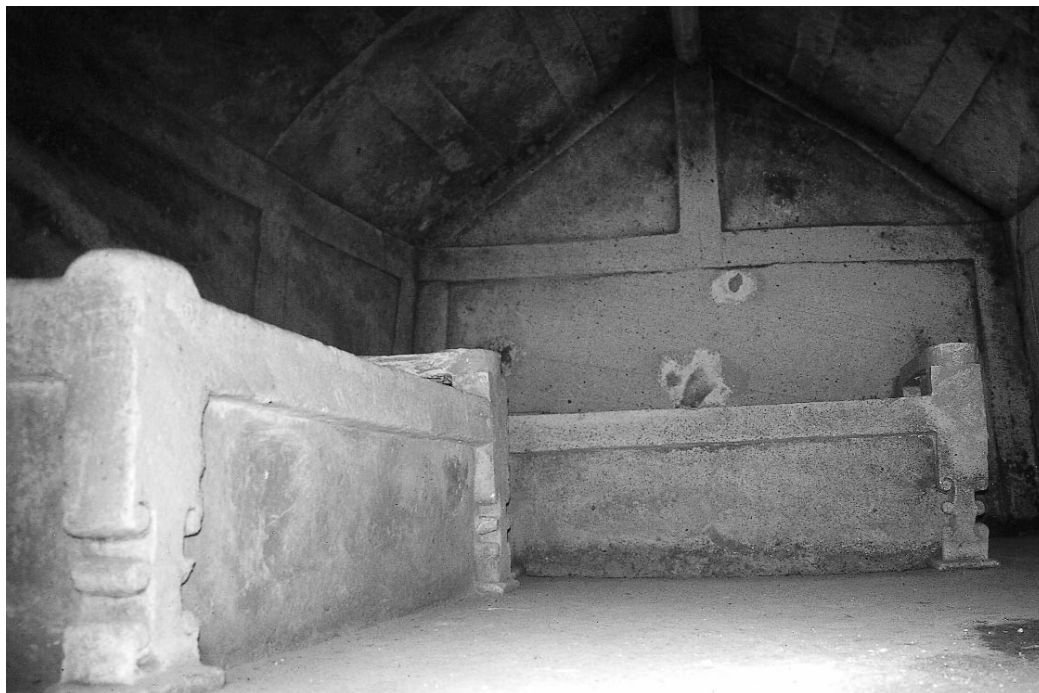


Fig. 25. Phrygian tomb, couches before destruction (Berndt ph. 7/93)



Fig. 26. Phrygian tomb, destroyed (Berndt ph. 10/97)



Fig. 27. Yılan Taş: column on dais, with palmette capital (Ehringhaus ph. 5/93)

Discovered in 1970 by Gürkan Toklu, the tomb was superbly restored by Fuat Özçatal, in co-operation with Dursan Çağlar and Veysel Gündoğdu in 1990<sup>25</sup>. During the night of 10/11 July 1997, the tomb was devastated with truly horrific effect (fig. 26). The intruders broke the lock and unhinged the door of iron bars. They violently hacked at the couches with sledge hammers or other heavy equipment, and struck off the corners and legs of the couches. Also the ceiling of the tomb was damaged.

In this case it seems as if they were not searching for gold because they did not penetrate deep into the rock, where they might have looked for it. However, one wonders, what other reason they may have had for such an act of barbarism.

*The Column of Yılan Taş (Haspels 129 f., figs. 141-156, 544)*

Yılan Taş (*snake rock*), in the Köynüş (*antiquated*) Valley, consists of an extraordinarily large burial chamber. It was more than six times as large as the nearby chamber of Arslan Taş<sup>26</sup>. The whole tomb collapsed long ago. Its discoverer Ramsay called it

<sup>25</sup> Mellink *AJA* 76 (1972) 178 and 97 (1993) 121; Berndt 1998, 181, figs. 1, 2.

<sup>26</sup> Haspels fig. 534:4.





Fig. 28. *Yılan Taş*, column destroyed (Berndt ph. 7/94)

the *Broken Lion Tomb*. Haspels gives Hemelrijk's reconstruction and a full description of it.

A small part of the left-hand wall and the back-wall of the tomb is still in situ on the rock. On the left there was a long bench about one metre high supporting two columns, one at each end. The one close to the back wall was still in place until May 1993 (fig. 27). A micraplast cast of its palm capital is in the Allard Pierson Museum<sup>27</sup>.

In July 1993, Berndt found that the column had been knocked to pieces (fig. 28). Parts of the shaft and two fragments of the palmette were lying nearby (fig. 29). He informed the Afyon Museum; in 1998, one piece of the palmette was still present, the other had disappeared<sup>28</sup>.



Fig. 29. Capital of *Yılan Taş* column hacked to pieces (Berndt ph. 7/93)

#### *Necropolis near Doğanlı Kale*

Doğanlı Kale is an enormous tufa rock between Çukurça and Şükranlı which in Byzantine times was completely cut out for dwellings and chapels<sup>29</sup>. Nearby there is a Hellenistic necropolis not mentioned in the published literature. Pottery and terracotta from the graves date from 4th to 3rd century (fig. 30). The adjoining quarry has seriously damaged the cemetery.

*Avdan Teşvikiye* (Haspels 165-166, figs. 275 -280, 552-553)

In Avdan-Teşvikiye there is a remarkable vaulted tomb, probably of Hellenistic times, built with large oblong blocks. It is the only building constructed of separate blocks that remains intact in the Phrygian highlands<sup>30</sup>. The tomb once contained eight sarcophagi, in two rows<sup>31</sup>. Three on the right side were

<sup>27</sup> Haspels 136 note 77, figs. 150, 152.

<sup>28</sup> Berndt 1994, 167, figs. 3, 4.

<sup>29</sup> Haspels figs. 92, 405-415, 574-575.

<sup>30</sup> Haspels 166. The buildings at Kızıl Saray and Seyrecek are much later and badly damaged; in 1988 Berndt saw only the bigger building, called *Büyük Kilise*, at Seyrecek, the walls of which two workers were removing systematically.

<sup>31</sup> Haspels 166 with note 13, fig. 552:1; Hemelrijk 1986, 16, fig. 33.





*Fig. 30. Objects from a necropole near Doğanlı Kale (Berndt ph. 7/88)*



*Fig. 31. Ahlatçı İner: demolished relief (gorgoneion) above entrance to tomb no. 1 (Berndt ph. 10/96)*



cut out in the rock, the others were free-standing. In 1837 Steuart still saw three sarcophagi on the left side; two of them had been broken up. Haspels suggests that the third was the one which, in 1958, was used as a basin for the fountain in the village square<sup>32</sup>. It was still present in 1988 together with a capital next to the well, when Berndt took a photograph of it. Both capital and sarcophagus were gone in 1992.

*Ahlatçı İner (Haspels 173 -174, figs. 297-304, 554: 1, 555)*

At Ahlatçı İner (*ahlat* means *wild pear*), a necropolis dating from Roman times, the decorated entrances to the tombs were already damaged when Haspels and Hemelrijk recorded them. Now the reliefs have been ruined further, compare fig. 31 with Haspels figs. 300 and 555:1 (gorgoneion with a spear behind).

*The islamic Emre Tekke (Haspels 222, 277, 280, fig. 181)*

In the Emre Tekke, a plain rectangular vaulted building, on the southeast bank of Emre Göl, Haspels describes six wooden ceremonial *coffins* with small relief columns at their feet. All have now been removed. The ground is rooted up. Byzantine marble fragments are scattered in the dirt (fig. 32). It seems unbelievable that, until recently, this place was an Islamic sanctuary.

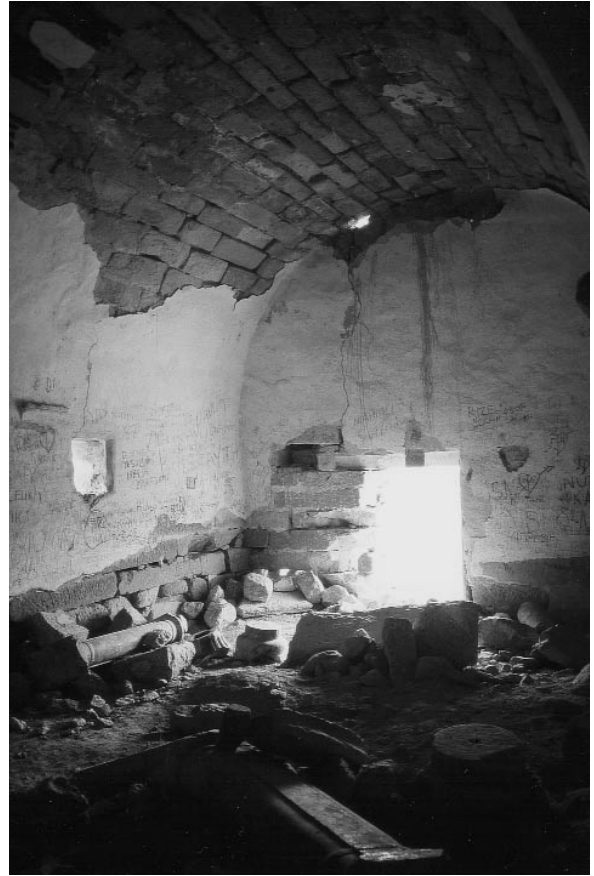


Fig. 32. Emre Tekke, ruined graves in tekke (Berndt ph. 7/95)

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

After describing the deplorable damage done to so many Phrygian and later monuments, we should not fail to note that, on the other hand, great efforts are being made by the responsible services of antiquities to conserve and maintain Phrygia's cultural treasures. At the Midas City, the entire Kale is now surrounded by a fence. Here and, for instance, in the necropolises of Ayazın and Kümbet, the residents are no longer allowed to use the tombs as barns or storage rooms. These have now been freed from weeds and cleaned. The Bekçi of Midas City, the appointed permanent guardian, sets great store by keeping it perfectly clean; the present one, Veysel Gündoğdu, is the successor of his father in this office. Besides, the Museum of Afyon employs inspectors who regularly check the condition of the monuments. We also wish to note private initiative in saving the old monuments, as for instance is done in İnli (Sabuncupınar) by Mehmet Merkan, who is the owner of the *Kaya Başı* rock with the two Christian churches *Poyrazlık İni* and *Hamam*<sup>33</sup>.

Restoration work has been carried out. Mention has already been made of the renovation of the Phrygian chamber-tomb at the Midas Kale in 1990 (now destroyed). In 1991 the Antiquities Service of Eskişehir actually restored the two columns of Gerdek Kaya (see fig. 20)<sup>34</sup>.

For Çatal Kaya or Kes Kaya (*forked* or *cloven rock*)<sup>35</sup>, imminent danger seems to have been warded off. This forked rock on its separate hill can be seen from a great distance. Phrygians cut the deep vertical groove in its middle. Haspels discovered traces of an ancient quarry nearby. In 1953, large boulders were cut in the adjacent tufa quarries for the construction of the Merkez Bank in Eskişehir, and blasting caused a horizontal cleft in the Kes Kaya rock<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> Steuart 1842, 5; Hemelrijk 1986, 16; Haspels 1971, 166 note 13.

<sup>33</sup> Haspels 251 no. 28 and 29, figs. 467-469, 595:3,5; Belke-Mersich 280.

<sup>34</sup> Haspels 155, figs. 85-88, 547; Berndt 1994, 167, fig. 6.

<sup>35</sup> Haspels 71, 92-93, figs. 240 f., 506:A.



Fig. 33. Çatal Kaya, horizontal break and drilled holes (Berndt ph. 5/89)

In 1989, holes of the size of a cigar had been drilled for lodging sticks of dynamite (fig. 33). However, the antiquities service in Eskişehir succeeded just in time in closing down the nearby quarries.

In 1994, the construction of a road through the Köhnüş Valley endangered the Yılan Taş. Fortunately, after Berndt and others had pleaded for a change in route plotting, damage was prevented thanks to the intervention of Ahmet Topbaş, at that time Director of the Afyon Museum<sup>37</sup>.

In Turkey as everywhere else, money for cultural purpose runs short. Moreover, the Highlands of Phrygia are sparsely populated, and it is impossible to protect all the scattered monuments. However, what is urgently needed is a change in the attitude of the highlanders. They must learn to recognize that the Phrygian and other historical monuments form an important part of their country's history, which should be saved and cherished. The rock monuments are a valuable asset which, if used in a reasonable and sustained way, may become a source of

income that has so far not been developed. The Highlands of Phrygia are a region which, on account of its monuments and its favourable climate, can be expected to have excellent prospects as regards tourism.

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<sup>36</sup> Haspels 71 and note 235; Berndt 1990, 42; Berndt 1994, 168, fig. 2.

<sup>37</sup> Berndt 1997, 164 note 7.

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# Laconian clay and bronze oinochoae with plastic decorations

Paola Pelagatti and Conrad Stibbe

## Part 1

### INTRODUCTION.

When Arthur Lane wrote his fundamental study on Laconian pottery, published in BSA 34 (1933-'34) 99-189, he did not have much to tell about Laconian oinochoae. Just half a page was enough for the whole story (p. 145). The shape was "very common at Sparta, but few were exported", he noted. Since then the situation has changed considerably. Now we know that in fact many Laconian trefoil-mouthed oinochoae, black-figured and, above all, black-glazed, were exported from the second half of the seventh century, through most of the sixth B.C. With the help of bronze oinochoae, which recently have been identified as Laconian, the story of the shape in the archaic period can be completed. The more elaborated plastic decorations, which, for technical reasons, could be applied to bronze oinochoae, were imitated, as far as possible, in clay too. Especially to the latter category we want to draw the attention, because only here the close relationship between the oinochoae in clay and bronze can clearly be demonstrated. The reader should bear in mind, however, that the majority of Laconian black-glazed clay oinochoae did not have any plastic figure decoration at all (on these see Stibbe, LBP 3, in print).

The starting point for our combined efforts was the discovery, by Paola Pelagatti, of a number of unpublished black-glazed Laconian oinochoae with plastic decoration from Sicilian collections and findplaces. She succeeded in extending this small assemblage with specimens from other findplaces, as far distant from Sparta as e.g. Tocra, Rhodos, Samos, and Olbia (southern Russia).

It seemed worthwhile to compare her findings with the parallels in bronze, which, as Laconian products, were never comprehensively discussed before.

### LACONIAN CLAY OINOCHOAE WITH PLASTIC DECORATIONS

Numerous trefoil-mouthed plain black jugs, in the simplest version, devoid of plastic decoration, were

shown to have a Laconian provenance in the survey recently conducted in Sicily. Fragments of the same ware were also reported by D. Williams at Aegina, in the sanctuary of Aphaia, and by R. Catling following an extensive survey in Laconia itself<sup>1</sup>.

The presence of this form<sup>2</sup> – until recently almost unattested outside Sparta – had already been reported by Boardman and Hayes on the other side of the Western Mediterranean, at Tocra (ancient Taucheira) in Libya<sup>3</sup>.

Some years earlier, E. Kunze and B. B. Shefton, publishing material respectively from Olympia and Perachora<sup>4</sup>, had recognized two tiny palmettes with snake finials as belonging to Laconian oinochoae, in the plastically decorated version. They had connected them with some equally miniscule fragments from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, where complete plain black forms are lacking. A complete plain black specimen was however reported by the same two scholars: the Kameiros no. 13315 oinochoae (figs. 1-2), from the necropolis of Macri Langoni in Rhodes. For many years this specimen remained unique – even if not always recognized – as representing in its entirety this type of non-painted jug, with a particularly elaborate plastic decoration<sup>5</sup>.

To the same ware J. Boardman<sup>6</sup> attributed an oinochoe neck fragment with a lion head at its upper handle-attachment, looking across the mouth of the vase. Recovered during a survey conducted along the coast of Cyrenaica, in connexion with the British School's excavations at Tocra, it may be considered the earliest specimen of the Laconian vases found

<sup>1</sup> Williams 1993, p. 588, F 3, fig. 25; Catling 1996, p. 63, no. 32; fragments of two specimens were reported from a pottery dump on the coast near Torre S. Sabina (Salento) by D'Andria 1976, p. 37, nos. 27, 28.

<sup>2</sup> This form will be discussed at greater length by C. Stibbe in his forthcoming 'Laconian Oil-flasks and other closed shapes' (LBP III), due to be published shortly.

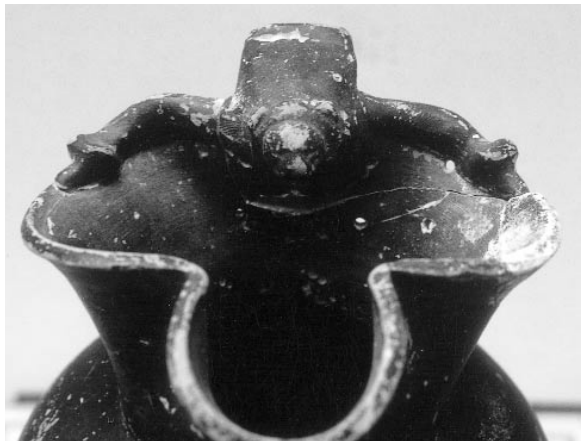
<sup>3</sup> Tocra I, pp. 88, 90, nos. 962-967.

<sup>4</sup> Kunze 1941, pp. 21-22; Shefton 1962, p. 384.

<sup>5</sup> Not always recognized as Laconian, the Kameiros oinochoe has nonetheless often drawn the attention of scholars: e.g. J. Beazley and F. Magi, in *La Raccolta B. Guglielmi nel Museo Gregoriano Etrusco*, II, Roma 1941, p. 190 s.; Brown 1960, p. 127 ("From the picture it looks as though it could be eastern bucchero"); Hill 1958, p. 195, note 7; cf. also *infra* cat. no. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Boardman 1967, p. 155.





*Fig. 1. Cat. no. 5, Rhodes, Museum 13315, from Kameiros.*



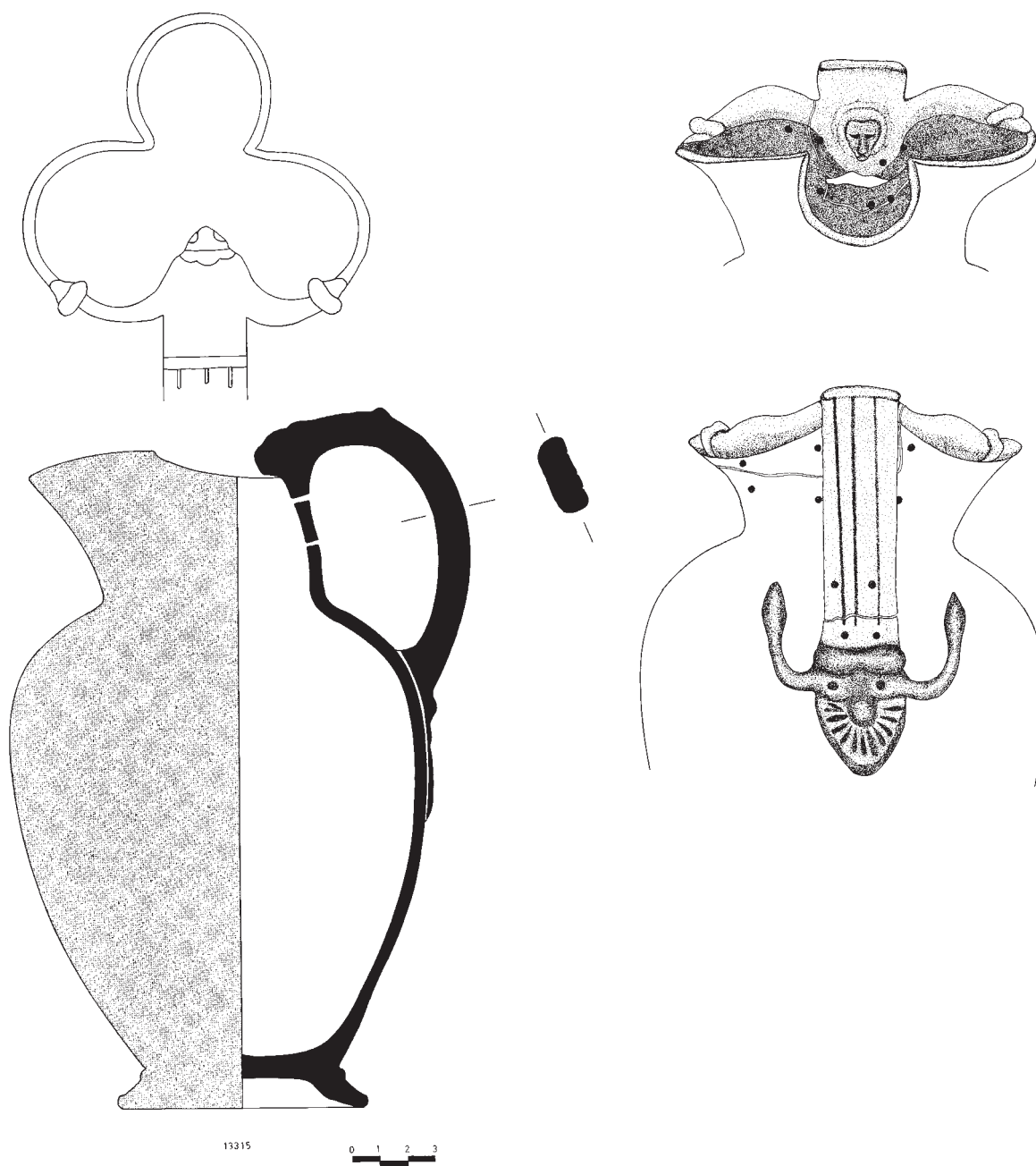


Fig. 2. Cat. no. 5: Rhodes, Museum 13315, from Kameiros.



*Fig. 3. Cat. no. 7, St. Petersburg, Hermitage 0.1909.32, from Olbia.*



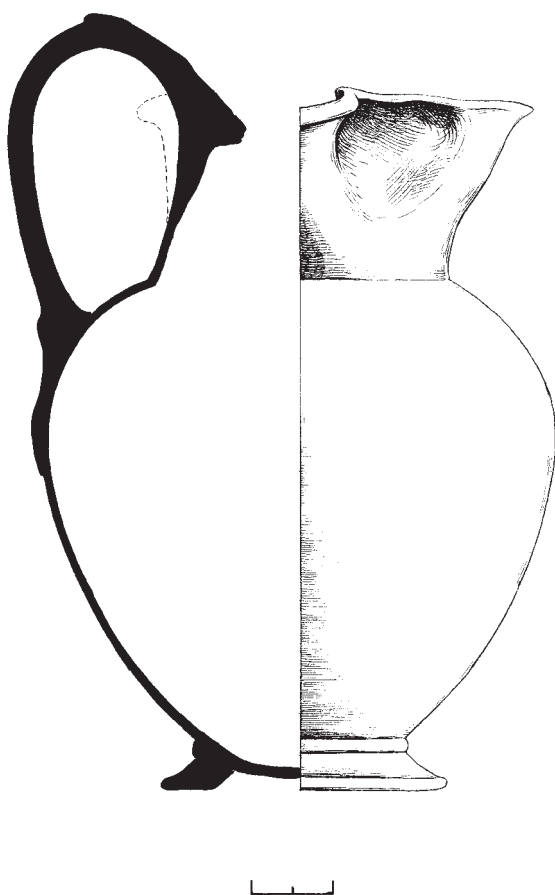


Fig. 4. Cat. no. 7, St. Petersburg, Hermitage 0.1909.32, from Olbia.

in a territory which would later reveal significant quantities of imported pottery from Sparta. In his description of the fragment Boardman observed: "The 'arms' along the rim terminate in rough representations of animal heads, probably monkeys." These heads of monkeys – animals probably familiar in Sparta and recurrent in the repertoire of the main Laconian vase-painter, the exotic Arkesilas painter, who had an undoubted knowledge of the North African environment – together with the lion protome and the pendent relief palmette with snake finials, offer a quite precise and unique combination that is perhaps of "Laconian invention", as recently proposed by C. Stibbe, who suggested that they reflect the form and decoration of bronze oinochoae<sup>7</sup>.

Only a few examples of this ware are so far known: we are tempted to trace them to a single workshop which we might conveniently call the "Kameiros 13315 oinochoe workshop". A number of other specimens can be added: a variant in the Capitoline

Museums (no. 10), identified by C. Stibbe<sup>8</sup>, another from the Black Sea (no. 7), brought to my attention thanks to the photographs and information provided by Dr. Sofia Boriskovkaia, Director of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the Hermitage, and two from Sicily (nos. 8 and 9), of which one recovered from a votive pit recently explored by G. Voza in Ortigia. These few examples offer an occasion for a brief discussion of a group which shows how, even in the production of plain black ware, Laconian potters experimented with creations of notable quality, which were also widely appreciated on overseas markets<sup>8 bis</sup>.

#### 1 – Sparta, Artemis Orthia

(a) 5145, oinochoe fragment: part of the neck with lion head on the rim and "arms" along the rim terminating in monkey head (one only preserved), height 6.7 cm; diam. mouth c. 12 cm.

Bibl.: AO, fig. 65 q; Stibbe 1994, p. 117-118, notes 65-82, fig. 3, pl. 27, 4.

(b) fragment with lower handle-attachment, portion of plastic palmette and part of two snake-headed finials, pointing upwards.

Bibl.: AO, fig. 65 p; Hill 1967, p. 45, no. 2.

(c) other fragments with palmette: AO, pl. 65 o, u, w

(d) fragments with lion head: *ibid.*, pl. 65 k, l, m.

#### 2 – Amyklai, C. Christou excavation, fragment of oinochoe: fragment of body and portion of handle with palmette and snake-headed finials, height 10.4 cm; width 9.7 cm.

Bibl.: Stibbe 1994, p. 117, note 66, pl. 27, 1.

#### 3 – Olympia, fragment of oinochoe: wall and lower portion of handle with paired vertical grooves and horizontal plastic ring at the base, plastic palmette below with two partially preserved snakes springing from it.

Bibl.: Kunze 1941, pp. 21-22, fig. 9 a; Stibbe 1994, p. 117, note 65.

#### 4 – Perachora 4113, fragment of oinochoe: palmette with beginning of upwards-turned rib to the left; height 5.5 cm.

Bibl.: Shefton 1962, p. 384, no. 4113, pl. 159; Stibbe 1994, p. 119, note 84.

#### 5 – Rhodes, Kameiros Inv. 13315, necropolis of Macri Langoni, T. 93. Complete oinochoe, here figs. 1-2; height (to the highest point of the trefoils) 23.5 cm; height of neck 5.5-5.2 cm; diam. foot 9.0 cm; max. diam. 15.5 cm. Part of the mouth (one of the trefoils) and part of the upper handle are restored. Context: 13313 Attic kylix, with ivy leaf branch; 13314 small black-figure amphora.

Bibl.: Clara Rhodos IV, 1931, Sep. 93, p. 193, p. 198,

<sup>7</sup> Stibbe 1994, pp. 8-120, 117, with particular reference to bronze exemplars.

<sup>8</sup> Stibbe 1994, p. 118.

<sup>8 bis</sup> In the list that follows, the pieces are placed in the approximate order in which they were made known, which does not necessarily reflect their chronological sequence.

figs. 208-9; CVA: Rodi 1, III He, pl. 16.4; P. Jacobsthal, GGA, 1933, p. 12; J. Beazley & F. Magi, *La Raccolta Benedetto Guglielmi nel Museo Gregoriano Etrusco* II, 1941, p. 190 f.; Kunze 1941, p. 21, note 3; Brown 1960, p. 127; Shefton 1962, p. 384; Boardman 1967, p. 155, note 29; Hill 1958, p. 195, note 7; *ibid.*, 1967, pp. 45-46; Stibbe 1994, p. 117, note 65.

6 – Tocra, fragment of oinochoe: part of the shoulder, neck and handle-attachment with lion-head protome and “arms” (width 9.3 cm) along the rim terminating in monkey heads.

Bibl.: J. Boardman 1967, p. 155, and note 29, pl. 32, 3; Stibbe 1994, p. 117, note 65.

7 – St. Petersburg, Hermitage, from Olbia, Inv. 0.1909.32, Pharmakowsky excavations 1909, tomb 8; oinochoe, here figs. 3-4. Reconstructed from several sherds; part of the mouth (central trefoil and side to the left of the lion) restored; height 17.0 cm; diam. base 7.0 cm; max. diam. 12.5 cm.

Bibl.: B. M. Skydnova, *Archaineskii Nekropoli Olbii*, Leningrad 1988, p. 44, cat. 28 (context: 1909.29 quatrefoil Corinthian aryballos; 1909.30 footless cup; 1909.33 Attic black-figure oinochoe; 1909.34 Attic black-figure krater).

8 – Iudica Collection, Inv. 2270 b, Lentini Museo Archeologico. Complete, here fig. 5 and profile fig. 6. Reddish-beige clay; height 16.2 cm at the mouth; (at the handle 19.9 cm); diam. foot 7.0 cm; max. diam. 13.5 cm; width of the “arms” 9.2-3 cm. Unpublished.

9 – Syracuse, Ortigia, G. Voza excavations 1987, in Piazza Duomo, pit no. 1; complete (with handle re-attached), here fig. 7 and profile fig. 8. Fine grey clay; height at the mouth 14.3 cm (at the handle 16.7 cm); diam. foot 5.6 cm; max. diam. 9.6 cm; width of the handle 1.5 cm; width of the “arms” 7.3 cm. The palmette below the lower handle-attachment is not extant. Unpublished.

Variant with crouching lions:

10 – Rome, Musei Capitolini, formerly Museo Artistico Industriale, Inv. 38; provenance unknown: Italy? Complete, here fig. 9. Height 25.0 cm (at the top of the handle), diam. foot 8.5 cm; max. diam. 15.5 cm.

Bibl.: Hill 1967, p. 45, no. 5, pl. 13, 3-4; Stibbe 1994, p. 118, note 78, pl. 27, 6.

Cf. also:

11 – Tocra, oinochoe fragment (plastic decoration not extant).

Bibl.: Tocra II, no. 2111, pp. 39-40, pl. 21; cf. Catling 1996, p. 63, note 143.

12 – Samos, 495 x, fragment of handle with lion head, without the “arms”.

Bibl.: E. Diehl, AA 1964, 593, no. 70; 599, fig. 49 (“East Greek”); Boardman 1967, p. 155, note 29; Stibbe 1994, p. 119, note 84; cf. also Shefton 1962, p. 384.

#### DISTRIBUTION

The distribution of these oinochoae (Sparta and neighbouring territories, Olympia, Perachora, Tocra,

Syracuse, Rhodes, Olbia and perhaps Samos) is fairly significant: it extends to Cyrenaica and Sicily in the West, and to Rhodes and the Black Sea, two crucial areas of Greek trade, in the East.

Not much is yet known about Laconian imports in these latter two areas – perhaps more numerous than has hitherto emerged. But, as D. Williams has recently assumed<sup>9</sup>, it is not improbable that there was a transmission of Laconian plain black pottery to Rhodes through Aeginetan merchants. Samos remains the most probable intermediary for this trade in the Black Sea.

The two grave contexts in which the specimens respectively from Rhodes and Olbia, nos. 5, 7, were found, provide useful clues for the dating of these oinochoae, in the decades around the mid 6th century BC (see *infra*).

#### FORM

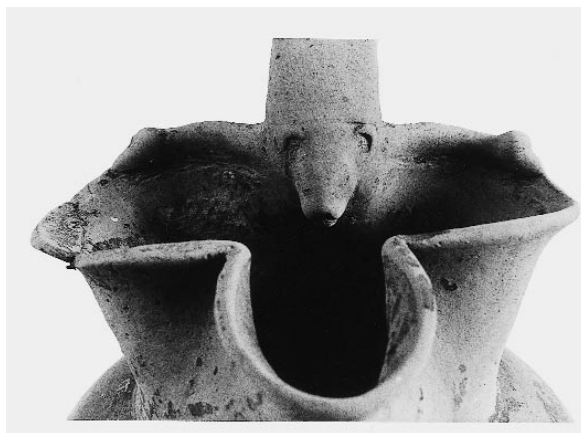
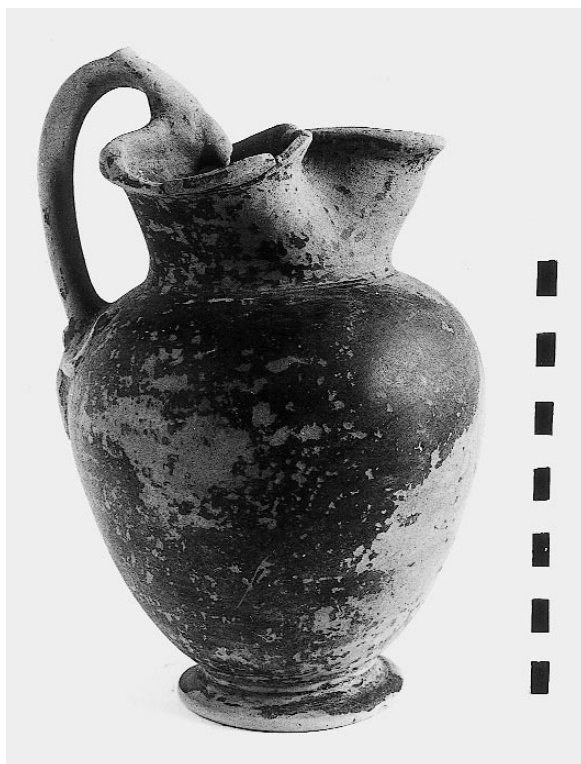
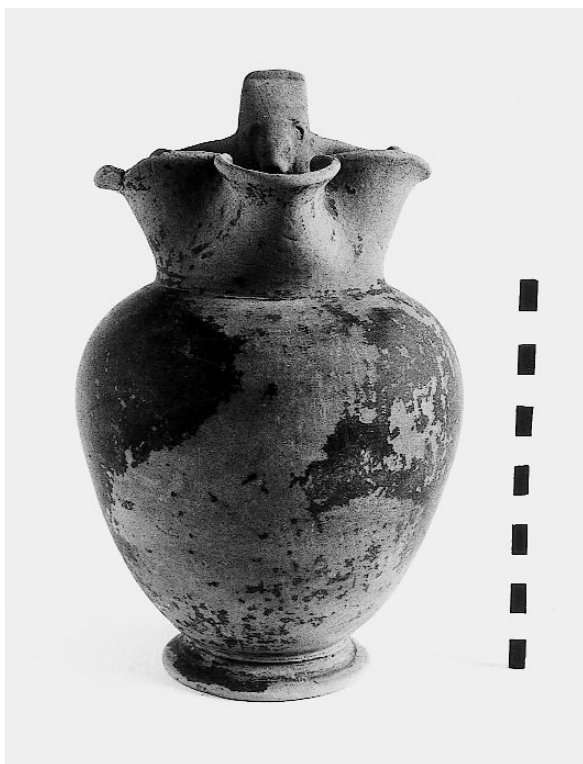
For the sake of convenience, let us take as our type model the oinochoe from Kameiros (no. 5, figs. 1-2). The clay is matt wine-red, undoubtedly Laconian; the black slip is semi-glossy. The belly is ovoidal, with the shoulder high and well-turned; the body is rather narrow, tapering downwards to the conical foot, which is connected to the belly by a prominent ring. The neck flares outwards immediately above the shoulder. The edges of the rim are flattened (thickness c. 3-4 mm), slightly projecting both on the outside and inside.

The thick strap-handle (2 cm wide) is decorated vertically with three equidistant grooves, executed with a spatula. The upper and lower handle-attachments are marked by a horizontal relief separation from the plastic decoration both above (lion head) and below (palmette). The upper attachment consists of a plaque c. 2.5 cm long, which terminates with a small lion-head protome with circular mane, fairly clumsy in workmanship, executed with a stamp, retouched with a spatula, and projecting above the mouth of the vessel by c. 1.5 cm. The upper legs are stretched along the rim of the trefoils and terminate with two heads of animals, identified as monkeys, similar to those of nos. 1a, 6-9.

The lower attachment terminates in a palmette, circular in shape, which projects with slight relief from the body of the vase; the leaves of the palmette face downwards. From the volutes at its stem spring two upwards-coiling ribs of rounded profile terminating in snake heads (total height 4.0 cm.). The type of relief palmette with snake finials in question will be discussed further below.

<sup>9</sup> Williams 1993, pp. 592-593.





*Fig. 5. Cat. no. 8: Lentini, Museo Archeologico 2270b.  
Ex coll. Iudica.*

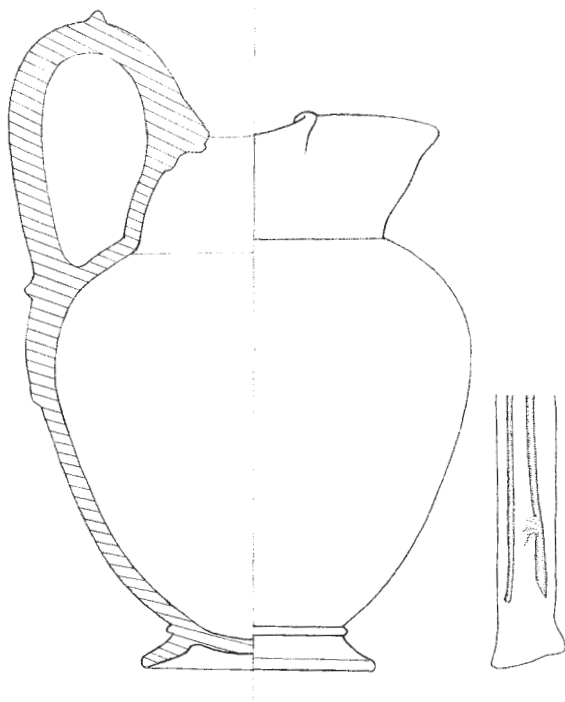


Fig. 6. Cat. no. 8. Lentini, Mus. Arch., Ex coll. Iudica.

Already in antiquity the vase was mended, and the handle rejoined to the body. Various drill-holes testifying to this ancient restoration are still visible: two pairs of holes are symmetrically arranged at the sides of the line of fracture at the foot of the handle, while a further five pairs of holes permitted the metal rivets, probably of bronze<sup>10</sup>, to refasten the upper attachment of the handle to the neck, at the level of the lion protome. This shows not only how the pressure of the plastic elements on the fabric of the vase (and especially its handle) had increased its fragility, but also how highly the oinochoe was prized.

The same type of fracture recurs on the important painted oinochoe in Zurich (Archaeological Collection of the University, inv. 4037), published not long ago by the late M. Sguaitamatti and attributed by him to the Hunt painter. The Zurich vase is quite unique; it is also decorated with plastic elements, including a palmette, now missing, with high-relief rib-shaped snakes. It represents, as we shall see, the painted equivalent closest to the type of plain black oinochoai being discussed here. Unfortunately, the vase in question is of unknown provenance; it comes from a recent clandestine excavation, perhaps from Etruria<sup>11</sup>, and its poor condition is the direct result of the improvident circumstances of the find.

A comparison of the dimensions of these oinochoai is interesting:

	height	max.diam.	diam.foot
Rhodes 13315	23.5	15.5	9.0
Mus. Capit. 38	23.5	15.5	8.5
Olbia 1909. 32	17.0	12.5	7.0
Iudica Coll. 2270b	16.2	13.5	7.0
Syracuse no inv.	14.3	9.6	5.6
Zurich, inv. 4037	20.0	15.0	9.8

It is probable that the Tocra oinochoe, of which only the top half survives, was similar in size to that in the Iudica Collection; this is suggested by the fact that the width of the handle-attachment, i.e. the space between the monkey heads, which Boardman reports as 9.3 cm, is the same.

The two oinochoae from Rhodes and the Musei Capitolini (nos. 5 and 10) are virtually twins (figs. 1, 9), except for the plastic applique to the upper handle-attachment. In dimension they are almost the same. They are also very similar in the shape of their rather narrow and elongated body, and that of their neck and foot. The palmettes too are very similar.

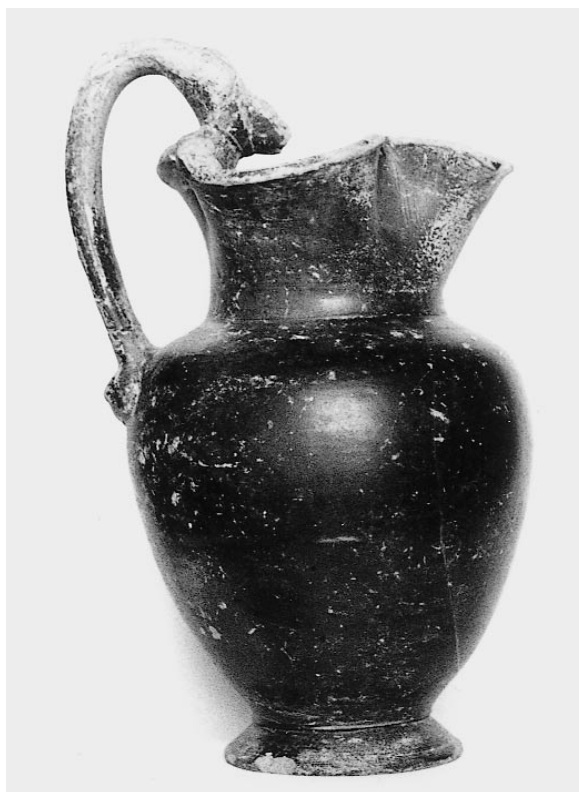
The oinochoe from Olbia is squatter, wider in the shoulder and rather more globular in the belly (no. 7) (figs. 3-4). It also has a deformation in its neck, perhaps the result of firing, since one of the trefoils (restored) is slightly squashed against the central one. The general characteristics of the vase (neck, foot, and plastic decoration), however, do not differ from the other two specimens: the palmette snake finials with their notably elongated bodies and large heads are similar. The restored palmette in the central part is more difficult to read. Whether this vase, due to the profile of its body, is slightly earlier than the others – as its funerary context might suggest – is difficult to establish, but it is a point we will return to below.

The two exemplars from Sicily are close in shape. They both have a handle more pronouncedly raised above the neck. The oinochoe from Syracuse is smaller and more slender in form (figs. 7-8); it lacks the palmette with snake finials.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the three solid bronze rivets with double plate in the fragment of an Attic black-figure lekythos from Camarina (Rifriscolaro, t. 497, in *Archeologia nella Sicilia Sud-Orientale, Addenda al Catalogo*, Torino 1974, figs. on p. 33).

<sup>11</sup> Sguaitamatti 1991; the two letters under the foot may be etruscan.





*Fig. 7. Cat. no. 9. Syracuse, Museo Regionale, from Syracuse, Ortigia.*

The reduced size of some of these small vases, almost like ampoules, well characterized and easy to recognize due to their lion protomes, suggests that they were used to hold no ordinary liquid, perhaps a specially prized wine or medicinal product. But this can be no more than conjecture.

It is not easy to identify an exact correspondence in other black-glazed oinochoai devoid of plastic decoration<sup>12</sup>, even if we can point to similarities in their individual parts: e.g. the rather wide neck from which the trilobate shape of the mouth springs from the upper handle-attachment, as in the two further Laconian exemplars from Rhodes<sup>13</sup>.

It should further be pointed out that this characteristic is also present in a few exemplars with painted figural decoration from Artemis Orthia, dating to the first half of the 6th century, though these have a wider and rather flattened body, with a pronounced shoulder<sup>14</sup>. Not even the comparison with the specimen in Zurich is entirely satisfactory: the Zurich vase differs in the ovoidal, squatter and thicker form of its body, its extremely sloping shoulder, and in the shape of its foot, which is similar to that of large painted vases<sup>15</sup>. But for the rather different characteristics of the Zurich vase we refer to Sguaitamatti's meticulous analysis and Stibbe's discussion<sup>16</sup>.

#### PLASTIC DECORATION

In the majority of cases the plastic decoration consists, as we have said, of three elements: the pendent palmette with upwards-pointing snake finials, situated below the lower handle-attachment; the lion head placed over the upper handle-attachment and projecting above the rim of the vessel; and the front legs of the lion extending along the rim and terminating, in general, with two heads of monkeys, or with the variant (no. 10) of two crouching lion cubs<sup>17</sup>. The type of palmette, with snakes uncoiling upwards from the volutes at its stem, enjoyed a considerable vogue in bronze vases. The fashion for this type of palmette, exclusively positioned at the base of the handle, was pointed out by Dorothy Kent Hill; to her is due important research aimed at identifying the origin and date of the palmette-decorated handle and other attachment plaques of bronze of the late archaic and early classical periods, hitherto misinterpreted<sup>18</sup>. Hill also extended her study to Laconian pottery exemplars, whose chronology she discussed<sup>19</sup>.

That these pottery oinochoai, including their palmettes, derived their inspiration from metal prototypes, and copied bronze techniques in their shape and decoration, seems clear. This was already recognized in the Laconian literature of the first half of this century: the reference to metal prototypes can be found in the studies of such pioneers as J. Droop and

A. Lane<sup>20</sup>, with regard to the fragments from Sparta; it can also be found in P. Jacobsthal in his discussion of the specimen from Kameiros, in his review of Clara Rhodos IV, and in E. Kunze's discussion of the fragment from Olympia<sup>21</sup>. The same derivation from

<sup>12</sup> Only very recently was I able to see an oinochoe without plastic decoration, unpublished as far as I know, in the Museum of Agrigento; it comes from Eraclea Minoa (Inv. E. M. 5058). Of exceptional size (height: 36,5 cm), its form is undoubtedly close to that of the oinochoai with plastic decoration, though with one special feature: the flat, pedestal-less foot which is also found on small plain black amphorae and on other closed Laconian forms, and which was reported for the first time in Tocra I, p. 88.

<sup>13</sup> Oinochoe of Diylos: Rhodes 13179, in *Clara Rhodos IV*, 1931, fig. 276, pp. 246, 253; oinochoe 1324, in *Ann. Sc. Atene*, VI-VII, 1923-4, fig. 162 (inscribed ALE), p. 260; for the chronology cf. also Schaus 1985, p. 21. The form of the mouth and neck, in a continuous line, differs from that of other black oinochoae, of uncertain attribution, in which the neck presents an upper zone, delimited by two relief elements, from which the trefoil-shaped rim of the vessel springs (cf. *Lakonikà II*, p. 160, no. 133, 134). A new plain black specimen, covered all over by a matt black slip, but with two triangular "eyes" reserved at the sides of the central trefoil, comes from the above-cited votive pit in Syracuse (Fig. 10): the reddish, rather coarse fabric and also the unusual "eyes", might suggest a Rhodian provenance, perhaps of the early years of the 6th century BC. For a specimen of Laconian oinochoe in the Museum of Corfù, inv. 1752, cf. Schaus *ibid.*, p. 21, note 63 (I know no illustrations of it). Finally, we may cite a curious black oinochoe of uncertain attribution and later date, reported by M. Labellarte (in the catalogue *Ceramica Greca della Collezione Chini nel Museo Civico di Bassano del Grappa*, Roma 1990, p. 106, inv. 381, height 16,8). Once again it should be observed that, as far as the plain black ware is concerned, the fundamental distinguishing mark is, in my view, the technique, especially the fabric, but also the glaze itself, often easily distinguishable, but with considerable variants depending on the size of the vessel in question, the thickness of the walls, the techniques of firing and the conditions in which it was preserved in the ground, which influences the identification of the rarer forms of vessel (see further note 37).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. AO, figg. 73 A-B; other painted specimens with figural decoration: an important new oinochoe from Sparta, dating to the early decades of the 6th century BC, currently being studied by S. Raftopoulou, whom I wish to thank for bringing it to my attention. I would also like to cite the unpublished oinochoe in Birmingham (A. 1619, acquired in 1885, bequeathed by H. Ch. Robinson, from the A. Castellani Collection), reported by Sguaitamatti 1991, p. 8, note 6.

<sup>15</sup> Especially of the rare painted kraters and hydriae.

<sup>16</sup> Sguaitamatti, *op. cit.*; Stibbe 1994, p. 116.

<sup>17</sup> There are other variants – again in the plain black repertoire – with female protome, at the centre, instead of the lion head, or discs instead of the monkeys (cf. Stibbe 1994, p. 117); these have not hitherto been registered outside Laconia, as far as I know. I know no complete examples: the fragments so far reported, especially from Artemis Orthia (AO, p. 95, fig. 65 s, z, and Lane p. 133 and 145, tavv. 33 a, b, e, h), belong to earlier oinochoai perhaps with a different profile (v. Stibbe LBP, 3).

<sup>18</sup> Hill 1967, pp. 39-47; *ibid.*, 'Chariots of Early Greece', in *Hesperia* XLIII, 1974, p. 443.

<sup>19</sup> Hill 1967, pp. 45-46.

<sup>20</sup> AO, p. 65; Lane 1934, pp. 144-145.

<sup>21</sup> P. Jacobsthal, in *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1933, p. 12 ("Rhodian pottery imitation of a bronze oinochoe"); Kunze 1941, p. 21, note 3.



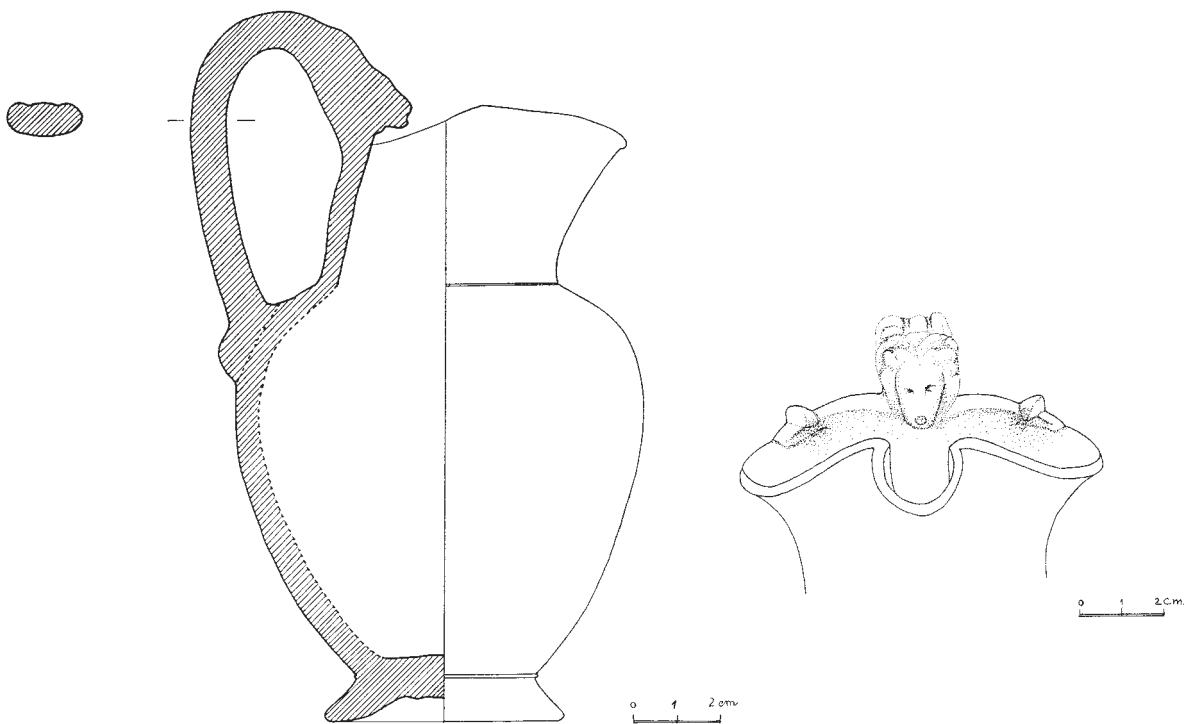


Fig. 8. Cat. no. 9. Syracuse, Museo Regionale, from Syracuse, Ortigia.

metal prototypes also holds good for other pottery forms, including the hydria. That Sparta produced bronze hydriae did not escape J. D. Beazley and L. Brown<sup>22</sup>, and from the 1960s on the production of bronze hydriae was subjected to further research, especially by a distinguished expert on Greek bronzes, C. Rolley, also in relation to products from a Magna Graecian milieu<sup>23</sup>. But the role of Sparta in the production of the pottery oinochoae under discussion here has hitherto remained almost unknown and correspondingly undervalued.

The studies of C. Stibbe have contributed significantly to elucidating the Laconian side of the question, with the addition to the catalogue of further important specimens both of bronze oinochoae and hydriae in private collections or on the art market – many of Laconian production or influenced by Laconian prototypes<sup>24</sup>. Stibbe also, and rightly, emphasized the risk of error in identifying the find-spot with the place of origin.

The close connection between these bronze prototypes and the ceramic material, either painted on a light ground or plain black-glazed all over – the latter ware now better understood in its technical and formal characteristics – is further confirmation of

the Laconian provenance of the plain black oinochoae with plastic decoration.

Returning to the specimens of particular interest to us here, let us now focus attention on the relief palmette that decorates them; it was used as a motif to adorn the lower handle-attachment both in the plastic version and in some vases with painted figural decoration.

C. Stibbe<sup>25</sup> has provided a possible key to their chronological development by distinguishing between two types of plastic palmette: one earlier, dating to the first three decades of the century (with a circular contour and leaves with rounded ends and more numerous fronds: 12 or 13), and the other later (570-550 BC) (with leaves with pointed ends, carefully modelled, less numerous, and separated by pronounced ribbing). But between these

<sup>22</sup> J. D. Beazley, 'Potter and Painter in Ancient Athens', in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 30 (1946), pp. 5-43, particularly p. 7; Brown 1960, p. 127; cf. also L. Politis, in *Arch. Ephem.*, 1936, pp. 147-174.

<sup>23</sup> Rolley 1963, pp. 459-484.

<sup>24</sup> Stibbe 1992.

<sup>25</sup> Stibbe *ibidem*, pp. 2-3; Stibbe 1997.



*Fig. 9. Cat. no. 10. Rome, Musei Capitolini 38. Prov. unknown.*



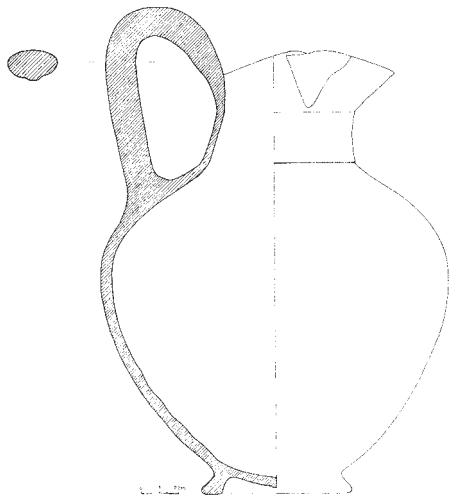


Fig. 10. Syracuse, Museo Regionale, from Syracuse, Ortigia.

two stages there was, he suggests, an intermediate stage during which both variants co-existed. Our rounded palmettes could be placed in this intermediate stage. But they are not easy to classify, because they are reproduced by small, rather worn stamps, and not always easy to compare, also due to the paucity of good illustrations.

As for the lion protome and the heads of monkeys, the real trademark of these vases, they are preserved in exemplars nos. 1a, 5-9. With regard to the lion protome of some fragments from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, Lane observed that "between these [discs, in this case] is a plastic head – of a lion with purple mane and white slipped face, or of a woman. Unfortunately no complete specimens are available to coordinate the plastic style with painted decoration"<sup>26</sup>. The complete plain black specimens known to us today do not seem to reveal the use of colours or painted retouches. But one lion head that is painted is that of the oinochoe with figural decoration in Zurich, the specimen that provides the link – the lack of which was noted by Lane – between the vases with plastic and those with painted decoration. This lion protome, with a broad and smooth mane is, however, significantly different from the homogeneous group of those of our oinochoae, impressed by small stamps. The heads of the monkeys are also different: in our group they are very schematized, whereas in the Zurich oinochoe they are better modelled. The lack of the palmette in the latter precludes a comparison which would be particularly useful.

The presence, or absence, of these elements complicates, as we shall see, the problem of how to place our workshop among the pottery ateliers of Sparta.

#### CHRONOLOGY AND LINK WITH THE WORKSHOPS OF PAINTED VASES

The context of Tomb 93 of Kameiros and now that of tomb 32 (1909) of Olbia provide useful pointers to the chronology of our plain black oinochoae. The Kameiros grave-group suggests a date in the third quarter of the 6th c., according to B. B. Shefton<sup>27</sup>. As regards the grave goods with which the Olbia oinochoe was associated, it should be pointed out that, although Attic material of the third quarter of the 6th c. is present, a late-Corinthian quatrefoil aryballos might suggest for the oinochoe a slightly wider chronological margin and a dating to the previous decade. The other two undecorated oinochoae from Rhodes, which we have mentioned, come from contexts in which material from the second quarter of the 6th c. BC is still present<sup>28</sup>.

On the other hand, the analogies with the plastic decoration of the Zurich oinochoe are beyond dispute. This vase was dated by Sguaitamatti to 560-550, a date corrected by Stibbe to 565-555<sup>29</sup>, and was rightly attributed by its publisher to the first phase of the activity of the Hunt Painter. A similar dating emerged from Stibbe's observations on the relation between bronze oinochoae and the corresponding pottery versions<sup>30</sup>.

As regards the dating of our plain black oinochoae, it seems to me prudent to propose the decades between 560 and 540; this is suggested both by the chronological clues provided by the contexts in which they were found, and those deducible from the form of the pendant relief palmette. The dating could be narrowed down by a more systematic analysis of the development of the form itself.

More difficult to answer is the question to what workshop the black oinochoae with lion protome and monkey heads should be attributed. Should they be considered, on the basis of the specimen in Zurich, a product and perhaps an invention of the atelier of the Hunt painter, who was not averse to availing himself of new vase forms (we may think of the so-called "doric" cup with ringed foot, especially in vogue in Laconia)<sup>31</sup>, and who was certainly

<sup>26</sup> Lane 1934, p. 145.

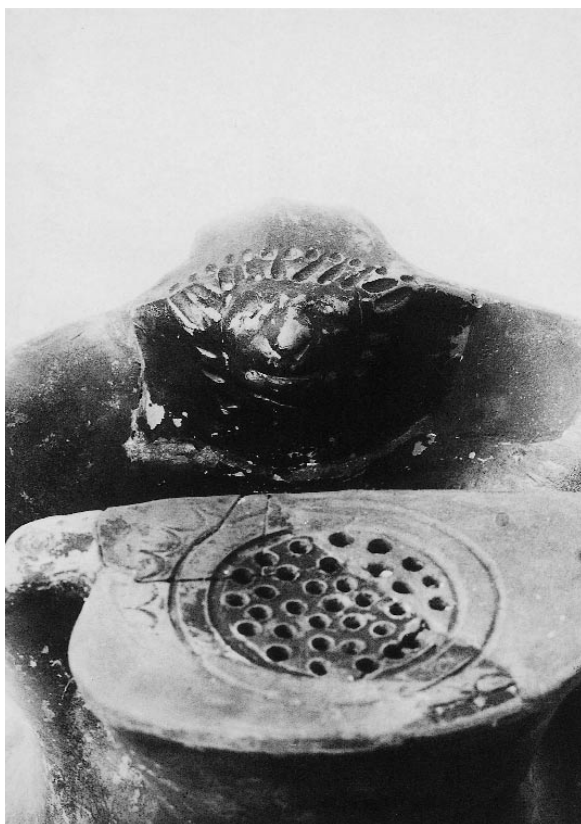
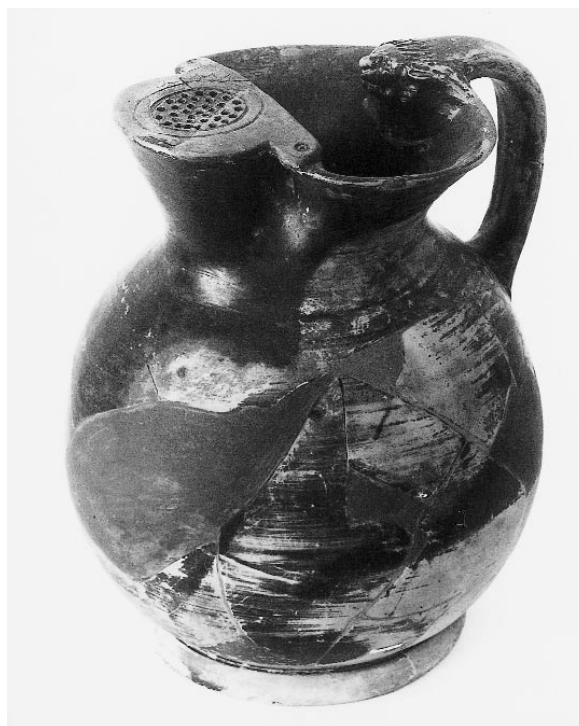
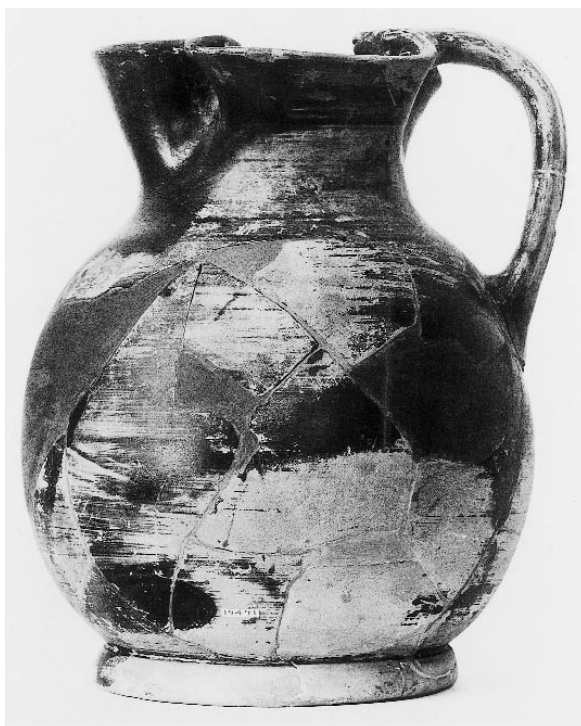
<sup>27</sup> Cf. note 4. The kylix 13313 found in the Kameiros grave is a variant of the Siana type: the low margin of the production of this may be 540-535 B.C., as Prof. H.A.G. Brijder has kindly precised me.

<sup>28</sup> For the jugs from Rhodes see note 13.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. note 16.

<sup>30</sup> Stibbe 1994, p. 118.

<sup>31</sup> Fragments of several thousands black-glazed specimens were found in the sanctuary of Agamemnon at Amyklai, excavated by Ch. Christou, in *To Ergon*, 1960, pp. 167-173; on these cups see most recently B. Rafn, 'Two Laconian Black Glazed Droop Cups from Halieis', in *Stips, Papers presented to C. M. Stibbe*, M. Gnade ed., Amsterdam, 1991, pp. 163-167 and note 26; Stibbe LBP II, *passim*, particularly pp. 80, 196-199.



*Fig. 11. Athens, Nat. Mus. from Analypsis (Kynouria).*



interested in the plastic enrichment of some of his masterpieces, e.g. the magnificent painted hydria of Rhodes? Or should they be attributed, instead, to other independent potters, perhaps banded together in a workshop producing standardized wares: what we have termed the “Kameiros 13315 oinochoe workshop”?

I prefer this second hypothesis, which better reflects the creative scope of the work of the potter and that of the plastic decoration, linked also to other vase forms, such as those in bronze. This hypothesis, however, does not exclude the close relationship to, and perhaps the dependence on, the predominant Laconian painter of the second half of the century, the Hunt painter, whose vases were traded as far afield as Olympia, Rhodes and Samos, and also widely diffused on the Western market, from Tarentum to Etruria, Sicily and the North African littoral.

#### SURVIVAL AND CONTINUITY

Survival of the type: the Kinouria 19491 oinochoe in the National Museum in Athens.

The continuity in the production of Laconian plain black ware from the 6th and throughout the 5th century is well shown by the most recent studies of R. Catling<sup>32</sup>. A site discovered and excavated, in the mid-1950s, by the distinguished Greek archaeologist Konstantinos Rhomaios, namely Analipsis in Kynouria, on the north-east frontier of Laconia with Arcadia<sup>33</sup>, yielded (*inter alia*) a trefoil-mouthed vase of very curious form (fig. 11). Long ignored in the literature, perhaps because its context permitted it to be dated to the end of the 5th century, it thus remained excluded from the debate on the more famous pottery of the archaic period. But this vase deserves to be recalled; nor did it escape the attention of Catling<sup>34</sup>. The body of this vase, solid and rather heavy, is a good deal squatter, more globular and wider in its lower part (height 22.5-23.5, max. diam. 18.5), than that of its earlier sisters. The ring foot (diam. 23 cm) is rather high, the rim rounded. The glaze is black-to-bluish grey, clearly distinguished from that of the earlier ware. The particular detail that recalls the vases being examined here is the plastic lion head, very simplified in form, placed on the mouth of the upper handle-attachment; but it is devoid of the “arms” along the rim terminating in monkey heads. An anomalous and intriguing feature is the perforated disc-shaped strainer that closes the central trefoil of the vase, and that characterizes it as a container for infusions, or medicinal liquids, and not as an oinochoe proper. A variety of functions must have determined the shape and production of different kinds of vase,

as in the case of the jugs with narrow neck which should rather be compared with *lekythoi*<sup>35</sup>.

The Rhomaios vase comes from a significant excavation context, to which also belongs a very large “mug”: a form that, like that of the oenochoe, continued to thrive in the 5th century<sup>36</sup> and that has recently been studied by I. McPhee, in its red-figure version. But that is another story: a discussion of the continuation of the Laconian ware into the classical period exceeds the scope of the present paper<sup>37</sup>.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is thanks to the kindness of Dr. Sophia Boriskovkaia that I am able to illustrate the Olbia oinochoe 1909. 32, now in the Museum of the Hermitage, with several new photographs. It was published, but not identified as Laconian, in the very useful selection of the important funerary assemblages recovered by the Russian excavations at Olbia (pursued over some two decades), edited by B. M. Skydnova and posthumously published by the Hermitage direction.

I also wish to thank Dr I. Zervoudakis, Director of the National Museum in Athens, Dr I. Papachristodoulou,

<sup>32</sup> Catling 1996, *passim*.

<sup>33</sup> C. Rhomaios, in *Praktikà* 1957, pp. 110-111.

<sup>34</sup> Catling 1996, p. 63, note 143; Stibbe, LBP 3, Chapter I7, no. C13.

<sup>35</sup> The number of forms known in black glazed pottery has increased considerably in recent times, and progress has also been made in identifying the function of the various types of vessel, and in particular that of some types of jugs with a narrow neck: these are not “oinochoae” (as erroneously named by Pelagatti in *Lakonikà* II, p. 145 and nos. 93-95, 168-169, 171-172) but “oil-flasks”, or *lekythoi* of globular form (cf. Stibbe LBP 3). Apart from the trade in wine (transported in amphorae), we must therefore assume the exportation from Laconia of oil, contained in smaller vessels (capacity c.3 litres), easily transportable and to be associated with the numerous black-glazed *aryballoi* present throughout the Mediterranean. Other widely traded Laconian export wares in the West were everyday pottery, such as small cups and bowls, rather solid, frequent both in Sicily and on the North African coast.

<sup>36</sup> I. McPhee, ‘Laconian Red-Figure from the British Excavations in Sparta’, in *BSA*, 81, 1986, pp. 153-165, in particular pp. 155-156 and bibl. note 16.

<sup>37</sup> As regards the production of some forms in the 5th century, I am now persuaded that the bell-krater from the Bersanetti Collection, in the Museum of Metaponto, published by V. Cracolici in *Lakonikà* I, pp. 117-121, figs. 1-3, is not of Laconian manufacture, though accepted in the bibliography as such (Stibbe 1994, p. 157, no. H 5; Catling 1996, p. 45, no. 13 c, note 49; C. Aellen, in *REG*, CVII, 1994, *Bull. Arch.*, p. 645). A recently autoptic examination of the light brownish-beige clay, and a comparison with the identical specimen from a grave of the beginning of IV c. at Metaponto (cf. G. F. Lo Porto, ‘Metaponto (Matera)’, in *Not. Sc.*, 1988-89 (1992), pp. 338-339, fig. 42), though of slightly bigger dimensions (height 38 cm), show that it is an Italiot product, of which Lo Porto emphasizes, not without reason, its derivation from Peloponnesian bronzes.

ephor of the Dodecanese, Dr G. Voza, Soprintendente of Syracuse, Dr C. Ciurcina of the same Soprintendenza, Dr. G. Fiorentini, Soprintendente of Agrigento, Dr A. Sommella Mura, Director of the Capitoline Museums, Dr A. Tamagnini of the same Museums, Dr F. Fouilland of the École Française de Rome, for his assistance both in Sicily and in Rhodes, Dr. M. Frasca, University of Catania. Lastly I would like to thank Mr David Symons, Curator of the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery.

## LACONIAN BRONZE OINOCHOAE WITH PLASTIC DECORATIONS.

### CLASSIFICATION

#### GROUP 1: PREDECESSORS.

#### GROUP 2: UPPER TERMINAL OF HANDLE WITH ROTELLES.

Subgroup 2a: Rotelles combined with human head.

Subgroup 2b: Rotelles combined with lion's head and forepaws; lower terminal with various motifs.

Subgroup 2c: Rotelles combined with lion's head; lower terminal with snake-palmette.

#### GROUP 3: UPPER TERMINAL OF HANDLE WITH LION'S HEAD BETWEEN TWO HEADS OF APES.

Subgroup 3a: Lion's head and heads of apes replaced by the heads of other animals.

Subgroup 3b: Lion's head between two heads of apes; lower terminal with single palmette.

Subgroup 3c: Lion's head and heads of apes; lower terminal with snake-palmette.

#### GROUP 4: UPPER TERMINAL OF HANDLE WITH LION'S HEAD BETWEEN RECUMBENT LIONS.

Subgroup 4a: Lion's head between recumbent lions; variant terminals above and below.

Subgroup 4b: Lion's head between recumbent lions; lower terminal with palmette between recumbent rams.

Subgroup 4c: Lion's head between recumbent lions; lower terminal with snake palmette.

#### GROUP 5: HANDLE IN THE SHAPE OF A NUDE STANDING YOUTH.

#### APPENDIX: CORINTHIAN AND ETRUSCAN IMITATIONS.



## Part 2

### INTRODUCTION.

Laconian bronze oinochoae have hitherto attracted little attention. This fact is all the more surprising since the Laconian output of the shape, from the end of the seventh through the sixth century B.C., was rich and attractive. Accordingly it was successfully exported and was not without influence on rival production centres in Greece and Italy. Both the shapes and decorations were also imitated in clay by Laconian potters.

The aim of this paper is to give an outline of the shape's history and to show the relationship with the clay examples during the archaic period. At the end a short comparison is drawn with some oinochoae of Corinthian and Etruscan origin, in order to illustrate the differences between them and the Laconian prototypes on which they depend.

The Laconian bronze oinochoae (always trefoil-mouthed) are divided here in a sequence of three main groups: each with three sub-groups (see above)<sup>2</sup>. The predecessors, which date from the seventh century B.C., are loosely connected by their uncanonical, untraditional and disparate character, some of them being certainly not Laconian. Nevertheless they show isolated features which return later on. The sequence of the Laconian groups 2-5 proper is suggested by a chronological order. So the upper terminal of the handle-type with rotelles of Group 2 is considered to be the oldest coherent group in Laconia<sup>3</sup>, not only on the base of the preserved examples themselves, but also because it can be shown that contemporaneous bronze hydriae of Laconian origin have a similar type of decoration at their handles<sup>4</sup>. Groups 3 and 4 do not differ much as to the starting-date of their production, but group 5 is clearly the youngest offshoot of the tree: handles in the shape of a naked youth begin to be produced in 570-566 B.C.

### PREDECESSORS.

The Laconian bronzeworkers who started the production of bronze oinochoae at some date in the second half of the seventh century B.C. took their inspiration most probably from near-eastern models which were exported to Greece. The shape as such, with trefoil-mouth, in clay, had been common in Greece and in Sparta for centuries already<sup>5</sup>. A novel feature was to make it hammered from bronze sheet and add a cast handle with plastic, either incised, or sometimes also carved or punched decorations.

How such a near-eastern model would look, we can gather from a cast handle in Hannover, for which an Urartean origin has been claimed: Fig. 1, 2<sup>6</sup>.

What makes this piece interesting, among other things, is the presence of quite a few elements which return later on Laconian oinochoae, albeit differently connected and shaped, like the woman's protome at the lower terminal, the flanking snakes attached to the wall of the vase, the spreading arms of the upper attachment ending in animal heads and the animal protome at the upper centre looking into the vase.

A handle in a private collection in Holland, Fig. 3 also belonging to a trefoil-mouthed oinochoe, could be an importation, but also a Greek original. It has been dated between 640-610 B.C.<sup>7</sup>. It shows a different iconography, with a human head this time at the upper terminal of the handle, which makes an upward loop before going down to the shoulder of the vase. Again it is flanked by snakes, but now they protrude freely in the air, just like some later specimens on other bronze vases, like hydriae and volutekraters<sup>8</sup>. The idea of putting a human head at the upper handle-attachment of an oinochoe was picked up by sixth-century bronzeworkers in Laconia (see below, Group 2, Subgroup a) and even more so in Corinth and in Etruria (see below, Appendix).

This feature returns with our next handle, a complete but isolated piece in the Liebieghaus in Frankfurt, Fig. 1, 2<sup>9</sup>. Here the human protome is

<sup>1</sup> Hitherto specialists were mainly concerned about problems connected with the recognition of Greek and non-Greek (Etruscan) bronze oinochoae. See: Brown 1960, 125ff.; Hill 1967, 42ff.; Sguaitamatti 1982, 83ff. Weber 1983, 83ff. was the first to suspect the Laconian origin "eines grossen Teiles der archaischen Metalloinochoen, besonders der Gruppe A".

<sup>2</sup> This classification is much more detailed and put in a different chronological order, if compared with the similar divisions by Weber 1983, 1-89. The consequences are shown below.

<sup>3</sup> With Weber 1983, 258ff. this group is called "Löwenkannen mit Rotellen" and given only the third place after the "Löwenkannen, an den oberen Attaschenarmen Affenköpfe" and "Löwenkannen, an den oberen Attaschen liegende Löwen". On rotelles in general see Weber 1983, 57f.

<sup>4</sup> Usually called half-reels; cf. Stibbe 1992, 6ff.

<sup>5</sup> For Greece in general, see R.M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery* 1966, 226-229. For Sparta: Stibbe, LBP 3, Part 1, Chapter 7, Group A.

<sup>6</sup> Hannover, Kestner-Museum 1963, 46. D. Schulz, in I. Woldering, *Kestner Museum 1889-1964 (1964)* 73 no. 59. Stibbe 1996, 367-369, where I have summed up the arguments in favour of an Urartean origin of the handle.

<sup>7</sup> First published in Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos* (in print) Chapter IV, no. 6.

<sup>8</sup> See the publication in the previous note.

<sup>9</sup> Frankfurt a.M., Städtliche Galerie Liebieghaus 514. Provenance unknown (ex Furtwängler), P.C. Bol and Th. Weber, *Antike Bildwerke aus Bronze und Bein. Liebieghaus II* (1985) 25-28 Pl.; Stibbe 1996, 373, Pl. 37, 4; 38, 1-2.

even doubled, for it returns – as an exact replica – at the lower attachment. The place, as a matter of fact which is occupied later on, in the canonic Laconian series (below Group 3) by the heads of apes, is taken here by snakeheads. From a later point of view, this handle shows a complete anarchy of motifs<sup>10</sup>. A comparable isolated bronze head from Laconia, Fig. 4<sup>11</sup>, which Ernst Buschor has recognized as part of an oinochoe-handle, may point, also for the handle in Frankfurt, to a Laconian origin. This view is supported by an equally isolated female terracotta head, Fig. 5 which, according to Arthur Lane<sup>12</sup>, would belong to the lower attachment of the handle of a clay oinochoe.

At the end of our short survey of predecessors it should be stressed that the Laconian workshops of the sixth century B.C. practically dropped the idea of using a female head as a decoration of their oinochoe-handles, except for one group (below Group 2, Subgroups a, b), as we have already stated. They preferred to put a palmette instead<sup>13</sup>. Other details, however, like the outstretched arms ending in an animal head and the upcoiling snakes at both sides of the lower attachment, became the standard in later times.

#### GROUP 2 SUBGROUP 2A.

The existence of this subgroup in Sparta in bronze can only be gathered from the imitations in clay, because not one specimen in bronze has been preserved. The only example in bronze which has been cited in this context by me before (Stibbe 1993/4, 117 with Pl. 27, 3) is listed here among the bronze oinochoae produced at Corinth (see below, Appendix). So, what remains of the sixth-century bronze oinochoae from Sparta, decorated with a human head between rotelles is not more than a reminiscence, consisting of a series of clay fragments from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. One fragment, Fig. 6<sup>14</sup>, clearly shows the decisive combination: the head and one rotelle to its left side. Below the arm an applied button is visible indicating a metal rivet from the bronze original which the potter copied. According to Arthur Lane the protome shows “the typical, long-faced head of the second quarter-century”. Another fragment, Fig. 7<sup>16</sup>, shows the high loop which the handle made before reaching the shoulder of the vase. There is one more published fragment<sup>17</sup> and there are several unpublished and less well-preserved ones from Sparta, which do not add much to our knowledge, apart from the apparent popularity of this kind of oinochoae in clay and in bronze in Sparta in the first half of the sixth century B.C.<sup>18</sup>.

#### GROUP 2, SUBGROUP 2B.

An isolated oinochoe-handle from Olympia, Fig. 8<sup>19</sup>, has a lion protome with forepaws, shown in an attacking attitude<sup>20</sup> at the upper terminal between rotelles, and a woman's protome at the lower end. This interesting piece can be dated fairly accurately around 620-610 B.C. by the features of the woman's face and coiffure<sup>21</sup>. It confirms the early date of introduction of the rotelles on Laconian oinochoae<sup>22</sup>. The lion's head with forepaws between rotelles returns with three more oinochoe-handles: one on a Warsaw-vase, dated at the end of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century<sup>23</sup>, one from Delphi, with the same dating<sup>24</sup> and one from Bassae-Phigalia, dated around the middle of the sixth century or earlier<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> For the dating (630-610) and attribution (Cretan or Laconian) see Bol and Weber (previous note) and Shefton 1992, 159; Stibbe 1996, 373 n. 84. Noteworthy are the break-off points at both sides of the head of the lower attachment: they suggest, that here again, as with the handle in Hannover, snakes would emerge from the head.

<sup>11</sup> E. Buschor, *AM* 52 (1927) 3, Beilage VIII, 13. See also Stibbe 1996, 373 with Pl. 38, 3.

<sup>12</sup> Lane 1933/4, 118, Pl. 33 a-b.

<sup>13</sup> With Laconian bronze hydriae, on the other hand, a female head at the lower attachment of the vertical handle became a common feature, till shortly after the middle of the sixth century. See Stibbe 1996, 373.

<sup>14</sup> AO Fig. 65 t. Lane 1933/4, Pl. 33 h.

<sup>15</sup> Lane 1933/4, 145.

<sup>16</sup> AO Fig. 65 5. Stibbe 1994, 117 with n. 69, Pl. 27, 2.

<sup>17</sup> AO Fig. 65 r. Lane 1933/4, Pl. 33 e.

<sup>18</sup> How the lower terminal was decorated we only can guess, because not one complete handle has been preserved so far.

<sup>19</sup> Olympia Museum. Provenance: Olympia. H. ca. 10 cm. Herfort-Koch 1986, 14ff., 18, 83 no. K15, Pl. 2, 1. She seems to hesitate about the attribution of the handle to an oinochoe and calls the piece just a “Henkel”. Stibbe 1996, 372ff., Pl. 37, 3.

<sup>20</sup> The motif lasts for a long time as a decoration of bronze vessels. At a later date it changes its meaning by becoming a dead lion-skin instead of the protome of an attacking lion.

<sup>21</sup> Herfort-Koch 1986, 14f.

<sup>22</sup> The attacking lion appears in Laconia at an early date also on other bronze objects: see the two fibulae from Sparta, Stibbe 1996, 364-366, Pl. 27, 2-6, Fig. 3, dated “not long before 600 B.C.”.

<sup>23</sup> Weber 1983, 258, no. I.C.1. The lower attachment seems to be unclear.

<sup>24</sup> Weber 1983, 258f. no. I.C.2. Herfort-Koch 1986, 18, 85 no. K22. Stibbe 1996, 376 with n. 114-115.

<sup>25</sup> Weber 1983, 259f. no. I.C.3. His late dating should be doubted, because of the description of the palmette, which suggests an earlier date. A special case is the silver jug from Toptepe (I. Ozgen and J. Oztütük, *Heritage Recovered: The Lydian Treasure*, Ankara 1996, 76 no. 13), which has: a panther protome between rotelles above and a panther head and forepaws at the lower attachment. The piece looks early (Laconian), but could be a late (Corinthian or East-Greek) imitation as well.



#### GROUP 2, SUBGROUP 2C.

Most oinochoae of this Subgroup belong to a later stage in the development of the shape, that is to the second half of the sixth and to the fifth centuries B.C. An isolated handle from Olympia<sup>26</sup> may be one of the oldest. By the shape of its palmette it can be dated c. 570-560<sup>27</sup>. The later examples, which are catalogued by Weber 1983, 260ff., nos I.C.4 ff. are not Laconian and therefore shall not be discussed here<sup>28</sup>.

In this connection it should be remembered that one of the most eccentric bronze hydriae from the heroon at Paestum has at its vertical handle a snake-palmette at the lower attachment and a lion's head between rotelles at its upper terminal<sup>29</sup>. The unusual features of this hydria, including the decoration of its shoulder and foot, have been explained as the result of the bronzeworkers being used to produce oinochoae rather than hydriae<sup>30</sup>. If this is right, we have another argument here in favour of the existence of a rather early production of oinochoae belonging to our Subgroup c, the hydria being dated 560-550<sup>31</sup>.

Finally we should consider the possibility that a series of fragments from clay oinochoae found at Sparta, belong to this Subgroup: they are equipped with a lion's protome and high-loop handles, whereas two of them are only fragments of rotelles<sup>32</sup>. Taken together they would represent an important addition to our knowledge, because they suggest, like the clay examples of our Subgroup 2a for their part, the existence of a rather impressive Laconian production of this kind of oinochoae too<sup>33</sup>.

#### GROUP 3 SUB GROUP 3A.

This is clearly an experimental stage. Most imposing is a handle with part of the trefoil mouth and shoulder of a bronze oinochoe from Capua, Figs. 9-10<sup>34</sup>. The animal protome at the upper terminal of the handle is still on its way to become a lion: the typical radiating collarmane of the Laconian lion is already there, but the angular ears and the long narrow tongue hanging out of the open mouth remind one more of a dog-like creature -maybe the artist was thinking of a wolf or fox. Dog-like are also the two antithetic quadrupeds at the lower terminal taking the place of the later canonic rams, - with their broad muzzles, pointed ears and outstretched forelegs. Also the animal-heads at the ends of the upper attachments are still no apes, but resemble some dog-like creature. This vase is important for the chronology of the Laconian oinochoae in general, because it was found in a context with some

blackfigure Corinthian vases, which provide a terminus ante quem for its production around 595-590 B.C.<sup>35</sup>. Therefore I would date our oinochoe 600 B.C. This dating is also confirmed by the other Laconian bronze vessels found in the same grave<sup>36</sup>. For the time being no other bronze oinochoae can be assigned to this Subgroup. We may expect them to turn up one day though, because experiments of this kind are no predecessors but close forerunners of the canonic series and must have existed in quantities.

#### GROUP 3, SUBGROUP 3B.

The experimental spirit of the foregoing group is still there, but the arrival of the first canonic features, the lion's head between heads of apes, are of more importance than the uncanonic appearance of the lower handle-attachment and other details.

With an oinochoe in Mainz, Fig. 11<sup>37</sup>, we encounter for the first time not only the handle but also the well-preserved body of the vase (the foot is missing). Its round-oval shape, from which a rather narrow, flaring neck ending in a trefoil mouth emerges

<sup>26</sup> Olympia, Museum. Provenance: Olympia. H. 10.8, W. of grip 1.2, Th. of grip 0.6. Surface slightly corroded. Brown patina. Stibbe 1997, 42, 56 no. 62, Fig. 13. In fact, apart from the rotelles which are substituted in subgroup 3c, there is no difference with the members of that most popular series.

<sup>27</sup> Stibbe 1997, 42, Subgroup IVB.

<sup>28</sup> Weber 1983 does not make any difference between the early pieces (his no's I.C.1-3) which are discussed above in Subgroup 2b, and those later examples (his no's I.C.4-14), which in most cases do not have anymore the lion's head-and-forepaws at the upper terminal, but only a lion's head.

<sup>29</sup> Rolley 1982, 20, 24ff. no. 6, Fig. 8, 15, 62-64, 66, 68, 69, 74. Stibbe 1992, 9, 53 no. B6. Tarditi 1996, 37f.

<sup>30</sup> Stibbe 1992, 9. Tarditi 1996, 38 prefers to attribute it to a Corinthian workshop. An argument in her favour would be that the only other bronze hydria with a similar decoration, found at Ugento (Stibbe 1992, 10), is Corinthian.

<sup>31</sup> Stibbe 1992, 10.

<sup>32</sup> AO Fig. 65 g, k, l, m (lion-protomes) and a, b (rotelles).

<sup>33</sup> It cannot be excluded, however, that some of them would have been equipped with arms ending in an ape's head, in which case they would belong to our Subgroup 3b or 3c.

<sup>34</sup> Santa Maria Capua Vetere, Museum 264128. Provenance: Capua ("Località Fornaci, Tomba 1505"). Johannowsky 1980, 452, 454, Fig. 9. Stibbe 1996, 363 n. 36 no. 6. Stibbe 2000, no. 3, Pl. (forthcoming).

<sup>35</sup> For the late Early Corinthian/ early Middle Corinthian hydria and oinochoe decorated with animalfriezes, see the publication Stibbe 1999, n. 12 (previous note).

<sup>36</sup> See the other bronze oinochoe, below Subgroup 4B, and the two bronze hydriae published in the same article: Stibbe 1999, no's 1, 2 and 4.

<sup>37</sup> Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum O. 15 422. Provenance unknown. Weber 1983, 210f., no. I.A.1, Pl. 1. Stibbe 1996, 362, n. 28, 374, Fig. 5, Pl. 30, 1-3. Id. 1997, 38, 52 no. 2, Fig. 1.

without an intermediary zone or fillet, can be considered as standard for the period around 600 B.C. Many details of the decoration of the handle (on the lion's head, the grip and the palmette; Fig. 12), are incised, that is, not plastically rendered. This feature, characteristic for the early specimens of our subgroup, returns in much the same way with two handlefragments from the Athenian acropolis<sup>38</sup>, (Laconian imports are no exception there!)<sup>39</sup>, and with a handle in Lecce<sup>40</sup>. The shape of these early examples can be studied, apart from the oinochoe in Mainz, with two others, in London, Fig. 13 and in Naples, Fig. 14 respectively<sup>41</sup>. This massive output, six in all, at the beginning of the development of the type, can be shown to be of Laconian origin on stylistic grounds<sup>42</sup>.

Later examples of the lower attachment with a single palmette are rare, because, in the second quarter of the sixth century, as we shall see, another type of palmette, equipped with snakes became fashionable. A possible exception could be an isolated handle from the Idaean cave on Crete<sup>43</sup>. Here the apes have lost their angular, geometric character, and instead they are rendered in a more natural way as real monkey heads. This handle has been dated in the second half of the sixth century and considered as non-Laonian<sup>44</sup>.

#### GROUP 3, SUB GROUP 3C.

This has been the most successful and, to us, the canonic type of bronze oinochoe<sup>45</sup>. Its popularity is reflected by the many preserved imitations in clay, which were exported<sup>46</sup>. The palmette, from whose volutes snakes emerge, resting in relief on the shoulder of the vase, was mainly, but not exclusively, applied to the lower terminal of oinochoe-handles<sup>47</sup>. As we have seen above, the snake-palmette has predecessors of a slightly different type (with protruding snakes) in the late seventh and early sixth centuries<sup>48</sup> and is found also in combination with an upper terminal with rotelles: Group 2, Subgroup c. In the same way it returns below with Group 3, Subgroup c.

The idea as such, of imposing a snake-head at the end of an elongated outward curve of a volute, can be understood as an original Laconian adaptation of near-eastern predecessors, like the handle in Hannover, Fig. 1, on which the snakes emerge inorganically from a woman's protome<sup>49</sup>.

In the same way we may explain the use of ape-heads at the ends of the upper side-arms: these again should represent an original Laconian adaptation of different animal-heads at the same place with near-eastern examples, as seen, again, with the handle in

Hannover, Fig. 1. But why did the Laconian bronze-workers choose an ape's head? Well, because this exotic animal was well-known to them<sup>50</sup> as is seen in Laconian vase-painting (on the famous Arkesilas-cup and on a cup from Sparta)<sup>51</sup>, in the shape of a plastic vase<sup>52</sup>, in ivory-carving<sup>53</sup> and in bronze, here Fig. 15<sup>54</sup>. "Perhaps commerce with Kyrene had made this animal familiar at Sparta; it occurs at Corinth only once, on a pinax (NC 77)", as Arthur Lane noted<sup>55</sup>.

Heads of apes above and a snake-palmette below appear, apart from our Subgroup 3c-oinochoae, once more and by way of an exception, with a bronze hydria and a bronze amphora, both of unusual shape and excavated in present Macedonia<sup>56</sup>. For this ornamentation these vessels stand a good chance of having been produced in Laconia<sup>57</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> Athens, National Archaeological Museum. Provenance: Athens, Acropolis. Weber 1983, 212 no. I.A.3 (One entry for two pieces).

<sup>39</sup> It would be worthwhile to assemble the whole corpus of pottery fragments and bronzes. For the latter see Herfort-Koch 1986, 141f. (nine entries).

<sup>40</sup> Weber 1983, 211ff., I. A. 2.

<sup>41</sup> London, British Museum 1882, 10-9.22 (Weber 1983, 213f., no. I.A. 5) and Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 69 067 (Weber 1983, 214 no. I.A. 6), both with an unknown provenance. Weber's description of the oinochoe in London needs, however, correction: its provenance should be Galaxidi (near Delphi?); see Shefton 1992, 141 n. 5.

<sup>42</sup> See Stibbe 1996, 374.

<sup>43</sup> Weber 1983, 214f. no. I.A.7. Stibbe 1997, 54 no. 44. Hill 1967, 43 no. 7 says: "The snakes are lost but the stubs seem to me apparent." If this is right, we would have to put this handle in our Subgroup 3c. See also Shefton 1992, 140 n. 5.

<sup>44</sup> Stibbe 1997, 40f. no. 44.

<sup>45</sup> See my treatment of the snake-palmettes in Stibbe 1997, 44f., 60, Subgroup VC, no's 83-89.

<sup>46</sup> See above, the catalogue by P. Pelagatti.

<sup>47</sup> For their application on other shapes see Stibbe 1997, 44f. and below n. 56.

<sup>48</sup> On the handle from Delphi, above Subgroup 2b with n. 24. Upcoiling snakes are also quite common, in combination with palmettes and otherwise, on the show-handles of the Grächwil-Treia hydria-group: Stibbe 1992, 20ff., Group G.

<sup>49</sup> A similar in-organic combination is seen on an early hydria-handle from Crete, Stibbe 1992, 46f., 60 no. MI, on which a lion with forepaws is found with twisting snakes. The woman's head with snakes becomes popular in Etruria later on (see below Appendix).

<sup>50</sup> See Weber 1983, 50f. Herfort-Koch 1986, 18, 67f.

<sup>51</sup> LV no. 194, Pl. 61, 2; no. 204, Pl. 66, 5.

<sup>52</sup> AO 160, Pl. 43, 4.

<sup>53</sup> AO 240, Pl. 169, 3.

<sup>54</sup> AO 202, Pl. 90f. Lane 1033/4, 169: Pl. 41a: handle of a bronze vessel showing a monkey eating a fruit.

<sup>55</sup> Lane 1933/3, 169.

<sup>56</sup> One is kept in Belgrade, the other in the museum of Bitola; the monkey-heads are isolated protomes, not applied at the finials of arms. See Rolley 1982, Figs. 99, 100 (monkeys); 104, 107 (snake-palmettes). On the type see Stibbe 1992, 47ff., 49ff. (no's N3 and next note).

<sup>57</sup> For the attribution see Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos*, Chapter V, 1 (in print).



Returning to the extant oinochoae of our Subgroup, we find the material has been divided, according to its stylistic and technical features, several times before already<sup>58</sup>. A chronological starting point, already used by Hill 1967, is offered by the snake-palmettes found on Laconian black-figured vases which are independently dated by their figure-style and, only once, by a grave-context<sup>59</sup>. To this material, which suggests the birth of the canonic snake-palmette between 570 and 550 B.C., an important newcomer has recently lent more weight and strength: a blackfigured oinochoe attributed to the earliest period of the Hunt Painter: his Group A (565-550)<sup>60</sup>. Of the snake-palmette just enough is preserved to be sure about its presence<sup>61</sup> and at the upper terminal of its handle the monkey-protomes, flanking an impressive lion's head, are intact (Fig. 16). Since only one snake and not the palmette itself is preserved we have to rely on the shape of this oinochoe (Fig. 17), in order to date the bronze jugs which by their shape (and, of course, by their decorations) can be compared. Already Sguaitamatti 1991, 7 thought two rather well-preserved bronze oinochoae to be very near to the Hunt Painter's jug: one in Naples, Museo Nazionale 69066<sup>62</sup> and one in Berlin, Antikenmuseum 10409<sup>63</sup>. Both have been dated independently in the same period by the type of the palmette at the lower terminals of their handles<sup>64</sup>. The dating is furthermore confirmed by the grave-context of a similar bronze oinochoe from Matera<sup>65</sup>, which points to a date around 560-550<sup>66</sup>. An interesting feature with this piece is first of all the snake-palmette itself: it shows nine pointed and more or less ribbed leaves within a slightly elongated contour<sup>67</sup>. This means, that we are very near to the canonic nine-leaves-palmette of the Paestum-Sala Consilina bronze hydriae-series, which has been dated by me 555-545<sup>68</sup>. The palmette of the Matera jug points therefore to a slightly earlier production-date around 560-555, which is still in harmony with its context. Most remarkable is the shape: the round body and the neck which flares directly from the body. These features are exceptional for the period, in which, as we have seen, more slender bodies and stiff, straight necks were en vogue. Only the rather narrow, widely flaring foot, with its slightly undulated profile and decoration of tongues, can be considered up to date<sup>69</sup>. How should we explain those abnormal features? The oinochoe from Matera is a product of a decade, 560-550, in which Corinthian workshops start imitating Laconian models, often not of their own time, but of older periods<sup>70</sup>. This archaizing tendency, which combines old and new features in a confusing way, may be made responsible also for the shape of the Matera oinochoe. It cannot be excluded, therefore,

that this piece has in fact a Corinthian origin, as the excavator already surmised<sup>71</sup>.

Since the body-shape, after 575, turns out to be a less trustworthy criterium for dating-purposes and the ornaments, except for the palmette, offer also no conclusive arguments for a closer dating<sup>72</sup>, we have to rely on the palmette, whose history, in Laconian lands, can be followed throughout the sixth century B.C.<sup>73</sup>.

Important for its findplace and good quality is a handle in Berlin, Fig. 18<sup>74</sup>. It was reportedly found at Sergyalion, somewhere "between Leonidi and Melava" (sic), on the east-coast of the Peloponnese<sup>75</sup>. According to its inscription it was dedicated by a certain Menoitios to (Apollo) Pythaieus<sup>76</sup>. This Pythaieus had a cult in the sanctuary of (Apollo) Maleatas near modern Melana, as witnessed by another dedication to him, on a small

<sup>58</sup> The first list was made up by Hill 1967, 42ff., Subgroup IV A. See also Sguaitamatti 1982, 84f. with n. 18. Weber 1983, 214 no. I.A.7 - I.A.25. The origin is discussed by Shefton 1992, 143f.  
<sup>59</sup> See Stibbe 1992, 2ff.: 5 examples, of which no's 4 and 5 have snake-palmettes; they are dated 570-560 and 560-555 respectively.

<sup>60</sup> For the Hunt Painter's earliest period see LV 131-135. For the publication of the oinochoe in Zurich: Sguaitamatti 1991, 3-16, Pl. 1-2. For comments and dating: Stibbe 1994a, 116ff., Fig. 2.

<sup>61</sup> Sguaitamatti 1991, 6.

<sup>62</sup> Weber 1983, 223f. no. I.A.21, Pl. II.

<sup>63</sup> Weber 1983, 234f., no. I.B.5. This one belongs to our Subgroup 4c.

<sup>64</sup> Naples 69066 has been dated by Weber 1983, 224, around 550, but because of the palmette with ten bluntly pointed leaves, it enters in Stibbe's 1997, 42f. Group IVB, which is dated before 555. The same holds good for Berlin 10409, which has a palmette with eleven leaves of the same type (Stibbe 1997, 43, 56, Group IVB no. 66, fig. 14-15).

<sup>65</sup> Weber 1993, 222 no. I.A. 18 (bibl.).

<sup>66</sup> See F.G. Lo Porto, in *MA* 48, SerMisc 1.3 (1973) 208f., Pl. 55, 3. Sguaitamatti 1982, 84 with n. 15.

<sup>67</sup> It should belong, therefore, to Stibbe 1997, 43 Group VA.

<sup>68</sup> Stibbe 1992, 19. It should be stressed that this dating is strongly supported by the gravecontext of the oinochoe from Matera.

<sup>69</sup> Compare the similar bell-shaped feet of the Laconian black-figured vases of the period: LBP 1, Pl. 3 an 20, 1-2; Fig. 9, 10. The comparison was already made by Weber 1983, 24.

<sup>70</sup> See for this aspect Stibbe 1997, 46f. and id., *The Sons of Hephaistos* (forthcoming) Chapters II, III and V.

<sup>71</sup> See Lo Porto, supra note 66. Weber 1983, 24 compares "ähnliche sphäroidische Bauchformen in der korinthischen Keramik um die Mitte des 6. Jhs. v.Chr." (with his n. 4).

<sup>72</sup> The "from stout to slender"-principle, which is used by Weber 1983, 23 and passim, after what is said above, cannot be applied to archaic Greek oinochoae at all. Of some help are the lion protomes, the best specimens of which are found, however, in our Subgroup 4c (see below).

<sup>73</sup> Recently discussed in Stibbe 1997, passim.

<sup>74</sup> Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung Misc 7268.

<sup>75</sup> See Weber 1983, 221 no. I.A.17. 2

<sup>76</sup> L.H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (1990) 194 with n. 2, 200 no. 36 (bibl.).

bronze disc, which was found there<sup>77</sup>. So the Berlin handle should be part of a bronze oinochoe which was dedicated in that sanctuary of Apollo near Melana, where, among other things, a well-known bronze statuette of an early archaic Laconian warrior came to light<sup>78</sup>.

Still another bronze oinochoe-handle should be mentioned because of its findplace within the orbit of direct Laconian influence: It was found in the cella of the Parmissos-temple near Hagios Floros in Messenia and is now kept in the National Archaeological Museum at Athens<sup>79</sup>.

The remaining oinochoae, which belong to our Subgroup 3c, have, as far as their findplaces are recorded at all, a provenance in the export areas of eastern Greece (Rhodos)<sup>80</sup>, Spain (Sevilla)<sup>81</sup>, southern Italy (Matera, Armento, Kyme)<sup>82</sup> or the Balkans (Trebenishte)<sup>83</sup>. With a few exceptions they all enter into the same stylistic series as far as their palmettes are concerned. That means that they are produced within a period of about twenty years, between 560 and 540 B.C.<sup>84</sup>.

Special attention should be paid to the following pieces (apart from those already discussed above)<sup>85</sup>. A handle in Newcastle upon Tyne<sup>86</sup> is marked by its old-fashioned type of palmette-and-volutes, which would suggest an (impossible) early date of production<sup>87</sup> or a late (possible) date, as an archaizing imitation<sup>88</sup>. A special case is also a rather well-preserved oinochoe from Cumae in Naples<sup>89</sup>, because of its palmette with eleven roundtipped leaves within an elongated, almost triangular outline. This is a late feature being in contrast to the number and type of the leaves and to the fact that the volutes do not touch each other<sup>90</sup>. So again, one could suspect an archaizing product<sup>91</sup>.

As far as the clay oinochoae are concerned, they are discussed above in Part 1. The Laconian origin, also in the case of the exported specimens, is made clear by the fragments, which came to light in Sparta itself. Their production-date should fall within the limits suggested by the bronze examples which they follow, that is within a rather short period, between 570 and 540. A more close dating, in most cases, is difficult, because the plastic ornaments are often worn and vague.

#### GROUP 4 SUB GROUP 4A

The most important and impressive oinochoe of this subgroup is the fragmentary example in Dresden, which has a vague provenance "from Italy"<sup>92</sup>. The palmette is of the type which was introduced in Laconia in the last quarter of the seventh century B.C.<sup>93</sup>. An experimental spirit manifests itself by the

fact that recumbent lions are found at both the upper and the lower handle-terminal, and that those above are looking into the vase instead of straight forward (which becomes the rule with the oinochoae of Subgroup 4b).

A well-preserved oinochoe from Capua, which seems to be lost Fig. 19<sup>94</sup>, is unique for its having an early type of palmette not only at the lower attachment of its handle, flanked by recumbent rams (which is already canonic), but also at the upper terminal instead of a lion-protome, between recumbent lions which look uncanonically into the vase (as with the oinochoe in Dresden).

The third and, for the time being, last member of this subgroup is a rather well-preserved oinochoe in Oxford, with a probable provenance from Nîmes<sup>95</sup>. The recumbent lions look away from the vase in contrast to the foregoing members of our subgroup. The most unusual feature however, is the absence of a lion protome or any decoration whatsoever between the recumbent lions: this gives a clearly

<sup>77</sup> P.B. Phaklaris, *Archaia Kynouria* (1990) 181f. with Fig. 104. "Melava" in the Berlin report was therefore just a lapsus calami, instead of Melana. On the sanctuary see Phaklaris, o.c. 178-183. He explains (182 n. 570) that the identification of a "precinct of Apollo Pythiaeus at Thornax", as stated by Jeffery, o.c. (supra n. 76), 194, is certainly wrong.

<sup>78</sup> Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7598. Herfort-Koch 1986, 56, 66, 116 no. K 131, Pl. 19, 1-2 (bibl.). Phaklaris, o.c. (supra n. 77), 181, Pl. 93, Fig. 103.

<sup>79</sup> Weber 1983, 217, no. I.A. 11. He compares the lion's head (the palmette not being preserved) with the one on the handle from Crete (supra n. 43).

<sup>80</sup> Weber 1983, 216 no. I.A.9, from Kameiros.

<sup>81</sup> Weber 1983, 218 no. I.A.13.

<sup>82</sup> Weber 1983, 219 no. I.A.14 (Armento); 223 no. A.A.20 (Armento); 222 no. I.A.18 (Matera); 226 no. I.A.24 (Kyme).

<sup>83</sup> Weber 1983, 224 no. I.A.22.

<sup>84</sup> See Stibbe 1997, 44f. Subgroup VC.

<sup>85</sup> It should be stressed that, from the 16 entries in the catalogue of Weber 1983, which should belong to our Subgroup 3c (his no's I.A.9 - I.A.25), I have been able to check only 12.

<sup>86</sup> Weber 1983, 217 no. I.A.10.

<sup>87</sup> Compare the palmette of the oinochoe from Capua, above n. 34, Fig. 19. But canonical snake-palmettes were not produced at such an early date.

<sup>88</sup> Weber 1983, 217 dates the piece in the second quarter of the sixth century.

<sup>89</sup> Weber 1983, 226 no. I.A.24.

<sup>90</sup> Because of these early features the palmette has been included in the rather early group IVA in Stibbe 1997, 41f., 55 no. 54.

<sup>91</sup> A late date, around 530, was proposed by Sguaitamatti 1982, 85, also on account of the gravecontext (which, however, offers only a terminus ante quem). Weber 1983, 226 seems to follow him by dating the piece in the second half of the sixth century.

<sup>92</sup> Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen ZV 1381. Weber 1983, 242f. no. I.B.3 (bibl.). Add: W. Gauer, 01. Ber. X (1981) 139 n. 92. Shefton 1992, 150 n. 19. Stibbe 1996, 363 with n. 37, Pl. 32, 1-2.

<sup>93</sup> Stibbe 1997, 39 Group II, subgroup IIA, 52 no.7.

<sup>94</sup> Weber 1983, 243 no. I.B.4 (bibl.). Add: Stibbe 1996, 365 n. 36 no. 9. For the deposit in which it was found, see Brown 1960, 59f. Weber 1983, 11.

<sup>95</sup> Stibbe 1996, 363 n. 35.



experimental and early character to the vase. Its early production date is furthermore confirmed by the type of the palmette at its lower handle-attachment: it belongs to the same series as the one on the oinochoe in Dresden<sup>96</sup>.

#### GROUP 4, SUB GROUP 4B.

The most important specimen of this subgroup is a handle from Capua, Fig. 20-21<sup>97</sup>, which was found with an extensive context, including the fragmentary oinochoe discussed above with our Subgroup 3a and some blackfigured Corinthian pottery, which secures a *terminus ante quem* of c. 595-590 B.C. I shall publish the handle before long and date it shortly before or around 600 B.C.<sup>98</sup>.

This is the first time, we may surmise, that the complete outfit with lion-protome, recumbent lions, rams and palmette, on an oinochoe-handle of canonic type was realised<sup>99</sup>.

Still looking into the vase, like most of the hitherto cited oinochoae of our subgroups 4a and 4b have them, are the recumbent lions of a fragmentary oinochoe from Athena Lucana<sup>100</sup>. Otherwise, though, this piece may be called canonical in every respect. Its early production date is confirmed by the type of its palmette<sup>101</sup>.

The next step, reaching into the mature canonic style, is represented by a very fine, rather well-preserved oinochoe in Berlin, with an alleged provenance from Pergamon<sup>102</sup>. Its lion-protome can be compared with the lion-protomes of two hydriae from Paestum and with the lions of the krater from Vix<sup>103</sup>. By its palmette the Berlin oinochoe has been dated shortly before 555 B.C.<sup>104</sup>. Much taller in shape, but still of the same period, is a fragmentary oinochoe from Rutigliano<sup>105</sup>. Its handle-palmette, showing ten bluntly pointed leaves within an elongated outline, can still be dated in the same subgroup 4b as the Berlin oinochoe<sup>106</sup>. Remarkable with this piece is also the decoration of the foot with an additional row of small prisms. This peculiar feature we already know from the odd hydria in Paestum and from an oinochoe with kouros-handle in Basel, both dated around 570-560 B.C.<sup>107</sup>. Perhaps we may consider it a key-pattern, which betrays the hand of one and the same bronzeworker or his workshop<sup>108</sup>.

#### GROUP 4, SUB GROUP 4C.

This subgroup runs parallel to the Subgroups 2c and 3c, because its characteristic feature, a snake-palmette at the lower handle-attachment, is the same. It also shares with those subgroups a rather

late dating. As noticed before, it becomes difficult, after 560 B.C., to decide whether a piece is Laconian or Corinthian<sup>109</sup>. For this problem see also the Appendix below.

A well-preserved representative of subgroup 4c is an oinochoe in Berlin, Fig. 22<sup>110</sup>, which, for the type of its recumbent lions, should be Laconian<sup>111</sup>. The type of its palmette suggests a dating around 570-560 B.C.<sup>112</sup>. The lion-protome at the upper terminal of its handle has, for stylistic reasons, led to the attribution to the workshop of the master of the Vix-krater<sup>113</sup>. The shape of this oinochoe does not differ much from its counterpart, also in Berlin, which belongs to our Subgroup 4B<sup>114</sup>.

An isolated handle in the Louvre<sup>115</sup> may join in here. It has a palmette with ten bluntly pointed, non-ribbed, leaves within a half-circular outline, which makes a dating c. 570-560 probable. The handle is of a rather high, non-provincial quality, witness the elegance of its palmette and of some other details<sup>116</sup>.

<sup>96</sup> Stibbe 1997, 39, 52 Subgroup IIa, no. 10.

<sup>97</sup> See my publication in Stibbe 2000 (forthcoming).

<sup>98</sup> In my publication of the previous note.

<sup>99</sup> On Laconian bronze hydriae this outfit was taken over at a later date: see Stibbe 1996, 362 n. 35.

<sup>100</sup> Jhannowsky 1980, 451-454, Figs. 7-8.

<sup>101</sup> Stibbe 1997, 39, 53 Subgroup IIC, no. 18.

<sup>102</sup> Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung Misc. 10409. Purchased at the art market of Izmir. Weber 1983, 243f., no. I.B.5, fig. IV.

<sup>103</sup> See Stibbe 1997, 43 no. 66.

<sup>104</sup> Stibbe 1997, 43, 46 Group IV B no. 66, Figs. 14-15.

<sup>105</sup> Tarditi 1996, 73 no. 143, 192f. Figs. 58, 59, 62.

<sup>106</sup> Stibbe 1997, 42f.

<sup>107</sup> Hydria in Paestum: above note 29. Oinochoae in Basle: Stibbe 1994a, 108ff., especially 120: 565-555.

<sup>108</sup> Tarditi's late dating of the oinochoae from Rutigliano (Tarditi 1996, 73: third quarter of the sixth cent.) depends on Rolley's late dating-system, which has been rejected by me before (Stibbe 1992, 19).

<sup>109</sup> Weber 1983, 241ff. within his Group I.B. does not even try to make a difference between Laconian and Corinthian oinochoae.

<sup>110</sup> Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung Fr. 600. Provenance unknown. Weber 1983, 248 no. I.B.10. Stibbe 1997, 42, 55 no. 52, Figs. 8-9.

<sup>111</sup> Noteworthy, apart from the radiating collar-mane, is the carving of the forepaws, which belongs to the Laconian tradition. See Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos* (forthcoming) Chapter IV no. 3 with 111.

<sup>112</sup> Stibbe 1997, 41 Subgroup IVA, no. 52.

<sup>113</sup> Stibbe 1997, 43, in its relation to no. 66. See also above, Subgroup 4b.

<sup>114</sup> Above n. 102.

<sup>115</sup> Paris, Louvre 2648. Provenance: unknown. Weber 1983, 250 no. I.B.14 (bibl.).

<sup>116</sup> Weber 1983, 251 calls the handle provincial and dates it in the second half of the sixth century, as he does with the handle in Harvard, which is here considered to be Corinthian (below n. 128). Fine details are, among other things, the moulding above the volutes which is bordered by notched bands, and the double bordering of the heart of the palmette.

An unpublished fragmentary oinochoe in a private collection in Rome, Figs. 23-24<sup>117</sup> has the same type of lion-protome (round bulging eyes hidden in their eye-sockets, narrow muzzle) and recumbent lions (thick rounded neck-manes) as we have already observed with the oinochoe in Berlin, Fig. 22. Also the palmette of this piece, with ten leaves within a slightly elongated outline, represents a similar, if somewhat later, stage of its stylistic group<sup>118</sup>. Two more handles, one in Paris<sup>119</sup> and one in Baltimore<sup>120</sup>, have the same type of palmette, each with ten leaves, as the oinochoe in Rome. They are important mainly for statistical reasons: they show the popularity of this kind of jugs. Some smaller fragments are not considered here, because they offer no means to decide to which Subgroup they belong<sup>121</sup>.

#### GROUP 5: HANDLE IN THE SHAPE OF A NUDE STANDING YOUTH.

The idea to use a nude standing youth (kouros) as the grip of the handle of a bronze vessel was introduced in Greece most probably by a Laconian workshop. This happened at a rather late date, c. 570-560 B.C., as far as we can see today. As a source of inspiration the nude standing girls, which were used as grips of bronze mirrors in Laconia, may have served. Shortly after the oinochoae Laconian bronze hydriae were also equipped with kouros-handles. Since the subject has been treated recently and extensively by me<sup>122</sup>, I refrain here from repeating my views. My catalogue comprises 9 bronze oinochoae attributed to a Laconian and 6 to a Corinthian workshop<sup>123</sup>. These can only be assigned and dated, however, if one takes also the bronze hydriae with a kouros-handle into consideration. In this way the material increases to a total of 24 Laconian and 10 Corinthian handles in the shape of a naked youth and offers a trustworthy basis for a sketch of the development of the type.

Here I would like to add only one fragment of a handle which came too late to my knowledge to be included in the above-mentioned catalogue: Figs. 25-27<sup>124</sup>. It shows a large part of the body (both the lower legs, the palmette and the left lower arm are missing) and the recumbent lions, which, in the canonic manner, look straight forward along the rim of the trefoil-mouth of the oinochoe. The style of the kouros is slightly more developed than those of the kouros-handles of an oinochoe from Trebenishte and of a hydria in a New York private collection to which it is closely related. Those handles have thoroughly been analysed and attributed to a Laconian workshop which was active in the years around 540 B.C.<sup>125</sup>.

#### APPENDIX: CORINTHIAN AND ETRUSCAN IMITATIONS.

From c. 560 onwards Laconian bronze vessels (volute-kraters, hydriae and oinochoae) were imitated in Corinth. As has been said before, it becomes difficult then to distinguish between the products of Laconian and Corinthian origin. In most cases only a detailed analysis can bring the solution of the problem. I have tried to show this already elsewhere, also for bronze oinochoae<sup>126</sup>. Characteristic of the Corinthian imitations is the archaizing tendency and the corresponding eclecticism, which result in a mixture of older and newer elements taken from the preceding Laconian repertoire.

In the foregoing paragraphs a few examples of oinochoae(handles), which, for their mixed style, could be of Corinthian origin, have already been mentioned<sup>127</sup>. The same can be said, but more clearly shown, in the case of a handle at Harvard, allegedly from Potenza, Figs. 28-29<sup>128</sup>. Here an old-fashioned palmette, with nine round-tipped convex leaves within a semicircular outline and with heavy, separated volutes and short snake-heads, are combined,

<sup>117</sup> Rome, private collection Sinopoli. Provenance unknown (Basle, Art Market). H. estimated 28.0, H. of Handle 15.0, H. of neck and mouth 6.0, Dm. of trefoil mouth 11.8, Dm. of body estimated 14.5, Dm. of foot 9.0. Green patina.

<sup>118</sup> Stibbe 1997, 41, Subgroup IVA, dated 570-560.

<sup>119</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 1446. Provenance unknown. Weber 1983, 248 no. I.B.11, Pl. IV.

<sup>120</sup> Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University 653. Provenance unknown. Weber 1983, 250 no. I.B.13, Pl. IV.

<sup>121</sup> Weber 1983, 247 no. I.B.9 and 245 no. I.B.6. This last piece is significant because of its find-place Kozani in the western part of Greek Macedonia. A fairly nice snakepalmette in the Carapanos-collection, Weber 1983, 226 no. I.A.25, has some importance, because it seems to belong to the mature type, with its nine pointed leaves (see Stibbe 1997, 45 with n. 84).

<sup>122</sup> See Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos* (forthcoming) Chapter II.

<sup>123</sup> Laconian: Group A, 575-555, no's 1-5, 8, 10, 12; Group B, 555-540, no. 15 Corinthian, Groups D and E, 540-beginning of the fifth cent., no's 19-22, 23, 26. The material has been treated and catalogued also by Weber 1983, 72ff., 268ff. no's I.D.1 - I.D.13. His datings and divisions, however, need to be revised.

<sup>124</sup> Germany, private collection. Provenance unknown (Art Market, Switzerland). H.8. O. Brown patina. Catalogue Tefaf, Basle, 7-15 November 1998, no. 63 (colour ill.).

<sup>125</sup> Note the refined rendering of the fleshy parts of the breast, the stomach and above the hips; the braids falling on the breast with little spreading; the wavy upper border of the pubic hair; the long muzzles and convex, capshaped neckmanes of the couchant lions. The piece would be transitional between the Groups B (dated 555-540) and C (dated 540-525) in Stibbe, *The sons of Hephaistos* (forthcoming) Chapter II. For the oinochoe from Trebenishte, see *ibid.* no. 12 and for the hydria in New York, *ibid.* no. 13.

<sup>126</sup> See Stibbe 1997, 46-48 (hydriae, oinochoae); *id.* *The Sons of Hephaistos*, previous note (kraters, statuettes).

<sup>127</sup> See Subgroup 3c: the oinochoe from Matera, the one from Cumae in Naples and a handle in Newcastle upon Tyne.

<sup>128</sup> Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Museums 1963.25. Weber 1983, 249 no. I.B.12.



at the upper terminal, with a lion's protome of a clearly late flavour, the eyes being of a type which is found also with the lion's protome of the odd hydria from Paestum, which has been dated 560-550 B.C.<sup>129</sup>. Non-Laconian are also some details of the recumbent lions: their forepaws are not more than heavy plain beams or stalks without any indication of the muscles, as is usual with Laconian lions<sup>130</sup>. This feature returns with an unpublished oinochoe in a private collection in Rome, Figs. 30-33<sup>131</sup>, which, also for other reasons, can be identified as a Corinthian product.

The shape of this extraordinary vase recalls the one of the hydria from Trikala in Athens, which is generally considered as Corinthian and dated in the third quarter of the sixth century B.C.<sup>132</sup>. In both cases a narrow concave neck is set upon a wide sagging body with a round shoulder; the foot is rather narrow and flaring. More important for the identification, however, is the human protome at the upper terminal of the high-loop-handle. As we have observed above with Subgroup 2a, after an early series of which only some examples in clay are preserved, in Laconia no more oinochoae with human protomes at the upper (or lower) handle-attachments have been produced. In Corinth, by contrast, the bronzeworkers took over this old-fashioned detail and applied it not only on trefoil-, but also, and by preference, on beaked jugs, but only after the middle of the sixth century B.C.<sup>133</sup>. The human protome on the jug in Rome is also stylistically clearly of Corinthian stock: the three layers of notched braids arranged in an angle above the forehead, the old-fashioned horizontally carved sidebraids of "Etagenperücke" type and the round bulging eyes (of the same type as with the lion's protome on the Harvard-handle (Fig. 29), are common Corinthian features in the second half of the sixth century B.C.<sup>134</sup>. Also with the crouching lions at the upper attachment we can detect some out-of-date details, like their roaring mouths and their looking away from the centre of the vase instead of straight forward<sup>135</sup>. Finally the palmette, Fig. 32 with its ten bluntly-pointed and ribbed leaves within a semicircular outline while the volutes are distant from each other should belong to an early stage of its type (around 555)<sup>136</sup>, but this is conflicting with the shape and the human protome. Therefore, again, we have an archaizing feature here. The vase may be regarded as contemporary with the above-mentioned hydria from Trikala, that is around 540-530<sup>137</sup>.

Thanks to the well-preserved oinochoe in Rome we are by now enabled to pin down a handle-fragment, which before was difficult to assign to its proper place: Fig. 34<sup>138</sup>. A human protome of approximately the same type is set here between rotelles at

the upper terminal of the handle. The angular coiffure above the forehead (which is late) is combined, however, with long, plain braids which, in a very old-fashioned manner, make a loop around the ears before falling down on both sides of the face<sup>139</sup>. The rotelles flanking the head are a common feature on Corinthian jugs of the second half of the sixth century and are found even on Corinthian hydriae<sup>140</sup>, but in combination with a human head they clearly imitate the early sixth-century examples of our Subgroup 2a. Consequently the fragment must be contemporary with the foregoing oinochoe: around 540-530 B.C.

It cannot be my intention to present here a complete survey of the extant Corinthian bronze oinochoae of the archaic period. Apart from those equipped with a handle in the shape of a kouros, which I have discussed elsewhere<sup>141</sup>, there are more simply decorated specimens, as shown above. Among these I would like to mention still another interesting piece, in Basel, which I have identified as Corinthian before, Figs. 35, 36<sup>142</sup>. Here the lifeless, schematic rendering of every detail of the decoration, which often can be noted with Corinthian bronze products, is particularly striking. At the same time the lack of a strong, limiting tradition of their own, allowed the Corinthian bronzeworkers to undertake unorthodox experiments. An example of this is offered by a Corinthian oinochoe-handle, which has been in the art-market<sup>143</sup>. It may be a product of the same hand which made the oinochoe in Basel, since the lower attachment shows the same artistic approach: the palmette has volutes of a strange, elongated type. They do not provide, as usual, a base for each recumbent ram, but run down from the moulding

<sup>129</sup> Above n. 29.

<sup>130</sup> Above n. 111.

<sup>131</sup> Rome, private collection Sinopoli. Provenance unknown (Vienna and Basle, Art Market). H. 22.0, H. of mouth and neck 5.5, H. of foot 1.8, Dm. of mouth 10.3, Dm. of body max. 18.0, Dm. of foot 7.5. Remade. Green patina, flaking in places.

<sup>132</sup> Rolley 1982, 53; Herfort-Koch 1986, 48; Stibbe 1997, 46.

<sup>133</sup> Vokotopoulou 1975, passim. Stibbe 1997, 62 no's 97, 98.

<sup>134</sup> Compare the heads at the upper terminals of the jugs mentioned in the previous note.

<sup>135</sup> Roaring lions are always early in Laconia: Stibbe 1994a, 112. For pre-canonical attitudes of recumbent lions on oinochoe-rims, see above Subgroup 4a.

<sup>136</sup> See Stibbe 1997, 45 no. 83ff.

<sup>137</sup> Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos* (forthcoming) Chapter II, no. 24.

<sup>138</sup> Switzerland, private collection. Stibbe 1994a, 117 with n. 71, Pl. 27, 3.

<sup>139</sup> Compare the early pieces of the Teletas-series, Stibbe 1992, 11ff., Group C, no's C1-C6, Figs. 16, 17, 19.

<sup>140</sup> Rolley 1982, figs. 114-116.

<sup>141</sup> See above n. 123.

<sup>142</sup> See Stibbe 1994a, 119, Pl. 27, 5-7. Id. 1997, 62 no. 96.

<sup>143</sup> Weber 1983, 246f., no. I.B.8.

which marks the transition from grip to palmette. The tails of the rams disappear into the lower parts of the volutes, while the rams themselves have plain coats. On top of all these unusual features the six bluntly-pointed leaves of the palmette are enlivened by the ends of smaller leaves in the interstices. The recumbent lions keep their forelegs crossed and the lion-protome shows big ears above a narrow face. In short, this interesting handle demonstrates, how a production centre may lapse into extravagancies if it has no strong tradition of its own.

#### *Etruscan oinochoae.*

The field has been cleared by some important studies in the years 1968-1992<sup>144</sup>. To these I have little to add<sup>145</sup>. There seem to be two sources for the Etruscan imitations: a Greek one, mainly Laconian, and a near-eastern one. The last one is of great interest, but little explored. Etruscan handles like the one in Houston<sup>146</sup>, seem to be very close to the near-eastern models of the seventh century B.C., which are lost<sup>147</sup>. As for the imitation of Laconian models, of the many examples a few can be picked up here, in order to exemplify the situation<sup>148</sup>.

An example is the handle from Capua, which has been discussed above, Figs. 9-10. There is a striking relationship between this one and quite a few Etruscan handles. As we have seen, this is the only Laconian oinochoe which we know equipped with dog-like heads instead of monkey-heads as finials at the side-arms. Now, looking at the Etruscan bronze oinochoae, we will find there, in many cases, a kind of animal-heads which seem to be of a kindred dog-like stock<sup>149</sup>. This is all the more striking, since at the Etruscan oinochoe-handles also the canonic monkey-heads are found, albeit less frequently<sup>150</sup>. The relationship between the one Laconian and the many Etruscan animal-finials becomes still closer, if one considers another detail which is found in both cases: the grips are flanked by ribs which splay out along the arms at the rim, where, about halfway, they terminate abruptly, curling slightly or pronouncedly outwards, Fig. 10<sup>151</sup>. This kind of decoration is otherwise not found with Laconian oinochoae. So, at the end, what conclusion can be drawn from these remarkable coincidences?

Since Brian Shefton has shown, in the most convincing way, the general bearing of Laconian fore-runners on the development of Etruscan bronze-vessels and their decorations, the possibility can be ruled out that a Laconian bronzeworker, at such an early date (around 590 B.C.) should have been influenced by Etruscan examples. So we should look for another solution. The other way around, that the many Etruscan oinochoae with handles of the type mentioned would depend on Laconian predecessors,

of which by now only the one from Capua is known, cannot be excluded<sup>152</sup>. More probable, however, would be, that both the Laconian and the Etruscan examples would depend on near-eastern prototypes. As a second case I would like to draw attention to a handle from Ischia di Castro in Rome, Figs. 37-38<sup>153</sup>. The type as such would depend on our Subgroup 3b. It belongs to a series of 18 similar Etruscan handles, catalogued by Weber<sup>154</sup>. The monkey-head finials are still recognizable. The lion-protome imitates the incisions of the early (seventh-century) Laconian lion-heads with their double incised wavy eyebrows, a triangle on the forehead and a similar linear composition on the neck from between the ears; Fig. 39<sup>155</sup>. Also the palmette is of an early type, having seven round-tipped leaves in a semicircular outline<sup>156</sup>. The "horns" from which the volutes vaguely emerge recall similar protrusions on early Laconian hydria-handles<sup>157</sup>. The handle from Ischia di Castro, however, differs in so far as it shows a redoubling of those "horns"<sup>158</sup>. The rather late date of production of the handle (around or shortly before the middle of the sixth century) can be deduced from the shape of the lion's protome,

<sup>144</sup> Szilagyi 1968, 117ff. Weber 1983, 228ff., 253ff., 289ff. and passim. Shefton 1992, 139ff.

<sup>145</sup> See my remarks in Stibbe 1996, 363 n. 37, 367f. with n. 57 passim; Pls. 29, 1-2; 33, 1-2; 36, 1-4.

<sup>146</sup> See the catalogue H. Hoffmann, *Ten Centuries that shaped the West* (1970) 188 no. 86. Stibbe 1996, 368 n. 57.

<sup>147</sup> Compare my relevant remarks in the forthcoming publication of the fragmentary bronze oinochoe from Capua, above Subgroup 3e, with n. 34.

<sup>148</sup> Laconian influence has been pointed out by Shefton 1992, 140 n. 5 and passim.

<sup>149</sup> Shefton 1992, 140 calls the Etruscan terminals of the arms "of rather indeterminate variety". Even human heads occur on this place: *ibid.* Pl. 38, 1; 41, 1. Weber 1983, 52 notes no difference and calls the Etruscan version of the monkey-heads "...abstrakten, pinienzapfenförmigen Gebilde".

<sup>150</sup> See e.g. Shefton 1992, Pl. 36, 5. About the introduction date *ibid.* 141 n. 5.

<sup>151</sup> I follow the description by Shefton 1992, 140. Shefton regards this feature as typical for his Recanati-group.

<sup>152</sup> Brown 1960, 60 mentions a similar case. One could repeat his words: "This is no doubt another instance of an isolated rare feature in one place which has caught the imagination of another and there becomes very popular."

<sup>153</sup> Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia 64588. Provenance: Ischia di Castro (ex Lotti, Vulci). M.T. Falconi Amorelli, *SE* 36 (1968) 175 no. 22, Fig. 1 a-b = here Fig.

<sup>154</sup> Weber 1983, 232f., no's IEtr C1-C18. Szilagyi 1986, 120 n. 7 compares especially the oinochoe in Budapest, published by him, and an oinochoehandle from Bisenzio = Weber 1982, 232, no. IEtr C8.

<sup>155</sup> Cf. Stibbe 1996, Pl. 29, 4; 34, 3; 38, 4-5; figs. 3 and 4.

<sup>156</sup> See above, the handles from Capua, Figs. 10-20

<sup>157</sup> Gauer 1991, 259 no. Hy 17, Pl. 11, 1; 88, 1, dated c. 570, which is a bit late.

<sup>158</sup> This feature can perhaps be explained as an imitation of the volutes of such early palmettes as on the oinochoe in Mainz, here Fig. 11.



which is rather long and narrow.<sup>159</sup> So, as it seems, we have here a similar phenomenon as with the Corinthian imitations: they follow examples which are rather distant in time<sup>160</sup>. On the other hand, we cannot exclude the possibility, as we have seen above, that at least the Etruscan bronzeworkers had a direct knowledge of the near-eastern forerunners from which also the Laconians depend.

#### CONCLUSIONS.

As one of the results of our investigations we may conclude that Laconian oinochoae in clay and bronze with plastic decorations were successfully exported all over the Mediterranean and even to the Black Sea, during the sixth century B.C. If compared with the bronze originals, which they imitate, the output in clay oinochoae is rather restricted. This may be due, in part, to technical reasons. So the potters would incidentally try to imitate the popular bronze oinochoae with recumbent lions on the rim, but they never tried, as far as we know, to imitate the recumbent rams, which, with our Subgroup 4b, adorn the lower handle-attachment. Obviously the decoration with a lion's head between heads of apes combined with a snake-palmette at the lower terminal of the handle (our Subgroup 3c) was the easiest to follow: most imitations in clay reflect this type. The comparison between clay and bronze oinochoae turned out to be useful in various respects. One of them has been shown with the Subgroup 2a of the bronze oinochoae: the mere existence in bronze of this type, with a human head at the upper handle-attachment (which later on became popular in Corinth and Etruria), could be demonstrated for Laconia only by a series of imitations in clay, not one Laconian specimen in bronze being preserved.

<sup>159</sup> As with quite a few lion-heads of the Laconian clay-parallel of our Subgroup 3c.

<sup>160</sup> On this remarkable fact see Szilágyi 1968, 129f.

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Fig. 1. Frankfurt a.M., Städtische Galerie Liebieghaus 514.



Fig. 2. The same, side-view.



*Fig. 3. Holland, Private Collection.*



*Fig. 4. Sparta, Museum, from Laconia.*

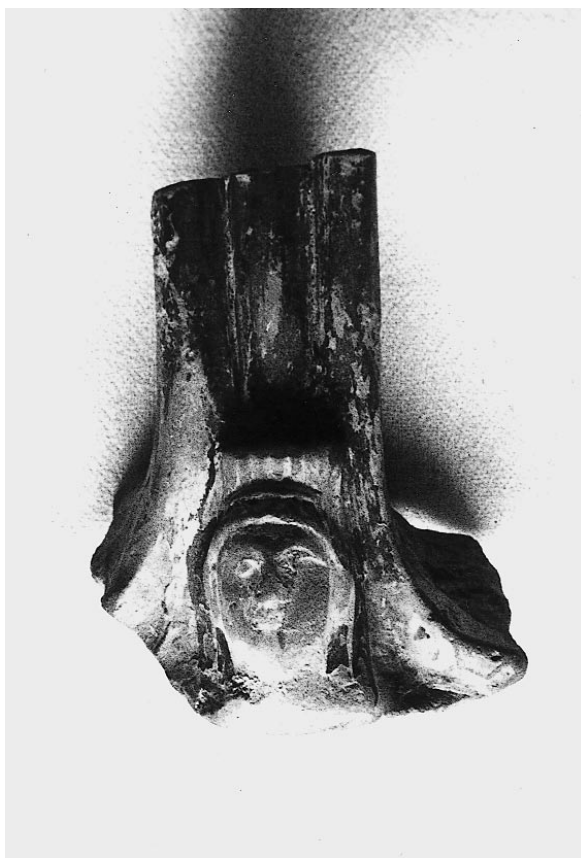


*Fig. 5. Sparta, Museum, from Sparta.*



*Fig. 6. Sparta, Museum, from Sparta.*





*Fig. 7. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1923.171, from Sparta.*



*Fig. 8. Olympia, Museum, from Olympia.*



*Fig. 9. S.M. Capua Vetere 264128, from Capua.*



Fig. 10. S.M. Capua Vetere, Museum 264128, from Capua.



Fig. 11. Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum O. 15422.

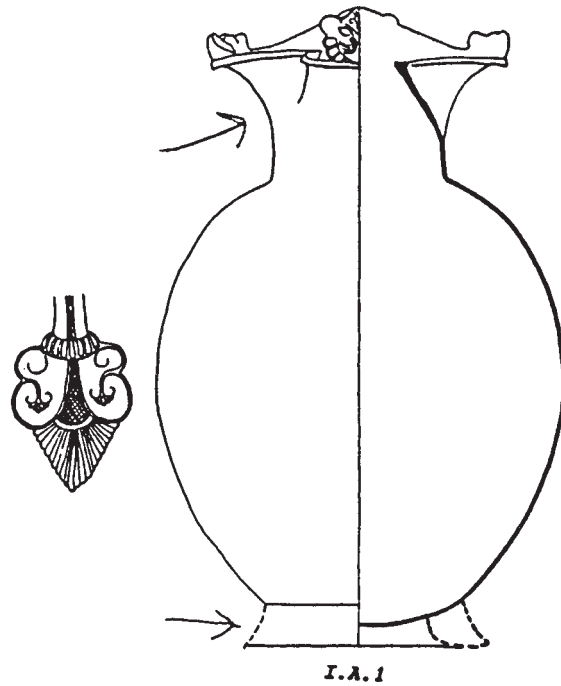
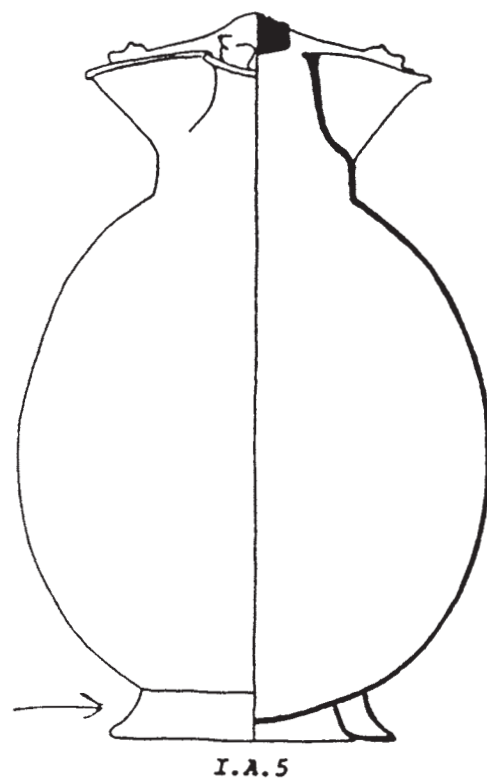
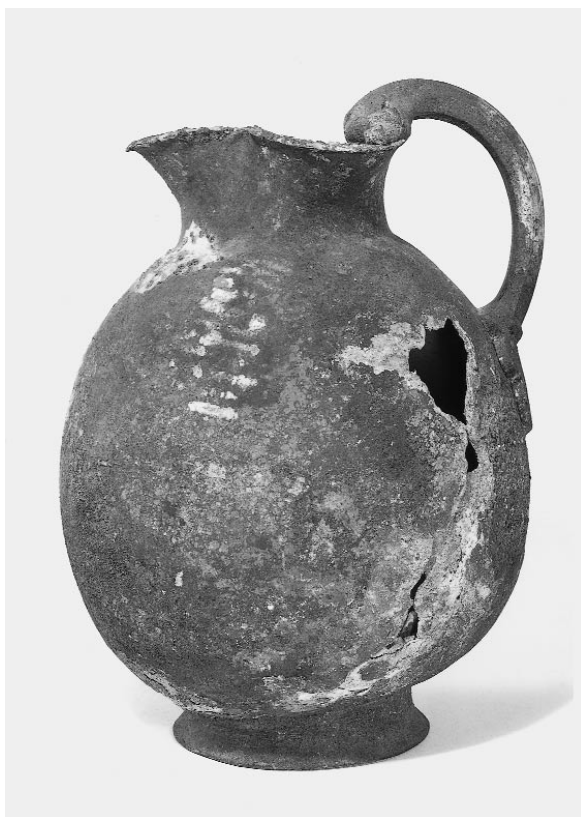


Fig. 12. The same, Profile drawing.





*Fig. 13. London, British Museum 1882.10 - 9.22.*



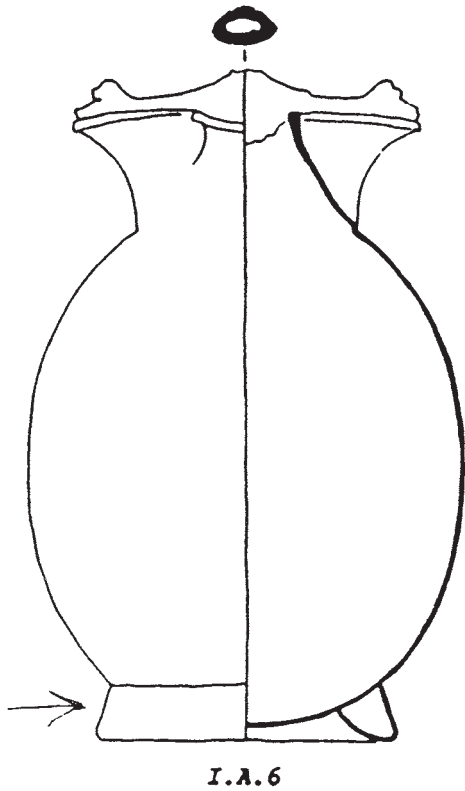
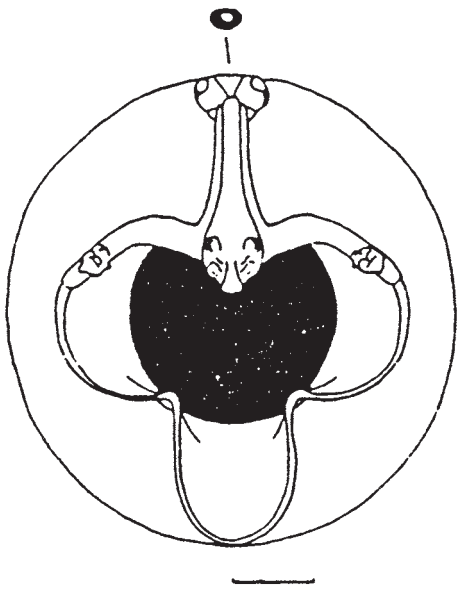


Fig. 14. Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 69067.



Fig. 15. Sparta, Museum, from Sparta.



Fig. 16. Zürich, Archäologische Sammlung der Universität 4037.

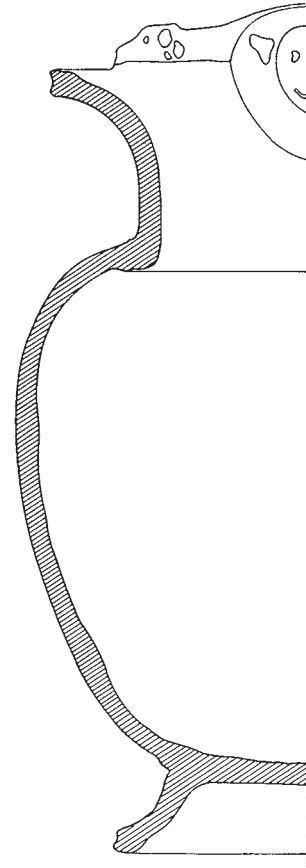


Fig. 17. Zürich, Archäologische Sammlung der Universität 4037.

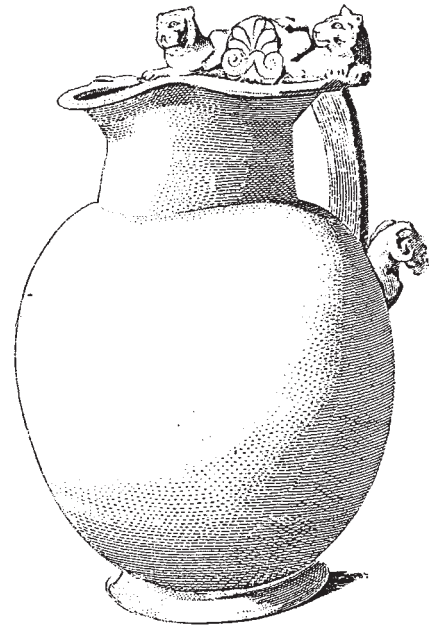
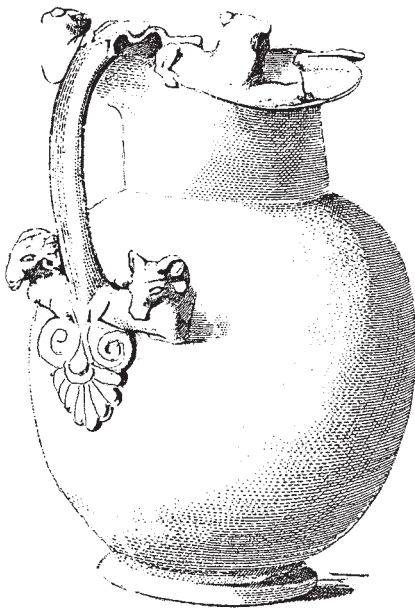


Fig. 19. Bronze oinochoe from S.M. Capua Vetere, now lost.



*Fig. 18. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung Misc 7268, from Melana (Laconia).*





*Fig. 20. S.M. Capua Vetere, Museo 264129, from Capua.*



*Fig. 21. The same, detail.*



*Fig. 22. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung Fr 600.*



*Fig. 23. Rome, Private Collection.*

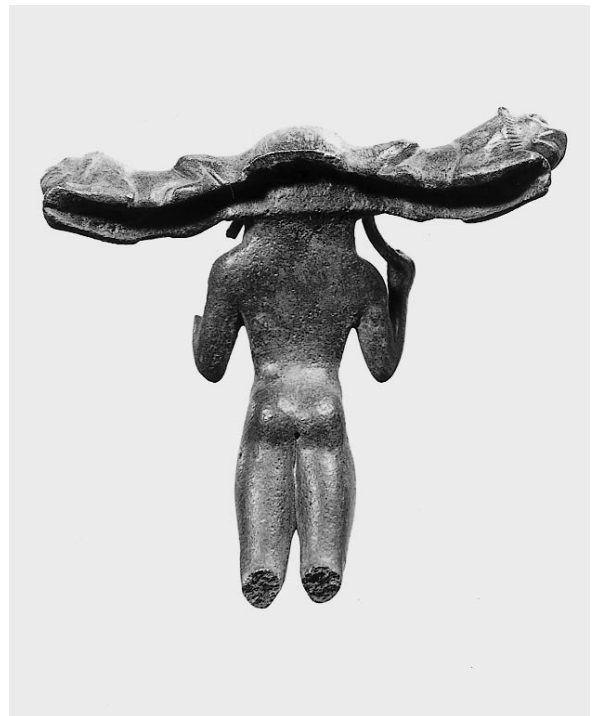




*Fig. 24. Rome, Private Collection, detail.*



*Fig. 25. Germany, Private Collection.*



*Fig. 26. The same, backside view.*





*Fig. 27. Germany, Private Collection, detail.*



*Fig. 28. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Museums 1963.25.*



*Fig. 29. The same, inside view.*



*Fig. 30. Rome, Private Collection Sinopoli.*



*Fig. 31. Rome, Private Collection Sinopoli.*



*Fig. 33. Rome, Private Collection Sinopoli.*



*Fig. 32. Rome, Private Collection Sinopoli.*



*Fig. 34. Switzerland, Private Collection.*



*Fig. 35. Switzerland, Private Collection.*



*Fig. 36. The same, detail.*

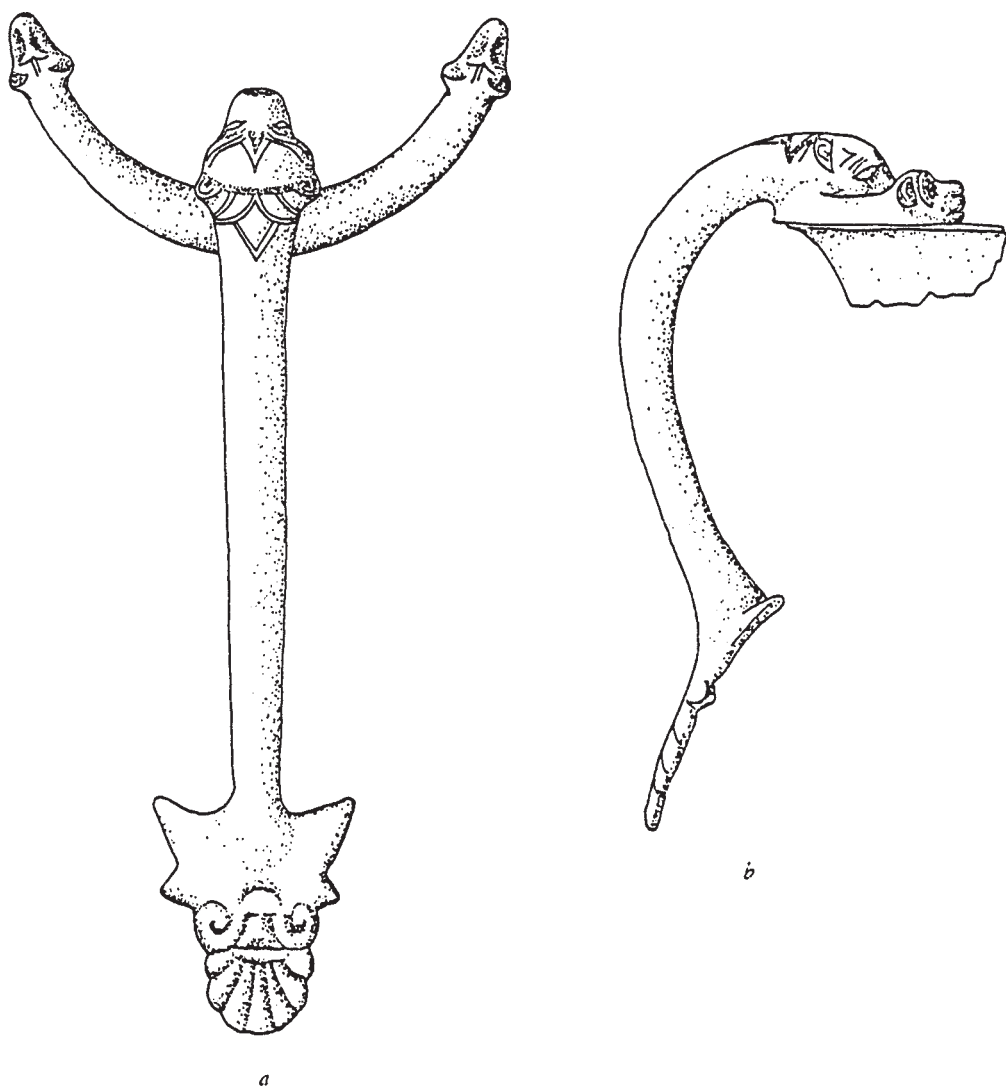


*Fig. 37. Rome, Villa Giulia Museum 64588, from Ischia di Castro.*



*Fig. 38. The same, detail.*





*Fig. 39. Rome, Villa Giulia Museum 64588, from Ischia di Castro.*

# Elpenor, Amymone, and the Truth in the Lykaon Painter's Painting

Annette L. Giesecke  
for Emily Vermeule

*He evidences the awkwardness and imperfection of a true primitive. Can he really paint landscapes? He grasps their character, their color, their light. He translates their intimacy and their grandeur, but runs aground in the art of separating his planes and in giving the illusion of distance. His meager knowledge betrays him*<sup>1</sup>.

The criticism and misunderstanding which the work of Cézanne incurred is part and parcel of a career in the art world, and were it not for his letters to Émile Bernard, we too, like many of Cézanne's contemporary critics, would be left in the dark regarding the truth or truths in and of his painting<sup>2</sup>. In the case of Athenian vase painting, however, neither letters nor statements of intent written by vase painters exist. Accordingly, modern scholarship has been compelled to attempt to arrive at an understanding of Greek vase painting – its methods, its purpose, and its themes – through an examination of physical remains, the painted pottery itself. Although approaches to the criticism of Greek vase painting have evolved over time to yield more comprehensive results, the full truth in these paintings has remained elusive due to the way that we continue to *look* at Greek vases.

Continued and intensified scholarly interest in the iconography of Greek vase painting, especially the study of the relationship between texts and images, has advantageously resulted in a number of books which make this subject readily accessible even to those who are not students of art and archaeology<sup>3</sup>. While being enormously useful tools, these and other iconographic studies tend to focus on painters' representations or interpretations of certain myths, dramatic performances, or major works of art; therefore, they catalog only a very small portion of the overall decorative schema of a given vase. The great disadvantage of this method is the fact that the reader remains unaware of the compositional richness and hermeneutic challenges of a vase bearing a number of images which may or may not be thematically related to one another and which may derive from a variety of sources.

Some of the most overt criticism of the "traditional" and restricted approaches to Greek vase painting can be found in Goldhill and Osborne's introduction to *Art and Text in Ancient Greek*

*Culture*. Here the authors dictate that one ought to investigate "...the importance of the overall iconographic context of (an) image", to consider both the historical context of that image and its context in the *oeuvre* of the artist<sup>4</sup>. The authors further urge art historians not to ignore the role of the ancient viewer and "to think of the viewer as practicing an ideologically charged, socially motivated, intellectually engaged act of interpretation."<sup>5</sup> This statement of the work's programmatic and polemical stance precedes an essay by Lissarague who seeks to illuminate the significance to one another and to the ancient viewer of three images, one in the interior and one on either side of the exterior of a cup by Epiktetos<sup>6</sup>. This sort of complete analysis of a given pot and the images which adorn it is a rarity, and it is primarily in the case of drinking cups that all of the images on a pot are considered as part of a signifying whole<sup>7</sup>. It may be that this is the case because cups are often decorated with continuous figured friezes which lead the viewer's eye around

<sup>1</sup> Lecomte 1899. Cézanne has been chosen as the starting point of this paper for a reason; it was with Cézanne and the interpretation of his own words about his work that Derrida's *The Truth in Painting* begins. Derrida's work, in turn, has served as the ideological framework for the argument constructed in this paper. See Derrida 1987.

<sup>2</sup> Rewald 1948, 198-205 especially 200. "The truth in painting," the phrase which appears both in the title and repeatedly in the body of this paper, alludes both to Cézanne's letter to Émile Bernard dated to October 23, 1905 (which he concludes with the much discussed sentiment: "Je vous dois la vérité en peinture et je vous la dirai..." – for which see Bernard 1926, 66-7) and to the title of Derrida's work, Derrida 1987.

<sup>3</sup> These works include: Carpenter 1991; Hedreen 1992; Rasmussen and Spivey 1991; Shapiro 1994; Woodford 1993; as well as Schefold 1978 and 1981.

<sup>4</sup> Goldhill and Osborne 1994, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Goldhill and Osborne 1994, 8. Similar sentiments also appear in M. Beard's contribution to Rasmussen and Spivey 1991, 12-35 where it is argued that we must shift our attention from the vase painter to the ancient viewer/consumer if we are to progress in our understanding not only of iconography but also of the function or role of decorated pottery in antiquity. Only this way can we determine whether pots were items of prestige, were created for export, were merely tomb offerings with no previous household life, and so forth.

<sup>6</sup> Goldhill and Osborne 1994, 12-27.

<sup>7</sup> Thus, for instance, Keuls remarks that *kylikes* have an "A, B, I" tripartite decorative program, "A" and "B" referring to the images on the sides of the cup and "I" referring to the tondo iconography. This program is detailed in Keuls 1984, 256-9.

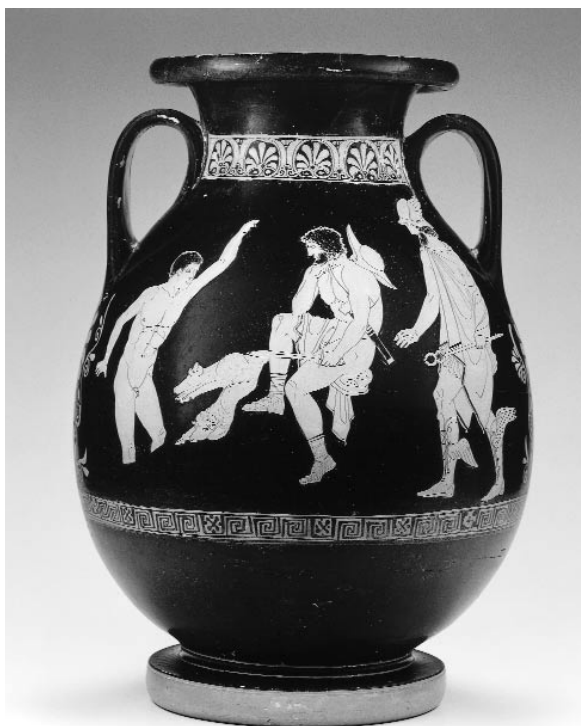


Fig. 1. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 34.79, Attic Red Figure Pelike by the Lykaon Painter, Side A, ca. 440 BC, William Amory Gardner Fund. Photo courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

the cups' exterior. This preconditions the modern critic to consider that two seemingly independent images on opposite sides of a cup may have an underlying connection, a connection which a symposiast might discover as the cup is handled, turned, and eventually emptied to reveal yet another image, that in the cup's interior. Thus, for instance, when the iconographic program of an entire vase is discussed in Robertson's important recent book on red figure vase painting, it is almost exclusively in the case of cups. These cups include the Brygos Painter's *Iliupersis*, the same painter's illustration of the content and aftermath of a symposium, and the Foundry Painter's cup portraying Thetis receiving Achilles' new armor from Hephaistos in its interior and mortal metal smiths at work on the exterior<sup>8</sup>. Robertson's work is, of course, primarily devoted to the discussion of the evolution or development of painting "style" rather than to iconography, and it is accordingly infrequent that the so-called B-sides of other types of vases, especially amphorae and kraters, receive more than a mention unless they have been deemed stylistically significant. What all

of this means, generally speaking, is that sloppily executed or otherwise seemingly uninteresting B-sides have received and continue to receive unbalanced and incomplete critical analyses. The tendency to ignore one side of a vase has been amplified and promoted by the limitations of photography and other two-dimensional media in accurately portraying a three-dimensional object. Recognizing this tendency is of the utmost importance as partial renderings continue to hamper our understanding of the role or purpose of painting on Greek pottery<sup>9</sup>. Thus when one side of a vase has consistently failed to be reproduced in our texts and critical works, it has tended to fall into *Vergessenheit*, to sink into oblivion as if it had never existed. This is the fate which has befallen a *purportedly* well-known and understood pelike by the Lykaon Painter in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The vase in question dates to ca. 440 BC and is decorated with images linked with contemporary 5th c. theater, literature, and mural painting.

#### PART 1: ELPENOR AND ODYSSEUS

The A-side of this pelike depicts Odysseus' confrontation with the ghost or spirit,  $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ , of his lost companion Elpenor in the presence of Hermes (Fig. 1). The figures of Elpenor, Odysseus, and Hermes are located on different levels in a rocky terrain, and these various levels are indicated by wavy lines painted in a whitish-yellow. The landscape is further defined by the reeds growing in a clump behind the figure of Elpenor rising, or rather heaving himself, from a chasm in the earth on the left side of the composition. Odysseus himself is seated on a rock facing Elpenor and still holds the sword with which he has slit the necks of the sheep lying at his feet. Striding towards Odysseus with his hand outstretched as if signaling or eliciting the emergence of Elpenor is Hermes, whose eyes are firmly fixed on the spirit.

Upon its acquisition by the Museum of Fine Arts, this vase was described as being of "startling interest" not only because of its stylistic excellence but

<sup>8</sup> For these three cups (Louvre G 152, ARV<sup>2</sup> 369.1; Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum 479, ARV<sup>2</sup> 372.32; and Berlin Staatliche Museen 2294 ARV<sup>2</sup> 400.1 respectively), see Robertson 1992, 94-6 and 108.

<sup>9</sup> The statement that "linear presentation constrains what is actually a circular affair" drives home this point. See Goffman 1974, 11. With respect to this issue, it is a shame that the cyclograph is not commonly used in reproducing vases in our texts in spite of the slight distortion which the decorative scheme of a vase undergoes through the use of this device. For further discussion of the truth in photographic representation and a refutation of the adage "the camera doesn't lie," see Gombrich 1977, 59 ff.



also, and primarily, because it was considered to be “the earliest and by far the most impressive representation in ancient art of a famous passage in the *Odyssey*.”<sup>10</sup> The passage in question is, of course, Odysseus’ *Nekuia*, invocation of the dead, in the eleventh book of the poem, and there are indeed numerous points of contact between Homer’s description of Odysseus’ meeting with Elpenor and the Lykaon Painter’s rendering. In Homer’s tale, Circe had informed Odysseus that he would have to make a journey into the dread house of Hades in order to consult the seer Teiresias prior to making his final departure from her island. This meeting would take place at the mouth of Hades where Puriphlegethon and Kokytos flow into Acheron (ἐνθα μὲν εἰς Ἀχέροντα Πυριφλεγέθων τε ῥέουσιν / Κόκυτός θ’... 10. 513-4), and the exact location was marked by a rock (10. 514-5). Here he was to dig a pit of specific dimensions into which drink offerings for the dead were to be poured (βόθρον ὀρύξαι, ὅσον τε πυγούσιον ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα, / ἀμφ’ αὐτῷ δὲ χοῆν χεῖσθαι πᾶσιν νεκύεσσιν 10. 517-8). In Book Eleven Odysseus tells us that after he had done all of this, he first offered prayers to the dead and then, as a final offering, slit the necks of the sacrificial sheep over the trench he had dug (...τὰ δὲ μῆλα λαβὼν ἀπεδειροτόμησα / ἐς βόθρον, ῥέε δ’ αἶμα κελαινεφές 11. 35-6). Once Odysseus completes the requisite sacrifice, the spirits of the dead gather in throngs to drink, and the first spirit to approach is that of Elpenor. His meeting with Elpenor is an emotional one; the conversation centers on Elpenor’s accidental death and the burial he still requires. Odysseus later closes his account of this meeting with a brief summary of events: “So we sat exchanging words of sadness, I on the one side holding my sword aloft over the blood and the shade of my friend on the other speaking freely” (Νῶϊ μὲν ὥς ἐπέεσιν ἀμειβομένῳ στυγεροῖσιν / ἦμεθ’, ἐγὼ μὲν ἄνευθεν ἐφ’ αἵματι φάσγανον ἴσχων, / εἶδῶλον δ’ ἐταίρου πόλλ’ ἀγόρευεν. 11. 81-3)<sup>11</sup>.

The Homeric details recounted above correspond extremely well with the contents of the Lykaon Painter’s image. On the vase we can see a pit dug into the ground and sheep lying next to it with blood still streaming from their recently cut throats. The pit is located at the base of a substantial rock upon which the ghost of Elpenor props himself, and the presence of reeds by this pit suggests that there is a river very near by, or at the very least that the ground is marshy. Thus the locale could indeed be the place where the tributaries of Acheron meet. In addition to this, the posture assumed by Odysseus is precisely that which, according to Homer, one

would imagine him to have assumed. He is seated on a rock with his right hand beneath his chin and the right elbow propped up on his right knee; in his left hand is a sword which he extends over the pit. Odysseus’ pose is one both of deep reflection and sorrow. What does not correspond with Homer’s account is the presence of Hermes who is clearly a central figure in this *nekuia*.

Hermes’ presence in the Lykaon Painter’s image can be explained in a number of ways. Hermes was, of course, not only the patron god of travelers and the messenger of the gods but also the *psychopompos*, the conveyer of souls of the dead to their new abodes in Hades. The last is a role which he increasingly assumes in vase painting of the 5th c. BC. Further, the god regularly served as a guardian or general helper of heroes and other mythological characters, particularly those endeavoring to penetrate the abodes of the dead<sup>12</sup>. The implication of Hermes’ inclusion in this image is accordingly that his intervention was necessary not only for Odysseus to make contact with the deceased but also to find his way to the place of access to the realms of the dead in the first instance<sup>13</sup>. In addition to this, the presence of Hermes, which is certainly apposite to the general theme of the image, lends balance to this elegant composition, and the framing of Odysseus by Hermes and Elpenor, a god and a ghost (two other-worldly beings either side of a mortal man) results in a concentration on the emotional impact of the meeting on Odysseus rather than Elpenor. As a mortal, Odysseus is and must logically be isolated in the depth of his emotion. The isolation of Odysseus is emphasized by the Lykaon Painter’s use of inscriptions. Elpenor and Hermes are labeled using the genitive case, ΕΛΠΗΝΟΡΟΣ and ΗΡΜΟΙΟΣ respectively, while Odysseus’ name appears in the nominative. By this way of thinking, Elpenor in the genitive would mean “spirit of Elpenor” and Hermes in the genitive would mean “image/representation of Hermes”. Odysseus the man can be portrayed as such, but when a ghost and a god are portrayed in the manner of a man, some

<sup>10</sup> Caskey 1934, 40.

<sup>11</sup> All translations are my own, and quotations of ancient authors are drawn from the Oxford editions.

<sup>12</sup> For the role of Hermes in Athenian vase painting, see Felten 1975, 53-7. A complete summary of the functions of Hermes in vase painting can be found in Siebert 1990, 285-387 especially 329-39 for Hermes in chthonian contexts.

<sup>13</sup> Vermeule 1979, 35 suggests that when the deceased is pictured as a bodily entity which accordingly needs to walk to Hades rather than be wafted there, he or she may need the assistance of Hermes as a guide to the nether regions. By extension, it certainly follows that any corporeal creature, any hero included, would require Hermes’ assistance as only the *psyche* can wing its way to Hades without any help at all.



Fig. 2. Paris, Musée du Louvre G 341, Attic Red Figure Calyx-Krater by the Niobid Painter, Side "A", Second quarter of the 5th c.; Photo M. Chuzeville, Courtesy Musée du Louvre.



Fig. 3. Paris, Musée du Louvre G 341, Attic Red Figure Calyx-Krater by the Niobid Painter, Side "B".

indicator may be required to underline the actual distance between the worlds from which they issue and the world of man<sup>14</sup>. Lastly, and least convincingly, it has also been argued that the presence of Hermes is to be attributed to the influence of the Aeschylean tragedy entitled the *Psychagogoi*, of which only a single fragment remains, or to the influence of some other lost literary work<sup>15</sup>. As this view rests entirely on conjecture, it is the least tenable, and it is important to bear in mind that vase painters, even when seemingly following a literary or other model, felt perfectly at ease in adding figures who did not appear in that model or in otherwise deviating from their ultimate source of inspiration. The vision which vase painters produced was entirely their own; it was a vision created by their imagination. These visions were perhaps influenced by a literary work or by drama but were never entirely dependent on a model<sup>16</sup>.

Interestingly, Hermes also fails to appear in another, and very famous, Odyssean *nekuia*, that embellishing the walls of the Lesche of the Cnidians at Delphi; this wall painting was executed by Polygnotos of Thasos, a mural painter of considerable note who

was active in the first half of the 5th c. BC. Reconstructions of Polygnotos' work are based largely on Pausanias' description of the paintings, on remarks in the works of Pliny and Aristotle, and on developments in choice or application of theme and style in contemporary vase painting<sup>17</sup>. Among the vases which are considered to exhibit "typically" Polygnotan stylistic characteristics is the name-vase of the Niobid Painter which dates to ca. 460 BC. (Figs. 2-3)<sup>18</sup>. On this krater the traditional frieze-like

<sup>14</sup> This was suggested to me by François Lissarague. On the distance between the three figures, see also Neer 1995, 135-46.

<sup>15</sup> See Toucheffeu-Meynier 1968, 136.

<sup>16</sup> Among the many works which touch on this subject are: Green 1991, 15-49; Hedreen 1992, especially 105-17 and 1996, 158-84; Lowenstam 1992, 165-98 and 1997, 21-76, both of which are particularly relevant to the Boston pelike because of its Homeric content; and Neer 1995, 118-53.

<sup>17</sup> See Arist. *Poet.* 2 and 6; Paus. 10.25-32; and Pliny *HN* 33.56-7, 35.5-41, and 36.60 for ancient sources. For the most recent modern reconstruction, see Stansbury-O'Donnell 1990, 213-35.

<sup>18</sup> See, for instance: Swindler 1929, 195-236, still an invaluable source for any student of ancient painting; Robertson 1975, 240-58 and 1992, 180-5; and Webster 1968.

arrangement of figures standing on a uniformly horizontal ground line has been replaced by a scheme in which the figures are placed on different levels on the picture plane. The varied placement of figures, all of which have been rendered in the same scale, is an attempt at grappling with the problem of perspective. Vanishing points and perspectival diminution of scale have not yet come into play. Here distance is translated into height on the picture plane; accordingly, a figure represented above another is to be understood as located behind it. The various levels on which the figures stand are marked by individual wavy ground lines creating the impression of a hilly terrain, and a solitary tree further expresses the outdoor setting. In addition to employing new techniques in the suggestion of space and setting, the Niobid Painter has put considerable effort into conveying the three-dimensionality of his figures. This effect is the result of the painter's use of shading and foreshortening as well as his representing figures in frontal and three-quarter views. Finally, the general mood of the composition is subdued; here the impetuous action of the Archaic period has given way to Classical sublimity and self-control, a quality particularly evident in the figure of Athena on what Robertson has designated the A-side of the vase (*Fig. 2*)<sup>19</sup>.

Stylistically there are very strong links between the Niobid Painter and the Lykaon Painter. The latter belongs to a group of vase painters which has been named "Polygnotan" after its leading representative, the vase painter Polygnotos<sup>20</sup>. This Polygnotos and those vase painters associated with him are thought to descend directly from the Niobid Painter's workshop. It comes as no surprise, then, that the Lykaon Painter's work should manifest nuances of style characteristic of the Niobid Painter, details such as drapery folds "shaped like ropes or long sausages," nor does it come as a surprise that some of his pieces, this pelike included, should reflect those compositional details which appear on the Niobid Krater and ultimately look back to the muralist Polygnotos<sup>21</sup>. As is the case with the Niobid Krater, the figures on the Lykaon Painter's vase have all been placed on different levels, and they have all been represented in the same scale. Another characteristic which the pelike shares with the Niobid Krater is the fact that setting is indicated; here reeds and a rocky topography have been rendered with a similar, suggestive economy of line. Furthermore, Elpenor has been represented in three-quarter view, and there are traces of shading, particularly on the hat of Odysseus. Again, three-quarter views and the restrained use of shading are features which appear also on the Niobid Krater. Finally, the general mood of the Lykaon Painter's vase, which is very quiet

and reflective, is reminiscent particularly of the Niobid Painter's rendering of what may be Theseus and Perithoos' descent into Hades on the A-side of the vase<sup>22</sup>.

There can be little doubt, then, that the Lykaon Painter painted in the style of the Thasian Polygnotos, but his debt to the latter may well go beyond matters of style and include his choice of subject matter. Indeed the temptation is great to assume that the composition which appears on the Boston pelike is an excerpt from the larger-scale *Nekuia* of Polygnotos. Strictly or very literally speaking this cannot be true, as there are a number of notable discrepancies between the two compositions<sup>23</sup>. One difference between the vase and the Polygnotan *Nekuia* has already been mentioned; this is the fact that the latter does not include Hermes who figures so prominently in the Lykaon Painter's representation. In addition to this, Pausanias says of Polygnotos' painting that Odysseus was represented squatting with his buttocks resting on his heels and holding his sword over the pit which Teiresias was approaching (10.29.8). In Polygnotos' vision, there were no slain sheep lying alongside this pit; instead, he represented the sheep as being carried to the appointed place of sacrifice by two of Odysseus' comrades elsewhere on the mural. Accordingly, Odysseus' seated posture on the Lykaon painter's vase and the placement of the sacrificial victims cannot have been copied with any precision (Paus. 10.29.1)<sup>24</sup>. Where exactly Elpenor was located in the Polygnotan *Nekuia*, Pausanias does not specify, but it seems reasonable to assume that he was neither rising out of the pit nor standing between Odysseus and Teiresias. The impression one gets from Pausanias is that Odysseus is completely fixated on

<sup>19</sup> Robertson 1992, 181-2.

<sup>20</sup> This Polygnotos is to be distinguished from the Lewis painter and the Nausikaa Painter, both of whom also signed their work with the name Polygnotos. See Matheson 1995, especially 3-95 for a discussion of Polygnotos' style, his relation to the Niobid Painter, and the composition of his "workshop". For further information regarding the influence of mural painting on the schools of the Niobid Painter and Polygnotos see Robertson 1992, 180-90 and 210-15.

<sup>21</sup> The quote stems from Matheson 1995, 93.

<sup>22</sup> See Robertson 1992, 181-2; Barron 1972, 20-45; and McNiven 1989, 191-8.

<sup>23</sup> This suggestion is by no means a new one. Both the possibility of thematic inspiration and the ultimate inconclusiveness of any argument have been explored in some depth in Touchefeu-Meynier 1968, 135-6 and Lippold 1951, 10-21.

<sup>24</sup> Although Odysseus' posture on the Lykaon Painter's vase does not match the description of Odysseus in the *Lesche* of the Cnicians, it is still very much Polygnotan in character. His posture is similar, though not identical, to that employed by Polygnotos for Hektor who was shown "sitting deeply immersed in grief with both hands clasped around his knees," in the same painting (Paus. 10.31.5).





Fig. 4. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 34.79, Attic Red Figure Pelike by the Lykaon Painter, Side View.

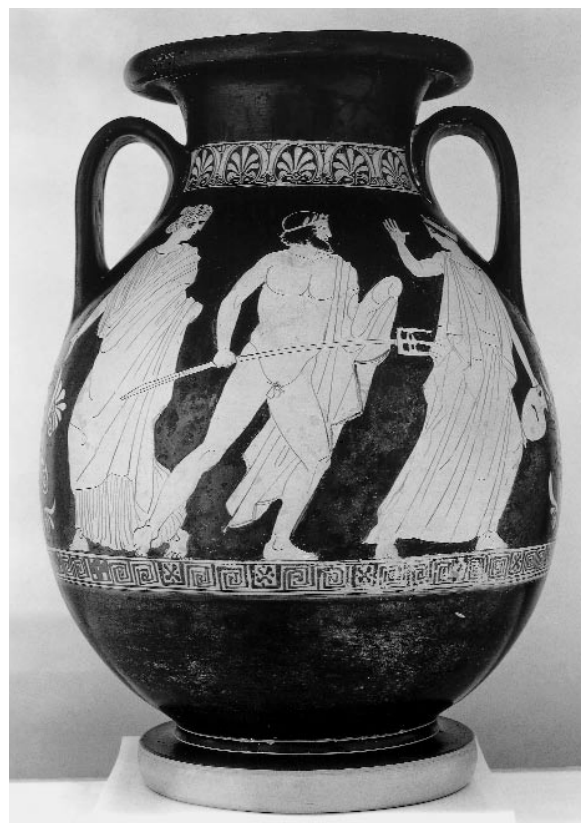


Fig. 5. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 34.79, Attic Red Figure Pelike by the Lykaon Painter, Side B.

Teiresias' approach and that Elpenor, whose odd garment choice is remarked upon, was placed somewhere in the vicinity.

What, then, was the source of inspiration for the Lykaon Painter's *nekuia*? As one beholds this painter's composition, one is struck by a sense of thematic grandeur and emotional concentration which is almost inappropriate for the medium of vase painting. The surface of the pot has become, or attempted to become, a fluid canvas on which three-dimensional, corporeal figures move in a clearly defined space, and the inspiration for this composition must ultimately have been the grand work of the muralist Polygnotos. The Lykaon Painter was not working in a cultural vacuum, and the work of a great painter, perhaps the most renowned at that time, would naturally have made an impression on him, so great an impression that he was inspired to attempt an Odyssean *nekuia* of his own<sup>25</sup>. As a true artist, rather than merely an imitator, he did not slavishly copy his model. He reoriented and reinvented

the mural. He distilled the Polygnotan pageant so that only its essence remained. The *nekuia* represented by Polygnotos was, after all, that of Odysseus, a fact almost lost amid the richness of that many-figured tableau. By opting for a more concentrated image, one that focused on Odysseus and Elpenor, the Lykaon Painter restored primacy of place to Odysseus and the emotional intensity of his ordeal in the underworld. The Lykaon Painter's focus has become that encounter which is the most memorable of those recounted in Homer's *Odyssey* which, together with the *Minyad* and the *Nostoi*, was listed as one of Polygnotos' primary literary sources by Pausanias (10.28.1-31.12). This encounter is so memorable because it is the first and

<sup>25</sup> The notion that artists working in different media, visual and performing alike, influenced one another continues to be shown as true. See, for example: Barron 1972; Matheson 1995, especially 39-64; Stewart 1985, 53-74; Green 1991; and Trendall and Webster 1971.

thus at once the symbol and synopsis of all those which are still to come.

## PART 2: POSEIDON AND AMYMON

As one rotates the Boston pelike in a counter-clockwise direction, a female figure comes into view (Fig. 4). This is Amymon, and she is represented here as the object of Poseidon's pursuit. Amymon is on the god's left and glances back at him as she retreats (Fig. 5). There is a pitcher in her left hand, and with her right hand she gestures to Poseidon to keep his distance. The god, who is either running or walking with very long strides, is right on her heels. He wears a wreath on his head and has a cloak draped over his left shoulder and forearm. In his right hand he holds his trident in a menacing way<sup>26</sup>. On Poseidon's right is another young female, presumably one of Amymon's sisters. She too is fleeing, but is doing so in the opposite direction. From Apollodorus and Hyginus we learn that Amymon, one of the fifty daughters of Danaus, was sent by her father in search of water at a time when the land of Argos was experiencing a drought resulting from the wrath of Poseidon; the god had been greatly angered by Inachos' testimony to the fact that this land belonged to Hera rather than to himself<sup>27</sup>. In the course of her search for water, Amymon accidentally struck a satyr as she hurled her shaft at a deer. This satyr countered the blow with an attempt to rape his assailant, but Poseidon intervened in order to take her for his own. As a reward for sleeping with him, Poseidon provided her with water by striking a rock with his trident; a further boon resulted from their union, namely the birth of Nauplios who later founded the city of Nauplia. In an alternate version of the story, which is also recorded by Hyginus, the satyr attempted to assault Amymon when she, weary from her fruitless search for water, had fallen asleep (Fab. 169A). "Reading" the Lykaon Painter's representation of the Amymon myth is relatively simple; the artist has depicted the point in the tale at which the satyr has been chased off and Poseidon has turned his attention to Amymon alone. The presence of Amymon's sister can be explained by the painter's desire to create a balanced composition reminiscent of that on the vase's other side<sup>28</sup>. The rigid symmetry of this composition is, however, one of the elements which makes it decidedly less spectacular than the *nekuia* which accompanies it. This composition has an archaizing feel to it in that the drama of the episode is conveyed purely by gesture and violent movement, not by expression as it might have been in a Polygnotan composition. Archaizing

too is the placement of all the figures on a single ground line, a technique which denies the composition any kind of depth<sup>29</sup>. Furthermore, this image, quite unlike the *nekuia*, exhibits signs of hasty execution.

The stylistic simplicity and lack of precision of the Amymon scene is presumably what led Caskey to declare in his publication of the vase that "the design on the reverse of the newly acquired pelike requires little comment," and with a few summary remarks, he dismissed it<sup>30</sup>. The image was later dealt with in somewhat greater detail by Beazley, but still the pursuit of Amymon did not attract the same attention as the Odyssean *nekuia*<sup>31</sup>. With the passage of time, the Amymon scene was deemed worthy of intensified scholarly consideration, especially when it was recognized as belonging to a particular pictorial tradition. It was an image with a history.

A half-century long trend of representing deities amorously pursuing mortals was initiated by Attic vase painters around 500 BC<sup>32</sup>. Pursuit scenes had begun to feature in the painters' repertory at an earlier stage within the Archaic period, but the cast of characters was different. For example, an angry Apollo was shown running after Heracles attempting to steal the Delphic tripod, and satyrs chased after maenads in sympotic settings. The inclusion of amorous activities of the gods in the pursuit-scene tradition is likely to have occurred as a result of the influence on the general populace of dramatic performances which treated such subjects and to the intellectual climate of the 5th c. BC, a time of confidence in the intimate relationship between mortals and the gods they worshipped. The new cast of characters in the pursuit scene category includes

<sup>26</sup> On the iconography of pursuit more generally and the very real suggestion of violence directed at women who are the objects of pursuit see Sourvinou-Inwood 1984, 41-55 and 1987, 131-53 as well as Keuls 1984. In the last, weapons in pursuit scenes are shown to reflect the violence inherent in sexual domination.

<sup>27</sup> Apollod. *Bibl.* II. 1.4 and Hyg. *Fab.* 169.

<sup>28</sup> As is remarked in Shapiro 1994, 87, figures are frequently added by painters for the purpose of creating a balanced composition, and the result of this can often be an obscuring of the narrative. Strictly speaking, her sister would, of course, not have been present when Amymon was pursued by Poseidon, and accordingly, the artist has "altered," or deviates from, the story as we know it from the literary sources.

<sup>29</sup> "Archaizing" here means quite literally: rendered in the manner characteristic of the Archaic period prior to the efforts early in the 5th c. BC of Euthymides, Euphronius, and Phinias, otherwise known as the Pioneers. For the innovations attributed to the Pioneers, see Robertson 1992, 7-42.

<sup>30</sup> Caskey 1934, 44.

<sup>31</sup> Caskey and Beazley 1954, 89-93.

<sup>32</sup> For the view presented here, see Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, especially 26-30 and 43-7.

Zeus and Ganymede, Boreas and Oreithyia, and Eos and Kephalos. Poseidon and Amymone did not enter the tradition until somewhat later, around 460 BC, and here, as in the case of the other divine pursuit scenes, the images differed little from one another. Poseidon is always bearded and wears a wreath or fillet on his head. Normally he is clad in a chiton and himation, but he is sometimes, as in the Lykaon Painter's version, represented nude with his cloak draped over his arm. The trident is his usual distinguishing attribute, but the inclusion of a dolphin, symbolic of the sea, may also serve to identify him. Amymone is always shown looking back at the god as she flees, and she can be identified by the fact that she is carrying a hydria. The garment she is most frequently shown wearing is the chiton, and after the middle of the 5th c., the peplos. As in the case of Poseidon, her head is usually adorned; she is shown wearing a diadem, a wreath, or a *kekryphalos*, a net-like headdress. Lastly, Amymone and Poseidon are sometimes accompanied by another of the Danaids or Danaus himself<sup>33</sup>. Sometime between 450 and 440 BC the pursuit scenes, both those featuring the Poseidon-Amymone group and those centering on the other gods, effectively ceased to be produced. The divine amours did not, however, die out altogether; the iconography of pursuit was merely replaced by that of a quiet conversation between the protagonists. Other representational alterations were made as well. For instance, in the case of the Poseidon and Amymone series, additional figures such as Eros, Aphrodite, and Peitho, all functioning as personifications underlining the thematic content of the scene, began to appear with some regularity. Satyrs too came to be represented in the Amymone series. The combination of Amymone and Poseidon with one or more satyrs led Brommer to conclude that these images were inspired by the production of a satyr play with the Amymone myth as its theme<sup>34</sup>. Aeschylus produced his Danaid trilogy, (the *Supplikes*, the *Aigyptoi*, and the *Danaids*) to which a satyr play entitled *Amymone* belonged, between 465 and 459 BC, and it was naturally this satyr play which Brommer wished to connect with the Amymone-Poseidon-satyr vase series. The respective dates of the satyr play's performance and the images he was dealing with led Brommer to hypothesize that it was a reproduction of Aeschylus' *Amymone* or a play written at a later time on the same theme which inspired these images. This may be true enough, given that the Amymone theme remained popular for such a long time. However, Brommer seemed unwilling to see a satyr play behind an image which did not include satyrs, and for this reason it was left to others to voice the

opinion that the Amymone scenes of the pursuit type might also have been inspired by a satyr play, specifically Aeschylus' *Amymone*, which was contemporary with the appearance of this sequence of images<sup>35</sup>. Brommer *did* realize that in the case of vase painting influenced by the theater, what is represented is not a literal record of what took place on stage but rather an image capturing the essence of the play. He also realized that it is very difficult to tell the difference between vases representing a given myth as it was passed down in the oral tradition and those representing theatrical performances of the same myths<sup>36</sup>. The difficulty lies in the fact that a convincing performance blurs the distinction between illusion and reality. Vase painters tended to paint the illusion<sup>37</sup>. In the case of Poseidon and Amymone, it was not actors in costume who captured the imagination of the painters and, of course, their patrons but the mythological characters themselves. The essence of the myth, the god's pursuit, was chosen as the moment to be depicted, and in this case, the myth's essence corresponded to a currently popular iconographic type<sup>38</sup>.

These discoveries regarding the Lykaon Painter's Amymone scene, its relation to the theater and its place in an iconographic series, are certainly interesting and important; important too is the recognition that the accompanying *nekuia* was inspired by a contemporary mural. However, the vast majority of the discussions resulting in these illuminating conclusions have tended to treat each scene as if it appeared on a fragment of pottery, a fortuitously preserved excerpt from a lost conceptual whole. As a result of this, some basic and important issues regarding the workings of the potters' quarter and the patrons' use and appreciation of this and other vases have been overlooked. These issues have been overlooked precisely because these vases have tended not to be viewed as a signifying whole. What has occurred here is, in the words of Goffman, a "framing error," in this case "an illusion as error resulting from a misconstruing that no one induced purposely."<sup>39</sup> This illusion is the belief that one is entitled, or even enabled, to comment on the artistic and broader cultural merits and significance of a vase while keeping one side hidden from view.

<sup>33</sup> On the iconography of the Amymone-Poseidon series see Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 26-30 and Simon 1981, 742-52.

<sup>34</sup> Brommer 1959, 49-52.

<sup>35</sup> See especially Simon 1981, 750-2.

<sup>36</sup> Brommer 1959, 8, 22, and *passim*.

<sup>37</sup> See: Brommer 1959, 22; Green 1994, 24-7; Hedreen 1992, 105-17; Lissarague 1990, 227-36; Shapiro 1994, especially 10 and 87; and Woodford 1993, 7.

<sup>38</sup> See Simon 1981, 750-1 and 1982, 123-48.

<sup>39</sup> Goffman 1974, 112.



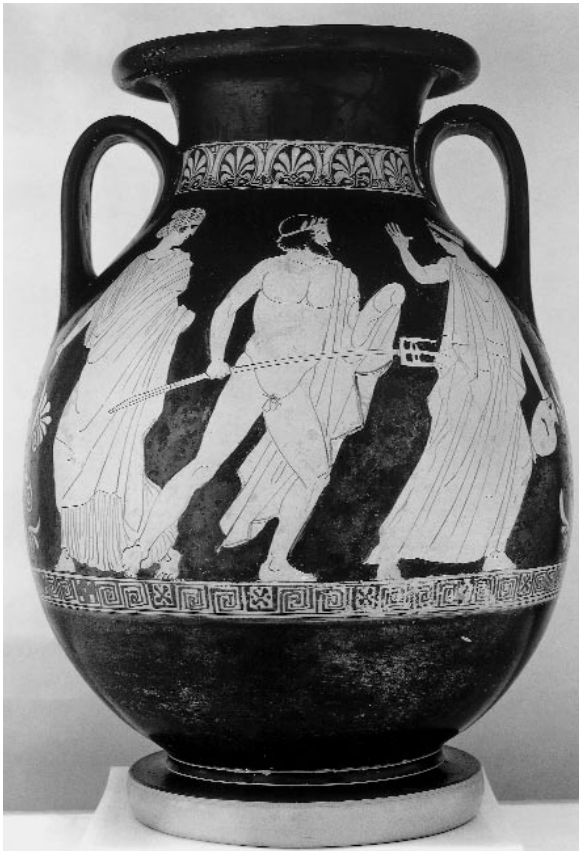
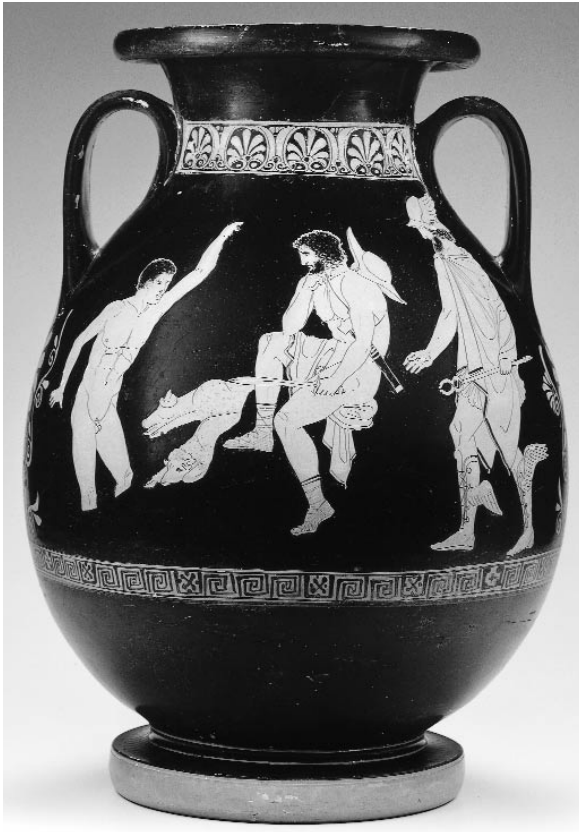


Fig. 6. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 34.79, Attic Red Figure Pelike by the Lykaon Painter, four views.

The Lykaon Painter's pelike is, for instance, often praised in our texts for its beauty, the exquisite quality of its painted decoration, but even this most basic observation regarding the aesthetic merit of the piece is invalid because it is not based on a consideration of the object as a whole. The remedy for this error and illusion is simple; turn the vase around – literally, if possible, or figuratively – and look carefully at all of its surfaces. This is what the continuous band of meander ornament, which acts upon the viewer subliminally, reminds one to do in the case of the Lykaon Painter's pelike; the palmette band, for its part, is a focusing device which regulates the turn so that one slows the rotation as the A and B sides come into full view<sup>40</sup>.

Let us then "undertake" the activity which constitutes the remedy for this illusion. When one considers both the *nekuia* and the Amymone pursuit together, one is immediately struck by the difference in quality between the two images (*Fig. 6*). What has traditionally been designated the A-side, the meeting of Elpenor and Odysseus, is not only more carefully and artfully painted than the other, but it is also a unique image, one for which we possess no parallel, paired with a representation of what Caskey described so many years ago as "a stock subject, drawn hastily and without inspiration."<sup>41</sup> Caskey was not alone in thinking the B-side of little interest, and so it was the A-side alone which found its way into the pages of books on Greek painting as an example of Classical vase painting at its best<sup>42</sup>. The B-side was, of course, eventually remembered and cataloged as part of an image sequence, the divine pursuit. As such, the B-side was viewed as the A-side had been, as *ergon*, as a whole object complete within itself. What must, however, be acknowledged now is that the Amymone scene's function vis-à-vis the *nekuia* is *parergonal*. It is the frame which designates the *nekuia* as the focus of attention and which separates and distinguishes the A-side from its "milieu" both modern and ancient, "from the whole field of historical, economic, political inscription in which the drive to signature is produced"<sup>43</sup>. Thus in antiquity, as now, the viewer's gaze would have passed over the Poseidon-Amymone image rather quickly. It is a "stock" scene, easily decoded and not particularly memorable, hastily rendered and "popular." The viewer's gaze, would, however, have come to rest on the *nekuia*, on the stunning and painterly image which strove to vie, in its own way, with the works of the muralist Polygnotos. The ancient viewer would not have become aware of a thematic connection between the two sides of the vase; the contents of one do not inform the reading of the other. The images are not equal in stature; one is

subordinate to the other, yet indispensable because one of the images, in the painter's opinion, deserved to be elevated over the other. The viewer's gaze needed to be directed.

The notion that the Amymone scene is to be regarded as *parergon*, as frame rather than centerpiece, is reinforced by the painter's use of inscriptions. All of the figures in the A-side bear identifying inscriptions; that is, Odysseus, Elpenor, and Hermes are clearly labeled as such. Amymone, her sister, and Poseidon, by contrast, are not labeled. One might argue that tags were not needed in the case of this scene because it can be easily recognized and that lack of inscriptions does nothing to reduce the status of that image. It is, however, precisely the familiarity of this scene which makes it the perfect frame – a frame beyond the conventional and more literal border of ornament – for the spectacular A-side<sup>44</sup>. Indeed, the Amymone scene is to be seen here as the equivalent of the "mantle figure" group which adorns the B-side of the other vase by the Lykaon Painter in Boston, the bell krater portraying the death of Aktaion on its A-side. Two women and one young man appear on the B-side of the Aktaion krater (*Fig. 7*). This female-male grouping is a variation of the two or three figure ensembles of male figures which regularly appear on the B-sides of Polygnotan vases. These mantle figures, figures with no personality or identity, became so common that Robertson coined a phrase, "reverse style," to describe the B-sides of vases bearing such figures<sup>45</sup>. These figures are, generally speaking, unremarkable and stereotypical in style and execution; they unquestionably constitute the frame for the A-side which is cast into relief and given precedence by this frame.

### PART 3: THE DEATH OF AKTAION

In the case of the Aktaion vase, the A-side is once again a unique and iconographically complex

<sup>40</sup> I owe this extremely important observation to Matthew O'Reilly.

<sup>41</sup> Caskey 1934, 44.

<sup>42</sup> Among these texts are the following: Boardman 1989, 60-3; Richter 1958, 127-9; and Robertson 1992, 210-3 and 1975, 327.

<sup>43</sup> Derrida 1987, 61. The preceding discussion, together with the quote, is derived from Derrida's discourse on Kant's definition of *ergon* and *parergon* in the third *Critique*.

<sup>44</sup> On the boundaries provided by ornament in vase painting and Greek art more generally, see Hurwit 1992, 63-72 and 1977, 1-30.

<sup>45</sup> See Robertson 1992, especially 242, 255 and 269. Buschor 1940, 207 coined another phrase with which to describe this phenomenon, the prevalence of one side of a vase over another; he called it a "*Fassadenstil*".



Fig. 7. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 00.346, Attic Red Figure Bell Krater by the Lykaon Painter, Side B, ca. 440 BC, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund, photo courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Fig. 8. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 00.346, Attic Red Figure Bell Krater by the Lykaon Painter, Side A.

composition inspired by public art, in this case by the theater and by the prevailing trends in mural painting (Fig. 8). Here the painter has depicted Aktaion who, having fallen onto one knee, defends himself vigorously with a spear against the onslaught of his maddened dogs. Aktaion is clad only in hunting boots and a cloak which is slung over his shoulder, and, alarmingly, his body is no longer entirely human. Antlers have grown on his head, and his ears are those of a deer; furthermore, there are tufts of fur, which have been rendered in brown stippling, on his forehead, nose, and cheeks. The attacking dogs are three in number, and they are being egged on by the clapping of Lyssa, Madness personified, who is approaching Aktaion on his right. Lyssa is clad in hunting boots and a chiton over which she wears a *kandys*, a Persian long-sleeved jacket, and an animal skin tied around her torso<sup>46</sup>. From the crown of her head grows a dog's head which is symbolic of her essence, insane fury manifested in a rabid canine rage. On Lyssa's right stands Zeus with thunderbolt and scepter in hand overseeing the events, and on the left of Aktaion stands Artemis holding a bow and a torch<sup>47</sup>. The Olympian deities, looking rather aloof but intimately involved in the action nevertheless, cleverly bracket the two liminal figures of Lyssa and Aktaion. The latter are both part-beast, and both of them are figures far removed from the Olympian sphere. It is clearly Aktaion, however, who is the focus of this composition; this is *his* tragedy, and he alone, the figure most accessible to the viewer, faces

and moves outward from the picture plane in such a way as to penetrate the viewer's space. At this terrifying moment he is surrounded, in the first instance, by his ravaging dogs and by Lyssa, forces who constitute a surge of fury from which there would be little hope of escape. Aktaion's pitiful plight is, however, sealed by Zeus and Artemis, the king of the gods and the goddess wronged, eerily calm in the face of human suffering and confident in the supremacy of their precedence over weak and fallible humanity. As far as the painterly style of this image is concerned, it, like the *nekuia*, is thoroughly Polygnotan. Spatial effects and the expression of setting are somewhat less pronounced here than in the *nekuia*, but they do feature; white lines suggest a mildly hilly terrain, and there is one lone plant next to Aktaion.

<sup>46</sup> For the description of the vase and its decoration, see Caskey and Beazley 1954, 83-6.

<sup>47</sup> It is appropriate that Artemis should be holding both her bow and a torch, for it was as a huntress that she encountered the hunter Aktaion, while the torch, an attribute which she shares with Hekate, assimilates her with the dark side of that goddess, with death and the avenging Erinyes. For the iconography of Artemis, see Kahil 1984, 618-753. The presence of Zeus, as suggested in Caskey and Beazley 1954, 85, could mean that the painting refers, at least in part, to the version of the myth in which Aktaion was a rival of Zeus' for the affections of Semele (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.4.4). The more usual version is that Aktaion's punishment was the result of his having caught sight of Artemis bathing (Paus. 9.2.3) or having boasted that he was a better hunter than Artemis (Eur. *Bacch.* 339-40).



Among the noteworthy features of this krater is the fact that it is one of the earliest vases to represent the actual, rather than intimated, metamorphosis of Aktaion<sup>48</sup>. The earliest representations of Aktaion's death, which appear in the middle of the 6th c. BC, show the hero, who is bearded and unclothed, running away from the dogs who encircle him. Around 470 BC, however, the iconography of the Aktaion myth changes. There are several examples from this later period of representations of the hero in a vanquished attitude and with no indication of metamorphosis.<sup>49</sup> At this time too begins a series of images in which the hero, who is either standing and defending himself or fallen, is clad in a deerskin. This latter series is commonly associated with the Stesichorean version of the Aktaion myth reported by Pausanias in which it is said that Artemis "cast the skin of a deer about him" (9.2.3). Opinions regarding the actual meaning of these words differ. Some scholars believe that Stesichorus was attempting to rationalize the myth and that Aktaion was literally clad in a deerskin<sup>50</sup>. The skin would then have been a device intended to induce the dogs to mistake their master for an animal to be preyed upon. Alternatively it has been suggested that Stesichorus' words are to be taken metaphorically and that a metamorphosis was indicated<sup>51</sup>. Substantiating this last reading is the nature of Polygnotos of Thasos' rendering of both the Aktaion and Callisto myths in his Delphian *Nekuia*. Callisto, the nymph who was transformed into a she-bear, is shown seated on a bearskin, and Aktaion, together with his mother, holds a deer and is seated on a deerskin (Paus. 10.31.10). In the case of Aktaion, Pausanias explicitly states that what Polygnotos was suggesting here via the deerskin and surrogate deer was the manner of Aktaion's death (10.30.5). It may be remarked in addition that Classical artists tended only to suggest the grotesque; such, for instance, was the fate of Medusa who was gradually transformed from a hideous apotropaic monster into a comely young woman by the 5th c.<sup>52</sup>.

More difficult to explain than the meaning of Stesichorus' words is the radical change of the Aktaion images early in the 5th c. If the new group of images in which the hero is clad in a deerskin does reflect Stesichorus, one is faced with the challenge of rationalizing the 100 year delay in the artistic response to the poet. Alternatively, it must be borne in mind that the depiction of Aktaion in a deerskin reflects the reality of ritual practice. Burkert suggests a connection with the fate of those who transgressed the boundary of the sacred precinct of Mt. Lykaon; all who entered were forthwith regarded as stags to be hunted and killed<sup>53</sup>. The transgressor would be in "costume" for his role, and

the punitive agents would be equivalent to wolves. Ritual may have influenced the pictorial tradition of the myth directly or may have influenced the literary tradition, lyric and dramatic, which in turn impressed itself on the artisan.

A further explanation for the deerskin iconography is that it was inspired by stage costumes. The costume imitated could have appeared in Phrynichus' or even Aeschylus' dramatized versions of the myth. It is equally possible that dramatic performances influenced the conception of yet another Aktaion type, that which the Lykaon Painter exemplifies, namely the horned Aktaion. In his enumeration of types of Greek tragic masks, Pollux (4.141) mentions that of Ἀκταίων κερασφόρος, horned Aktaion, and it is likely that this was the type of mask or headpiece employed in Aeschylus' *Toxotides*<sup>54</sup>. Because so little remains of the text of this play, all that can be said with certainty about its subject matter is that a description of the dismemberment of Aktaion was included. Presumably these grim details were reported in a messenger speech as was the norm for treating gruesome climaxes on stage.

The presence of the figure of Lyssa on the Lykaon Painter's vase is the feature which is cited as the main bit of evidence by those who believe the piece to be influenced by Aeschylean tragedy, and their claim is that because Lyssa appeared in the *Xantriai*, it is likely that she appeared in the *Toxotides* as well. Lyssa would certainly be appropriate to the theme of the latter production, but it does not follow that because Lyssa appeared in one Aeschylean play she was included in another<sup>55</sup>. Not only are personifications, usually taking the female form, quite common in Greek art at this time, but as was the case with the inclusion of Hermes in the Lykaon Painter's *nekuia*, a painter could and would exercise his imagination even when a given subject was inspired by a dramatic performance, known work of art, or piece of literature<sup>56</sup>. That inspiration does not

<sup>48</sup> For a complete survey of representations of the Aktaion myth, see Guimond 1981, 454-69.

<sup>49</sup> Among these is the famous image painted by the Pan Painter (MFA 10.185, ARV<sup>2</sup> 550.1).

<sup>50</sup> See Bowra 1961, 99ff.

<sup>51</sup> See Nagy 1973, 179-80.

<sup>52</sup> See Krauskopf 1988, 285-330.

<sup>53</sup> Burkert 1983, 91.

<sup>54</sup> Aeschylus fr. 244 *TrGF*. For discussions of the dependence of the Aktaion scene on the *Toxotides*, see Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 147 n. 865 and Séchan 1926, 132.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 147ff.; Séchan 1926, 132ff.; and Trendall-Webster 1971, 62.

<sup>56</sup> On personifications in Greek art, see Boardman 1989 and Shapiro 1993, especially 168-70 for Lyssa. For the presence of Lyssa due to "artistic license," see Séchan 1926, 135 n. 5.

entail strict imitation has been and continues to be a strong contention in iconographic studies. Lyssa is the blind fury which has possessed Aktaion's dogs; she *must* be present, either in body or spirit, when the dogs turn on Aktaion. It is the tendency of Greek vase painters to make manifest, corporeal, what is known but not normally seen to be true or to exist, and it may very well be the case that this is what has occurred here.

As regards the inspiration of the Aktaion image by the *Toxotides*, there is an additional detail on this vase which greatly enhances the credibility of that theory. Above the figure of Aktaion stands the *kalos* name Euaion, a name which appears a number of times on vases dating to roughly this period<sup>57</sup>. It is tempting to equate the person designated here with the Euaion who figures on vases of the Phiale Painter. The words "Euaion *kalos* son of Aeschylus" are written above the figure of Perseus on a white-ground kalyx-krater which was decorated by the Phiale Painter and was certainly inspired by the production of Sophocles' *Andromeda*. The same name appears again on another vase by the same painter, a vase thought to reflect Sophocles' *Thamyras*. It has been suggested that the Euaion named on these vases is the son of the tragedian Aeschylus and that the inscriptions designate him as the actor who portrayed the tagged character on the stage. The Suda entry on Aeschylus' son Euaion refers to him as τραγικός, which indicates that he could have been an actor, a producer of his father's tragedies, a tragedian himself, or all of the above. It would accordingly be reasonable to suppose that the Lykaon Painter's Euaion was this very son of Aeschylus and that he was the actor who portrayed Aktaion. Euaion may also have been responsible for producing the *Toxotides*. This would presumably be a second production, the first having been in Aeschylus' lifetime, and the closer one can move a date of production to the time of the vase painting's execution, the more likely it becomes that a revival of the play indeed served as the pictorial stimulus.

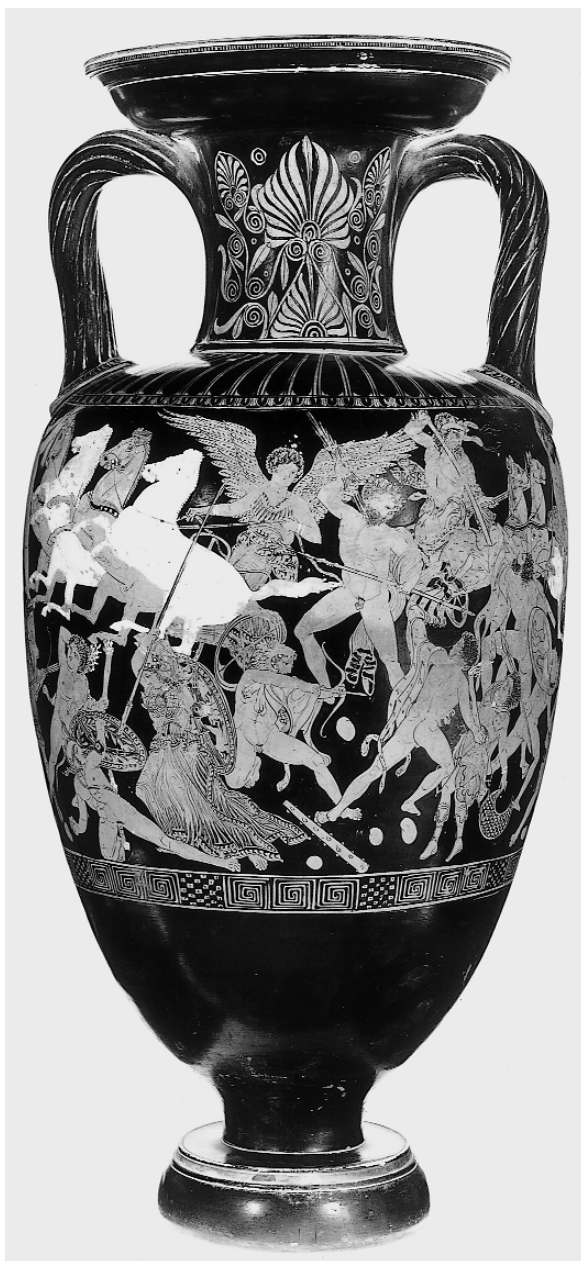
On the basis of the evidence provided by the Boston pelike and bell-krater, it is readily apparent that the Lykaon Painter drew his inspiration from a variety of sources, from the theater and from prominent monuments, both integral to civic life. In the case of both of these vases, one side, the A-side, has been rendered in a painterly manner, with elements of landscape, spatial effects, and the suggestion of three-dimensionality, all characteristics derived from innovations in wall painting. The B-sides, however, both feature stock three-figure groups rendered with considerably less care than the figures on the A-sides. The *nekuia* and death of Aktaion are thus images upon which the viewer focuses; the

viewer would not focus on, but merely glance at, the frame. These vases have in essence become canvases in the hands of the Lykaon Painter, thus bringing to a head what Robertson has called "the crisis in the art of vase-painting" because "the effect achieved...was deeply at variance with the traditional Greek concept of what constitutes suitable decoration for a pot."<sup>58</sup> Experiments in solidity and depth undermined the solidity of the surface of the pot and effaced its essential three-dimensionality. It was for this reason that these painterly effects were employed cautiously, even by those groups or workshops of painters, like that of the Niobid Painter and Polygnotos, whom we consider to have been most heavily influenced by the wall painters. This so-called crisis in vase painting resulted, in very simplified terms, in two traditions of vase painting, two different approaches. The one is that represented by the Polygnotans, on many of whose vases one side took precedence over the other, and the other by the Meidias Painter and his followers, in whose most "distinctively Meidian" work no such distinction between sides was made<sup>59</sup>. In the work of the latter we find a return, or rather adherence, to the age-old *horror vacui*, to filling the surface of the pot with patterns which emphasized and complemented its shapely solidity. That is not to say that the Meidians ignored the new trends in painting; indeed their vases tend to be covered with figures set up and down the picture field. There are broken ground lines and touches of landscape. The figures are expertly drawn and have a real corporeality and vigor. What is also the case, however, is that the figures are not only many in number but also rather small in scale. They tend not to extensively overlap one another and are placed such that their positioning does not indicate location in space. The figures have become a dense surface pattern akin to the florettes of Corinthian pottery or chevrons, meanders, and hatching of geometric pottery. This is a style which was not restricted to the Meidians themselves. Even in the grand and elaborate Paris Gigantomachy by the Suessula Painter, an image which is un-Meidian in both scale and subject matter, the dense disposition of the figures and

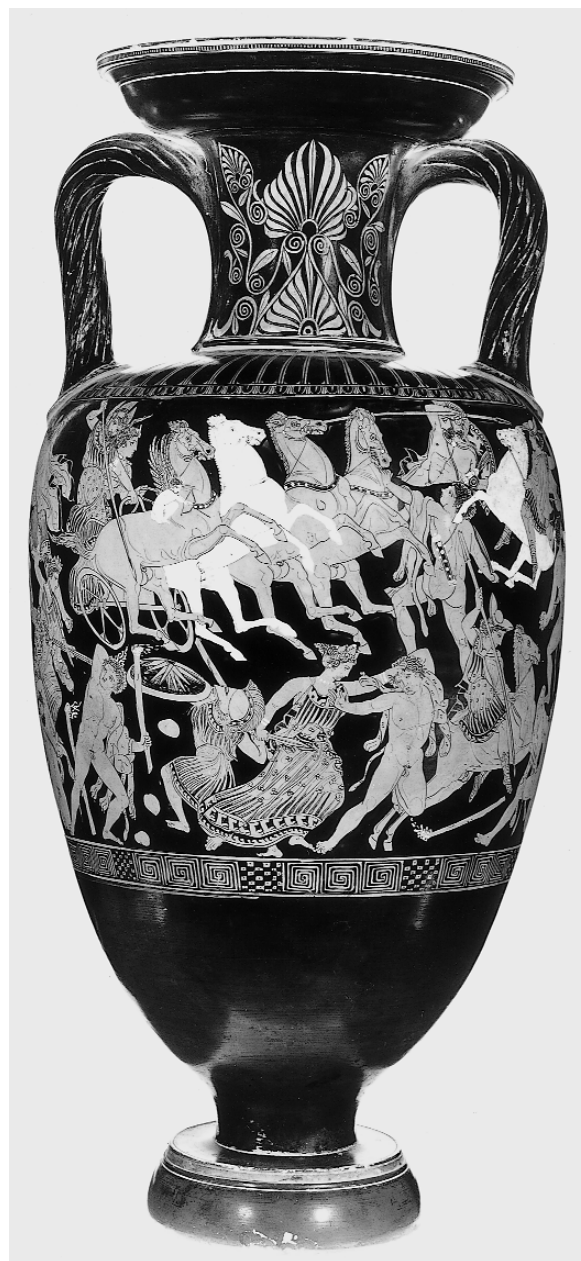
<sup>57</sup> See ARV<sup>2</sup>, 1579. The Providence Painter's Euaion would be too early to be the same as the Lykaon Painter's, and the same may be true of the Euaion Painter. The Phiale Painter's Euaion, designated as the son of Aeschylus, could, however, well be the same person named on the Lykaon Painter's vase at least as far as the relative dates of the pieces are concerned. See Matheson 1995, 266; Trendall and Webster 1971, 4-5; Robertson 1992, 20, 194, 207, and 211-2; and Shapiro 1987, 108-9.

<sup>58</sup> Robertson 1992, 133.

<sup>59</sup> See Robertson 1992, 231, 237-47 (especially 242), and 255-9 for what characterizes the Meidian style.



*Fig. 9. Paris, Musée du Louvre MNB 810, Attic Red Figure Neck Amphora by the Suessula Painter, Side "A", ca. 400 BC Gigantomachy. Photo P. Lebaube, Courtesy Musée du Louvre.*



*Fig. 10. Paris, Musée du Louvre MNB 810, Attic Red Figure Neck Amphora by the Suessula Painter, Side "B".*



the profusion of detail hark back to the Meidias Painter (Figs. 9-10)<sup>60</sup>.

Giving precedence to one side of a vase over the other has some obvious implications for the vase's use and/or display. If the Lykaon Painter's pelike functioned as a container for wine at a symposium rather than an *objet d'art*, a certain difficulty involving its orientation would arise. That is, one might risk offending a guest if it were the B-side rather than the A-side which faced him or her<sup>61</sup>. Would the pelike be carried in such a way that the A-side faced the symposiasts? Would it then be set down so that the A-side was still prominently displayed? Alternatively, was the pelike purchased as a prized "artifact"? If this was the case, one would imagine it displayed in a niche so that passers-by would all see the A-side, and those who took more than a casual interest would catch a glimpse of the figures on the B-side as well, figures which would trigger an almost immediate recognition, thereby drawing the viewer's gaze back to the unfamiliar A-side. Might it be the case that the pelike, as well as the Boston krater, was part of a series of vases of programmatic content, of vases which commented in some way on human encounters with death, the dead, or the dying?<sup>62</sup> These are questions to which there may never be answers, but one cannot even ask them if one does not look at the vase as a whole. To focus on the *nekuia* is to ignore the truth in that painting, that it was the Lykaon Painter's response to the wall painter Polygnotos, a piece in which the actual surface for the painting was transformed into the equivalent of a framed canvas. To focus only on the Anymone pursuit is to ignore the full truth in that image. In this instance and point in time this image had become popular and stereotypical, the perfect frame for a more innovative composition. The whole truth in Greek vase painting still eludes us, but the truths which can be gleaned should not be obfuscated by inadvertently or deliberately concealing any part of a vase.

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<sup>60</sup> See Robertson 1992, 259.

<sup>61</sup> It was pointed out to me by Larry Marceau that this is a consideration in Japanese tea ceremonies where care is taken by the host to orient the bowl such that its adorned side faces the guest. Upon receiving the bowl of tea, the guest extends the same courtesy to the host.

<sup>62</sup> The programmatic content of vases in the same collection has been discerned by Lissarague 1994 in a pair of cups in Vienna which issued from the same tomb at Caere. The notion of programmatic painting itself on vases is merely an extension of what is already recognized as a concern in Greek and Roman art and architecture more generally. The bibliography on this subject is vast, but see, for example: Castriota 1995; Galinsky 1996, especially 141-224 with bibliography on art and architecture; Ling 1991, especially 135-41 with bibliography; Rhodes 1995; Stewart 1985; Thompson 1961, 36-77; and Wirth 1983, 450-5. In concluding, I would like to thank Steve Crawford, Donald Dunham, Marit Jentoft-Nilsen, Sarah Morris, Matthew O'Reilly, and Alan Shapiro for their kind assistance and criticism. Finally, I would like to thank Emily Vermeule for sending me to the MFA to take a hard look at the Lykaon Painter's paintings.

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# The *pithoi* from the ancient Anatolian city of Pessinus.

## An integrated archaeological and petrographical analysis.

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### Abstract

*Food conservation was a major preoccupation of all ancient communities. In the classical world of the Eastern Mediterranean large ceramic containers, most commonly called pithoi, were the standard utensils for the in-house bulk storage of such essential food products as grain, wine and oil. Although widely found on protohistoric and historic sites, these common and often crudely produced containers did not receive much attention by archaeologists and ceramologists. This paper tries to focus on these artefacts by analysing the excavated pithos material from the central-Anatolian town of Pessinus. The diachronic approach – with finds from Phrygian times up to the early Byzantine period – as well as the integrated archaeological and petrographical analysis, shed light on such aspects as ceramic production techniques, typological evolution, commerce and food conservation and consumption in an inland town of classical Turkey.*

### I. STORAGE OF GRAIN, WINE AND OLIVE OIL IN CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

The diet of ancient Greeks and Romans consisted mainly of grains (principally wheat and barley) processed into porridge and bread, supplemented with vegetables, fish, poultry, spices, and to a lesser extent meat<sup>1</sup>. In addition to that, wine was one of the main beverages consumed by all classes. Olive oil was also an essential ingredient of the diet of the ancients<sup>2</sup>. One of the principal occupations in the history of mankind was the successful cultivation and harvesting of crops. But storing the product was equally important, for that way man could make sure that there would be sufficient supplies to tide over times of scarcity until the next harvesting time. A variety of storage techniques were developed. The specific nature of the product to be stored and the nature of the storage itself determined which conservation method was most appropriate.

#### Grain

Roman authors writing about agronomics knew very well that stored grain had to be kept cool and dry

and that plagues of weevils or rodents had to be controlled. Cato writes:

“To keep weevils and mice from damaging grain supplies, make a slime of *amurca*<sup>3</sup> and add some chaff. Leave to soak and work thoroughly. Cover the whole granary with the thick slime and sprinkle with *amurca*. After the layer of *amurca* has dried, store the cooled grain there. The grain supply will not be damaged by weevils.”<sup>4</sup>

The same principle is described by Varro who also draws attention to the following:

“Wheat should be stored in granaries above ground, open to the draught on the east and north. It must not be exposed to rising damp.”<sup>5</sup>

However, there was no consensus of opinion about the best way of storing grain. Nevertheless Pliny seems to prefer silos. He writes:

“The most appropriate method is to store grain in holes, called *siri*, as is done in *Cappadocia*, *Thracia*, *Hispania* and *Africa*.”<sup>6</sup>

Varro writes about these *siri*:

“The bottom of these *siri* is covered with straw. It is of the utmost importance not to let moisture or air touch them, except when the grain is removed for use; for weevils do not breed in anaerobic conditions. Wheat stored like that keeps as long as fifty years, and millet more than a hundred.”<sup>7</sup>

Excavations all over the Roman world revealed that this was a widespread method of storage, even in relatively damp areas such as England. According to Tacitus, the ancient Germans dug subterranean storage rooms where they stored their grain<sup>8</sup>. To ordinary farmers, silos offered a user-friendly and economic storage method. However, this method could not be used for state purposes. Grain barns and large *horrea* were more appropriate.

In addition, grain was preserved in earthenware receptacles. Among the common types of large containers, we find the so-called *pithoi* or *dolia*. One of

<sup>1</sup> White 1984, 63.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*

<sup>3</sup> *Amurca* was an important by-product of the oil production.

<sup>4</sup> Cato, *De Agri Cultura* XCII.

<sup>5</sup> Varro, *De Re Rustica* I. LVII. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* XVIII. LXXIII. 306.

<sup>7</sup> Varro, *De Re Rustica* I. LVII. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Mauny 1979, 49.



their main purposes was the storage of grain for a short or half-long term<sup>9</sup>. The fact that grains of corn were found together with *dolia* and the discovery of several broken receptacles that had been repaired with lead, which made them unsuitable for the conservation of liquids, are proof of this, both directly and indirectly. They are often found isolated in a corner of the living quarters, which implies a modest grain production and a familial, non-collective control of the goods.

In addition, smaller containers were used, e.g. the *seria*<sup>10</sup>, the *amphora*<sup>11</sup> and the *cadus*<sup>12</sup>. Each of these ceramic forms was multifunctional and was applied for a whole series of products such as wine, oil, grain and vegetables.

### Wine

During the Graeco-Roman period the making of wine involved essentially three processes: treading in the vat, pressing out the juice in the press, and fermentation and storage in large containers. After the pressing process, the wine was channelled or piped from the *lacus torcularius* (the vat under the press) to the *cella vinaria* for the first stage of vinification. On reaching the *cella vinaria*, the newly pressed and as yet unfermented wine (*mustum* or *gleukos*) was run off into earthenware containers, ranging in capacity from *dolia*<sup>13</sup> or *orcae* (up to 200 *modii*) to the smaller *seriae*<sup>14</sup>.

After the initial phase of fermentation, which usually lasted about nine days, the lids (*opercula*) were put on, and then sealed to prevent air from entering<sup>15</sup>. Every thirty-six days the containers were inspected<sup>16</sup>. The entire fermentation period took six months, during which the liquid was constantly skimmed<sup>17</sup>. The fermenting vats were opened during the spring festival of the *Pithoigia* (Greek) or *Vinalia* (Roman)<sup>18</sup>. The wine was then transferred to *askoi*, *cullei*, *amphorae* or *cupae* for transport and sale, or to *dolia* or *amphorae* for storage.

The storage arrangements for wine were more complex than those required for oil, considering the nature of the fermentation process. The wine was best kept in *dolia* that were buried (*dolia defossa*). Thus a cool and constant temperature and limited contact with the air were guaranteed. This method was used to prevent after-fermentation. Before they were buried, pitch (*dolia picare*) or resin was put on the inside – and sometimes on the outside – of the *dolia* or *pithoi*. This was done to reduce the permeability of these vessels. Later on, it was done because the ancients appreciated the peculiar taste thus imparted to the wine, a flavour that is still typical of the Greek *Retsina*<sup>19</sup>.

Climatic conditions were a determining factor: according to Pliny “in districts with a milder climate,

wine was stored in containers which were buried entirely or partly to protect them against climatic conditions; in other places people stored these containers under shelters.”<sup>20</sup>

In regions with a warmer climate such as Campania, the finest vintages were preserved in smaller containers (*cadi*) placed in the open air<sup>21</sup>. Pliny continues: “One side of the *cella vinaria*, or at least the windows, should face north-east. These *cella vinaria* should not be located in the vicinity of dunghills and tree roots, particularly fig trees. Objects giving off a strong smell should not be placed nearby since the wine could be easily impregnated. The *dolia* must be widely spaced to prevent the spreading of germs as wine is extremely sensitive to infection. Moreover the shape of the *dolia* is important: pot-bellied and wide-necked *dolia* are less suitable. Immediately after the rising of the Dog Star, they should be coated with pitch and afterwards rinsed with seawater or salted water, and then sprinkled with ashes of brushwood or else with pottery earth. Then they should be scrubbed clean and fumigated with myrrh. Wine cellars should undergo the same treatment regularly. Weak vintages should be kept in buried *dolia*, but full-bodied wines should be kept in *dolia* exposed to the air.”<sup>22</sup>

### Olive oil

The manufacturing of this essential product which was used in the kitchen, but also served as fuel, for lighting (oil lamps), as an equivalent of soap and for religious purposes (e.g. libations), was much more complicated than the production of wine<sup>23</sup>. To make oil, olives had to be stoned without crushing the stone since this would spoil the flavour of the oil<sup>24</sup>. After pressing the oil had to be separated from the commercially useful but highly contaminated *amurca* or lees.

The oil was stored in *dolia* (*dolia olearia*) too, which were normally proofed by steeping them in

<sup>9</sup> Amouretti 1986, 72.

<sup>10</sup> White 1975, 187.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 124.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 129.

<sup>13</sup> *Dolia vinaria* were pear-shaped, with their maximum width at the shoulder, to allow for the expansion of the contents during the earliest phase of fermentation. cf. White 1975, 145.

<sup>14</sup> White 1975, 113

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 146.

<sup>16</sup> Seltman 1957, 70.

<sup>17</sup> Forbes 1965, 117.

<sup>18</sup> *Id.*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 116.

<sup>20</sup> Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* XIV. XXVII. 133.

<sup>21</sup> Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* XIV. XXVII. 136.

<sup>22</sup> Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* XIV. XXVII. 133-134.

<sup>23</sup> Amouretti 1986, 153-169.

<sup>24</sup> Columella, *Res Rustica De Arboribus* XII. LII. 6.

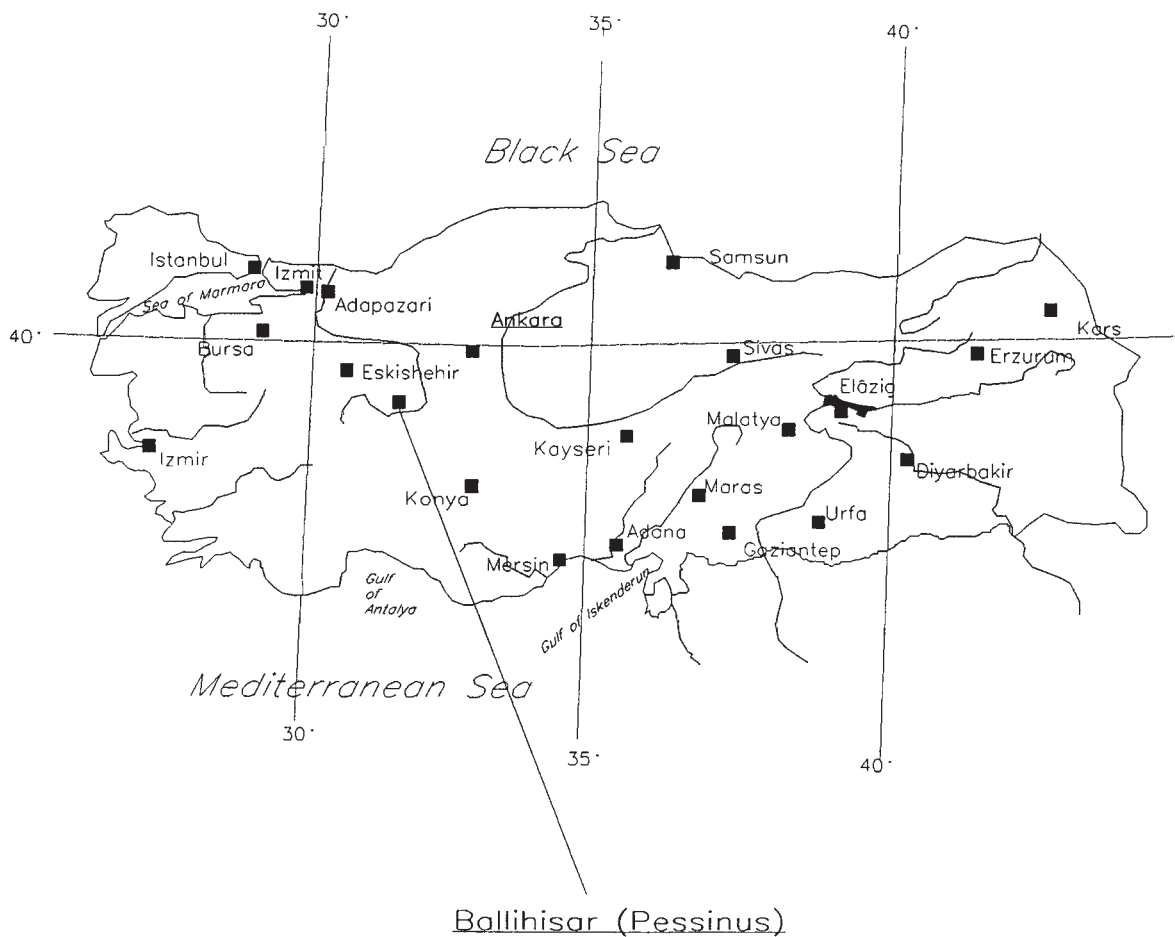


Fig. 1. Location of Pessinus.

*amurca* for a week<sup>25</sup>. Contrary to the *cella vinaria*, the *cella olearia* required a higher ambient temperature<sup>26</sup>.

## II. AN ANATOLIAN CASE-STUDY: PESSINUS

In 1834 the French explorer Charles Texier was the first to link the central Anatolian village Ballihisar with the ancient city Pessinus. However, this site which is located near the ancient river *Sangarios* (Sakarya) and about 130 km south-west of Ankara (fig. 1) did not receive much attention since then. It was not until the sixties that Pessinus regained scientific interest and that excavations were carried out by the University of Ghent under the guidance of Prof. P. Lambrechts. His team's fieldwork, which lasted from 1967 until 1973, initially focused on

locating the famous sanctuary of the Phrygian mother goddess Cybele, whose cult spread from Pessinus to the rest of the ancient world. This sanctuary, which was praised by Strabo and Livy<sup>27</sup>, has not yet been found. It is probably located underneath the present-day Turkish houses. Still, Lambrechts was able to discover some monumental parts of the Roman city centre, such as a temple dedicated to the imperial cult, a theatre and an impressive marble canal system with colonnades and arches (fig. 2)<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> White 1975, 146.

<sup>26</sup> *Id.* 1970, 422.

<sup>27</sup> Strabo XII. V. 3. (c. 567); Livy XXIX. X. 4-11, 8; XIV. 5-14.

<sup>28</sup> Devreker & Waelkens 1984. In this work one can find an extensive bibliography concerning the research of Prof. P. Lambrechts.

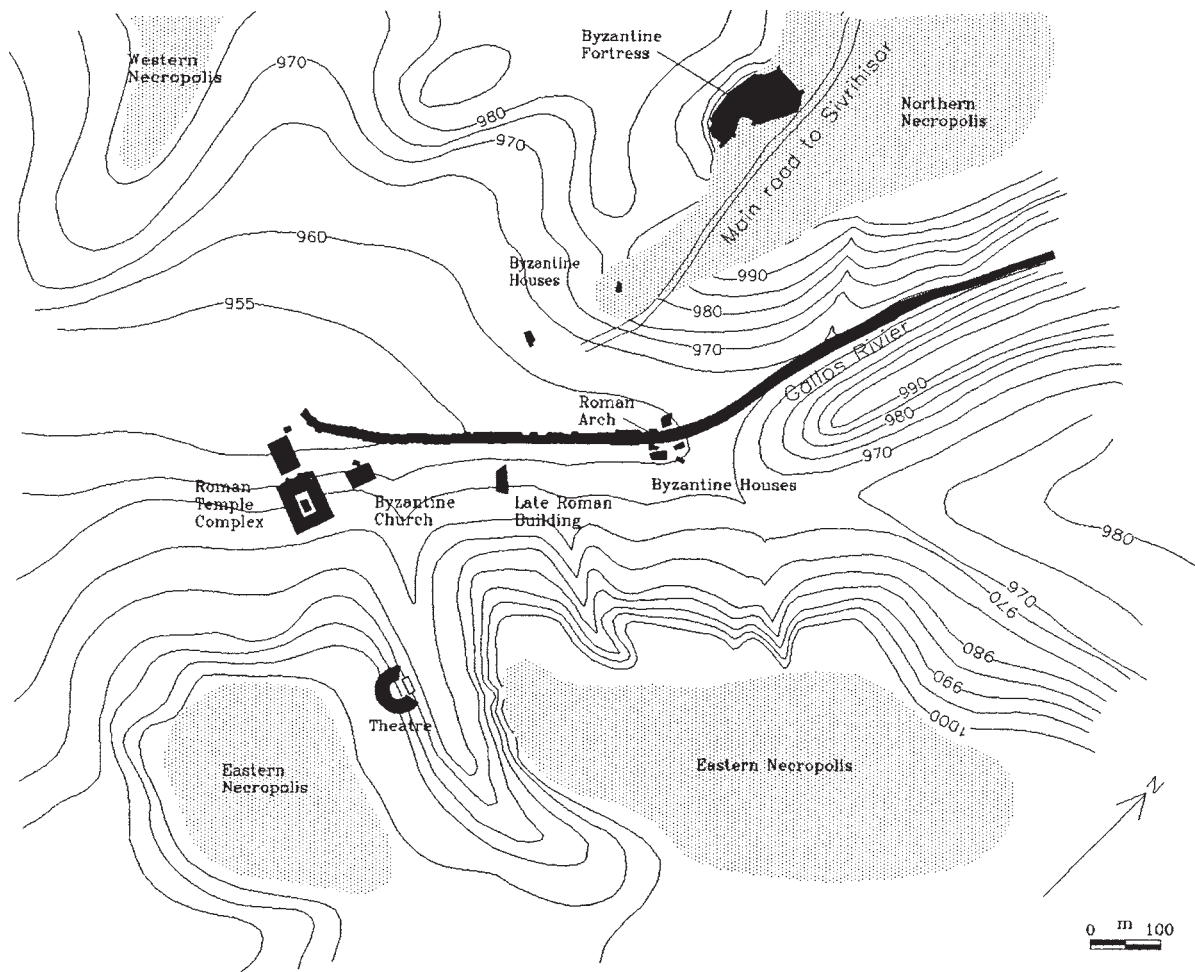


Fig. 2. Excavated zones in the urban core of Pessinus.

In 1976, 1983 and 1986, study campaigns were conducted by Prof. J. Devreker who resumed the excavations in 1987 with a larger team. From then on, the excavations were gradually integrated into a more comprehensive, multidisciplinary project that aims to reconstruct in broad outline the history of the ancient city centre and its territory from the early Phrygian times (9<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century BC) until the decline in the middle Byzantine period (11<sup>th</sup> century AD). Consequently, it was decided to opt for a more contemporary scientific approach based on a system of test digs at several places in the city – to make a more accurate evaluation of the spatial, stratigraphical and chronological evolution possible – supplemented with systematic surveys in the hinterland<sup>29</sup>. The broad outline of the history of Pessinus is finally known to us now.

#### Short history of a town

According to tradition, Pessinus (ΠΕΣΣΙΝΟΥΣ) already existed as cult centre and settlement from the beginning of the Phrygian realm. The renowned Phrygian king Midas (8<sup>th</sup> century BC) is claimed to have founded the city and its first temple that was dedicated to Cybele. Several written sources testify that a relatively powerful temple state lead by a high priest (Attis) developed here, near the holy river

<sup>29</sup> Devreker 1988; Devreker 1989a; Devreker 1989b; Devreker, Hollevoet & Thoen 1990; Devreker, Thoen & Vermeulen 1991; Devreker, Thoen & Vermeulen 1995; Devreker & Vermeulen 1992; Devreker & Vermeulen 1994; Devreker & Vermeulen 1995; Devreker & Vermeulen 1996a; Devreker & Vermeulen 1996b; Devreker & Vermeulen 1997; Devreker & Vermeulen 1998.



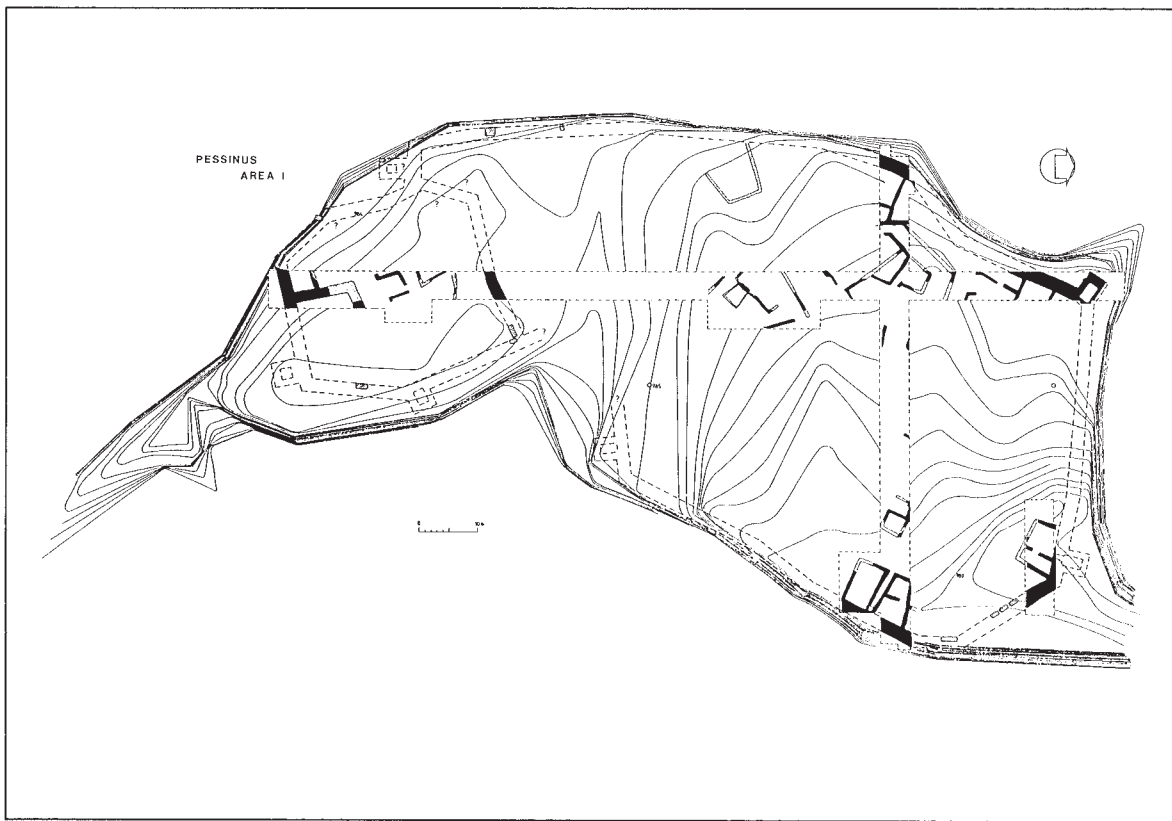


Fig. 3 General plan of the early Byzantine fortress on the acropolis.

Gallos and overshadowed by Mount Dindymos. This sanctuary was able to secure its independence to a large extent during the various regimes that dominated western Asia Minor in the next centuries, particularly under the regime of the Lydians (c. 650-550 BC), the Persian Achaemenids (c. 550-330 BC), the Greek Seleucids (c. 330-280 BC) and the Celtic Galatians (c. 280-25 BC).

Under the reign of Augustus, the Celtic territories were incorporated into the *Imperium Romanum* as the province of *Galatia*. As administrative capital of the tribe of the *Tolistobogioi*, Pessinus was quickly transformed into a real Graeco-Roman city with its own territory and coinage. The building of a number of monumental public complexes (temples, a theatre, a forum...) and the establishment of the official imperial cult in the early Roman period (under Tiberius) soon turned Pessinus into an imposing city.

In addition, this conurbation with its growing, mixed population of Phrygians, Greeks, Celts and Romans developed into an important trade centre that was famous for its local textile industry. The

city's location on the new Roman road network, which guaranteed a fast connection with *Ancyra* (Ankara), was a considerable advantage.

In 252/253 AD, the Goths overran Asia Minor. In spite of the havoc that was caused, Pessinus remained a densely populated city, which could still accomplish its task of administrative, religious and commercial centre in late Antiquity. When the province of *Galatia* was divided by Theodosius around 400 AD, Pessinus did not only become the capital of *Galatia Salutaris*; it also remained a religious metropolis. Later, the bishops of Pessinus appear on the lists of the most prominent religious synods in the Byzantine Empire. The *Vita Sancti Theodori*, written in the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD, mentions two important churches, the cathedral of the Haghia Sofia – located in the heart of town – and the *Muriangeloi*-church *extra muros*. The numerous raids of the Arabs in Asia Minor since the 7<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century caused the gradual decay of the city. Clear proof of this is the substantial decrease in excavated contexts from the 9<sup>th</sup> century onwards and the fact that the bishop seat became less important,

much to the benefit of the nearby town of Amorium. Although its name is found in the *Notitiae Episcopatum* until the 14<sup>th</sup> century, no Byzantine coins were found in Pessinus after the third quarter of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Like many parts of Anatolia, Pessinus was probably incorporated into the new Empire of the Turkish Seldjouds in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, and the residential nucleus which had already fallen into ruins, was totally abandoned.

#### *Storage of food in ancient Pessinus*

The Belgian excavation team concentrated its efforts so far in two main areas of the former territory of ancient Pessinus. Several parts of the monumental city centre, including some public space as well as sectors for private housing, were revealed in and around the valley floor of the ephemeral river Gallos. Furthermore a reasonably large-scale excavation was carried out on a plateau north of this urban core (fig. 2), which the French explorer Texier called “*acropole*”. Evidence for ancient food storage is very different in both areas, due to stratigraphical and contextual distinctions.

#### *The so-called “acropolis”: from Hellenistic and Roman cemetery to Byzantine fortress*

In Hellenistic times, this place where many limestone beds are exposed, initially served as quarry for the city under construction. It is very likely that limestone was still extracted during the Roman and early Byzantine period. These extraction activities resulted in a depression in the central zone. From the late Hellenistic period (2nd century BC) until the late Roman period (5<sup>th</sup> century AD), this site was also used as a cemetery. Some 120 graves were excavated here. Finally, in the course of the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD, the acropolis site was turned into an area for combined residential and defensive purposes. During this transformation the plateau was levelled out and the central depression was filled up<sup>30</sup> (fig. 3). The reason for this transformation seems obvious.

In the relatively turbulent, early Byzantine period, the way of living was fundamentally changed. From the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD onwards, the inhabitants of Pessinus, like many other townspeople from this part of the Byzantine Empire, felt forced to carry out defensive works for fear of the Persian enemy. Since topographical conditions made it impossible to wall the whole town centre, a system of watch-towers and strongholds on the hills and plateaux surrounding the inhabited valley was opted for. The most impressive construction, which was partly excavated between 1987 and 1991, was a genuine fortress built on the so-called acropolis, in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Its favourable location near the road *Amorion-Germakoloneia*, on a promontory

surrounded by three steep mountain slopes which provided a natural defence, and with an excellent view of the town and the surrounding landscape, explains the success and prolonged use of this fortress until the 11<sup>th</sup> century. It seems that the settlement on the acropolis was used continuously for at least a century to house approximately 1000 to 1500 people. But in times of siege, it provided shelter to many more, perhaps to the whole population<sup>31</sup>. The storage capacity (cf. *infra*) was so high that longer sieges could easily be withstood.

We found evidence that the site had been occupied for a long time. The stratigraphical sequence of habitation levels – sometimes three floors on top of each other –, the innumerable alterations and the study of earthenware, coins and other artefacts, made it possible for us to distinguish several habitation and construction phases<sup>32</sup>. Although it is difficult to determine whether this place was occupied continuously or only during turbulent periods, the fortress appears to have been inhabited intensely and continuously from as early as the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century until the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD. After that it was inhabited partially or with intervals until the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century (cf. 11<sup>th</sup> century coins). Particularly the three last centuries of habitation are less represented in the finds<sup>33</sup>.

The housing units inside the fortress were, especially in the initial phase, relatively small and they were built quite close to each other. They were accessible via a series of streets and alleys, the general configuration of which is still unclear. A number of floor plans prove that there was a substantial variety in the types of houses built. We know for a fact that houses with one or with two rooms were built (fig. 4), but it is possible that several other types were present.

It is clear that the storage of large amounts of domestic food and beverages (e.g. wheat, barley and wine) as well as traded articles (e.g. olive oil), was of paramount importance in this community, the main objectives of which were defence and survival. Large subterranean parts of the houses were made into storage rooms. Silos as well as many *pithoi* represent the bulk of these storage facilities.

The stored food had to be kept cool to reduce losses to a minimum. That is why the *pithoi* were always buried in the ground. When they were excavated, certain specimens were still covered with a lid, mostly a round flat stone on floor level. Some of the

<sup>30</sup> Vermeulen 1995; Vermeulen, Devreker & De Mulder 1998.

<sup>31</sup> Vermeulen 1995, 30.

<sup>32</sup> By this time, the publication of the acropolis is in preparation.

<sup>33</sup> Vermeulen, Devreker & De Mulder 1998.



Fig. 4. Some early Byzantine houses with pithoi (P) in the fortress.



*pithoi* were intact, but usually empty. However, all that is left of most of these *pithoi* is the lower part or sometimes just a negative trace (*pithos* pit). That is why it is so difficult to assign a date to these *pithoi*, especially given the strong conservatism in form and decoration (cf. *infra*). Nevertheless, the position of a series of *pithoi* – often neatly in a row, parallel with the wall and buried in the same construction pit – indicates that most of them belong to the same period and that a majority dates back to the early construction phases of the fortress (fig. 4)<sup>34</sup>. Silos are also regularly found in the houses. They were dug in the marly soil or limestone bedrock and had an average depth of 1 to 2 m below the then ground level. These pits, which broadened towards the bottom, most likely served as grain containers. The absence of well levels at this height made the building of special water supply and water collection systems necessary. In the earliest days of the fortress, the Roman aqueduct, which ran between the hills and the lower city and passed at only some ten metres distance from the north-east corner of the acropolis, was probably still used<sup>35</sup>. The cistern in house B (fig. 4) shows that rainwater was collected too. Two flat sealing stones as well as a remnant of terracotta pipes, which could transport water from the roof to the reservoir, were found at this bell- or bottle-shaped well head. The well had an estimated volume of about 5000 liters<sup>36</sup>. It is possible that water was also transported and collected in *pithoi* and other earthenware.

During the excavations at the acropolis, a total of 107 *pithoi* and small storage containers (or the holes in which they were placed) were found, as well as 12 silos. It may be assumed, on the basis of their continuous use, that a major part of them was once used simultaneously. About 18% of the whole surface area, which consists of 0.8 ha, was excavated. By means of an extrapolation, we can hypothetically reconstruct the storage capacity of the whole fortress: presumably some 600 “*pithoi*” (more than 500 *pithoi* and about 80 small storage containers<sup>37</sup>) and 70 silos with a total storage capacity of over 300.000 liters<sup>38</sup>.

This implies that the fortress site was well equipped to withstand long sieges or a long period of instability without any problems whatsoever. It is clear that food was stored in the fortress for strategic reasons.

#### *The city centre: more than 17 centuries of human settlement*

Less data are available about the food storage in the urban core of the city and in pre-Byzantine periods. On the one hand this is due to the less accurate excavation techniques used during the first campaigns

(between 1967 and 1973) and to the fact that other priorities were established at the time. On the other hand we must conclude that less structures were investigated which constituted direct proof of food storage.

In a building excavated in 1969, situated near the Gallos, 5 large storage vats were found. The complex was interpreted as a late Roman warehouse, with a cellar probably intended for public rather than domestic use. Only few reliable data are available with regard to the dating, function and simultaneity of the structure<sup>39</sup>.

Also in the area of the temple for the imperial cult, a number of intact storage containers were found. In the Byzantine period, the so-called stair-theatre and the originally colonnaded square situated in line with this temple, were taken up by a cluster of houses and workshops<sup>40</sup>. Other *pithoi* were discovered in early Byzantine housing areas near this former sanctuary. These finds as well as the many smaller *pithos* fragments that were retrieved from stratigraphical test digs all over the ancient city, prove that the inhabitants disposed of substantial food reserves during most of the occupation history of Pessinus. However, the quality and quantity of this *pithos* information is different from period to period. Thus, very little is known about storage facilities in the Phrygian period (7th-4th century BC), when the central settlement of Pessinus was probably restricted to a small area near the temple of Cybele. More data are available concerning the Hellenistic and Roman periods, when Pessinus developed into a real town, although it is the Byzantine material that turns out to be dominantly present. The latter is easy to explain. Even in Antiquity, radical changes undoubtedly took place in the city. As a consequence of the construction of the temple complex, for example, numerous pre-Roman structures were affected, to put it mildly. The Byzantine period was characterized by alterations and destructions that were sometimes rather radical, and that affected both earlier public places

<sup>34</sup> Vermeulen 1995, 28.

<sup>35</sup> Vermeulen, De Dapper & Brackman 1996, 45; Vermeulen, De Dapper & Brackman 1998, 76-77.

<sup>36</sup> Vermeulen 1995, 28.

<sup>37</sup> Any specimen with a capacity smaller than 50 l, and/or a height of less than 500 mm, and/or a diameter of less than 400 mm, and/or a vessel wall thickness of less than 5 mm, is not labeled *pithos* but small storage container.

<sup>38</sup> A silo has an average capacity of 1947 l, a *pithos* has an average capacity of 333 l and a small storage container has an estimated capacity of 50 l. On the basis of those data, a complete capacity of 304.167 l was obtained.

<sup>39</sup> Devreker & Waelkens 1984, 54 (sector E).

<sup>40</sup> Devreker & Waelkens 1984, 53; Devreker, Thoen & Vermeulen 1995, 137-138.

and residential areas. Furthermore, the fact that more elements are available from the early Byzantine period may also be explained by reasons of security (cf. *supra*), which was of minor importance in the previous periods.

### III. STUDY OF THE *PITHOI* FROM PESSINUS

Within the framework of this research, 39 “intact” ceramic *pithoi* were studied<sup>41</sup>. At the same time, about 65 fragments, which included mainly diagnostic material from well-documented stratigraphical contexts, were examined more closely. Although a fairly good sample, this ceramic material represents only a fraction of the artefacts used as containers for bulk foodstuffs in ancient Pessinus.

The ancient Greeks used the term *pithos* for vessels, which were big enough to transport or store substances in large amounts<sup>42</sup>. Although *pithoi* were characterized by a rather stationary use and although they were mostly used for the storage of food, they also served as containers for transport. This is not only proved by shipwrecks in different parts of the Mediterranean or some Roman pictures of ships loaded with *pithoi*; it is also illustrated by the petrographical analysis of the material found in Pessinus<sup>43</sup> (cf. *infra*).

*Pithoi* could contain both fluids like wine, oil, vinegar,... and dry goods like grain or flour, fruit, e.g. grapes and figs, vegetables, etc. One *pithos*, which was found in the Hellenistic occupation layers of a house in Phaistos,<sup>44</sup> but was dated in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, is clear proof of the long life of those storage containers. Many examples of ancient repairs also attest to the fact that they were extremely valuable. *Pithoi* showing irreparable cracks as a result of the fermentation of *mustum* or any other cause, were undoubtedly re-used for numerous other purposes. In Pessinus, for example, the walls of a recently excavated Hellenistic oven chamber were covered with *pithos* fragments. In the present village of Ballihsar, which was built on top of the urban core of Pessinus, using much of the ancient city's spoils as building material, we found many examples of walls partly constructed with *pithos* sherds. Elsewhere, evidence has been found of rims that were used for lining a well<sup>45</sup>. Even misfires – mainly specimens with a cracked bottom – were probably not left unused. The ethno-archaeological work by Hampe and Winter demonstrated that *pithoi* were re-used as chimneys after the bottom had been knocked out<sup>46</sup>. Burials in *pithoi*, cremations as well as inhumations, were not uncommon in Antiquity. If the *pithos* was large enough, it could serve as suitable receptacle for rainwater. Huge

specimens could be used as a house, refuge or prison. One *pithos* from Kerameikos<sup>47</sup>, with a height of 2.13 m, offered enough space for Demos or Diogenes. The ancients also used the *dolium* as an equivalent of our modern flowerpots: they planted flowers and shrubs in them<sup>48</sup>. Vitruvius states that several architects made use of the resonance of terracotta *dolia* in the construction of theatres. The *dolia* were used here to improve the acoustics<sup>49</sup>.

#### *Construction and firing techniques*

##### *Background information*

In ancient times, people were well aware that the construction of *pithoi* was an extremely difficult undertaking. There was a popular axiom that admonished overly ambitious but inexperienced persons against undertaking a project that was beyond their abilities. They were reminded that potters learn their trade by making small vases before attempting to construct a *pithos*.

“I learn the potter's trade on the *pithos*”; a saying about those who skip the first lessons and immediately throw themselves into big projects, as if someone who was learning to be a potter would attempt to construct a *pithos*, if he had not learnt to mould plates or to make small things first.”<sup>50</sup>

It is stated in the *Geoponika* that only small *pithoi* were manufactured on a potter's wheel; the larger ones were built from the ground up, in a warm room. It was a procedure that took several days<sup>51</sup>. There were ancient *pithoi* that were so large that they were constructed over a collapsible wooden frame, which was removed, before the clay could dry<sup>52</sup>. The construction of *pithoi* was a job for specialists. It required a well-structured organization. This appears not only from Zenobius' writings; we can deduce this from ethno-archaeological research too.

From the end of May until the end of June 1960, Roland Hampe and Adam Winter made a field trip

<sup>41</sup> All *pithoi* that are archaeologically complete, this is with totally known profile, are considered to be complete. Other specimens which are no longer archaeologically complete, but which could be reconstructed by means of old photographs and drawings, can be categorized as complete *pithoi* too.

<sup>42</sup> Ervin Caskey 1976, 19.

<sup>43</sup> De Paepe & Vermeulen 1998.

<sup>44</sup> Ervin Caskey 1976, 19.

<sup>45</sup> Shear 1993, 471, *pithos* (1), P24921

<sup>46</sup> Hampe & Winter 1962, 4 and 22.

<sup>47</sup> Ervin Caskey 1976, 20.

<sup>48</sup> Daremberg & Saglio 1892, 333.

<sup>49</sup> Vitruvius, *De Architectura Libri Decem* V.V.8.

<sup>50</sup> Zenobius, *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* III. 65. cf. Noble 1966, 16.

<sup>51</sup> *Geoponika* VI.3.4. cf. Frayn 1979, 139 and White 1975, 145.

<sup>52</sup> Noble 1966, 16.

to Crete where they did research on the life of “*pithos* potters”. In the month of July, of the same year, Hampe also examined a number of potters’ villages in Messinia (Peloponnese) and Cyprus<sup>53</sup>. It appears from their reports that mainly two manufacturing methods could be distinguished.

The first method consists in building the *pithoi* on simple turntables. Every day of the potters’ season, the potter or “master” constructs, in collaboration with an assistant who turns the table, a number of *pithoi* by applying the coiling technique. By means of clay coils, he systematically builds up the vessel wall, storey by storey. All *pithoi* under construction are constantly built up to the same level, so that the previous level has a certain bearing power already when the building of a new level is started. At the joints between the undermost and the next component, the “master” uses a form-rod to make a small groove. By means of a slow turning table, fillets of clay are affixed to the joints of the remaining storeys. After that, a fast turning table is used and the fillets of clay are smoothed with wet fingers until they become flat, horizontal, thickened coils, called girdles (ζωνάρια)<sup>54</sup>.

The other method consists in building up *pithoi* without using a turntable. Every day, the potter affixes a coil to each *pithos* while walking around it.

A combination of these two methods is possible too. In that case, the lower part is constructed on the turntable and the remaining storeys are freely built up manually.

### Coiling

The technique that was applied in Pessinus was without any doubt the coiling method, for traces attesting to this were found in numerous specimens. This so-called “colombin technique”, is a frequently used manufacturing technique. It means that coils – ropes, rolls or fillets of clay – are built up to establish the circumference of the vessel and to increase its height gradually (cf. ethno-archaeological information). It is particularly appropriate to build extremely large pottery such as storage containers. Rice distinguishes three variants: ring building, segmental coiling and spiral coiling<sup>55</sup>. The coils are formed by squeezing or rolling the clay into long ropes or fillets with a diameter that is usually two to three times bigger than the intended thickness of the vessel. Successive coils are affixed to the exposed edge of the vessel wall. They often overlap slightly on the interior or exterior, and they are pinched to make a firm joint. It is best to bond the overlapping coils obliquely because that way a bigger bonding area is obtained, which results in a better cohesion. To be able to carry the weight of the

added coils, the partly finished vat must be dried sufficiently<sup>56</sup>. The joints are usually removed by further finishing procedures. If the coils were poorly bonded, it is easy to determine whether the coiling technique was used. If, for example, the clay had dried almost completely before the next coil was affixed, the joint was not strong. Moreover, the joints were weakened further by the stress of the drying and firing processes and by the use that was made of the vessel. Hairline cracks and distinct breakage patterns may occur along parallel planes, either horizontally or gently spiralling. The fractures themselves are usually relatively smooth and rounded, marking the upper edge of a coil<sup>57</sup>. Other typical features of this technique are the substantial differences in the vessel wall thickness and the usually rounded or pointed bottom.

### Archaeological terminology and description

The *pithoi*, which are studied here, are by definition always hand-made. Nevertheless, a distinction must be made between *pithoi* constructed by means of a turntable<sup>58</sup> and *pithoi* constructed from the floor up. However, the traditional distinction between turned (by means of a potter’s wheel) and hand-made pottery is not really accurate in this case. We believe it is better and more correct to speak of mechanically hand-made pottery (MHP) and non-mechanically hand-made pottery (NMHP).

All specimens falling under the **MHP**-category<sup>59</sup> have a stable bottom, which makes it possible to manufacture the *pithos* on a turntable and to place it on the floor. The turn-rings that are sometimes clearly visible and the flutings that are frequently observed show that a turntable was used. The vessel wall of MHP is on average much thinner and it shows less obvious traces of the coiling technique than NMHP. That is because such a *pithos* was finished in one day, whereas, in the case of NMHP, only one ring was added per day. The “master” finishes a storey (= several rings) and then he starts working on the next *pithos*. A little later, when all specimens have reached the same level, he builds a

<sup>53</sup> Hampe & Winter 1962. Another important ethnographic research project concerning the production (and distribution) of *pithoi* is the one conducted in the eighties by Blitzer in the Koroni-district of the Peloponnese (Blitzer 1990).

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>55</sup> Rice 1987, 127.

<sup>56</sup> Rye 1981, 21.

<sup>57</sup> Rice 1987, 128.

<sup>58</sup> A turntable rotated slower than a potter’s wheel and it was not moved constantly. The potter pushed against it with his foot (cf. Rye 1981, 22) or he was helped by an assistant who turned the table (cf. *supra*).

<sup>59</sup> Some 30% of the samples that were catalogued belong to this group.



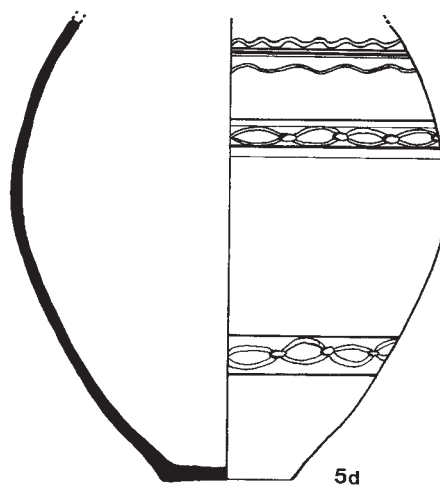
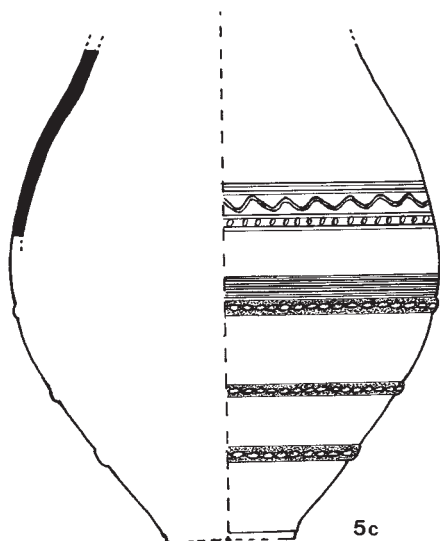
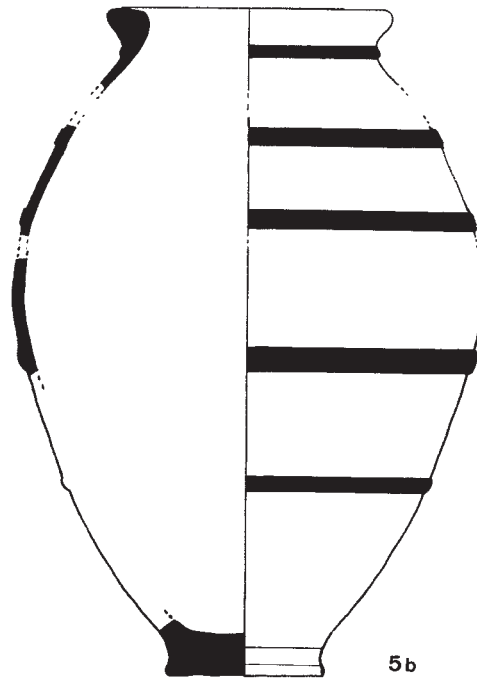
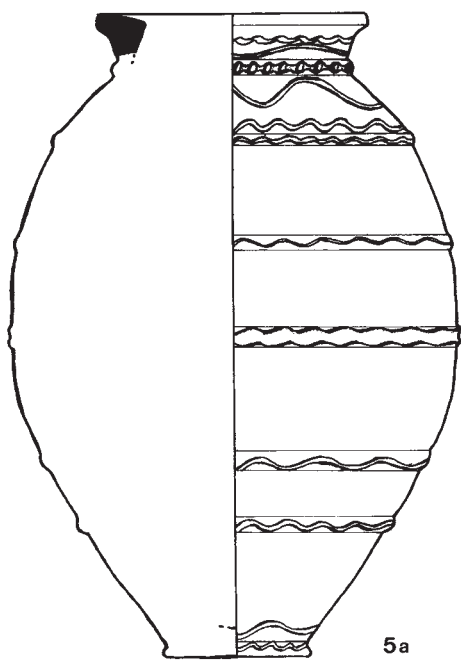
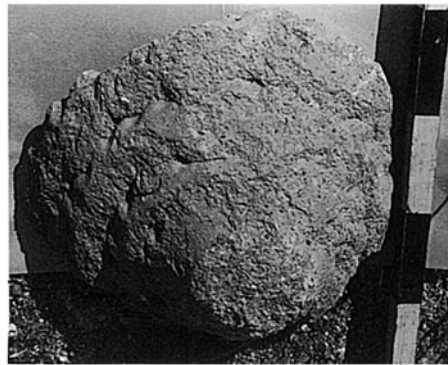


Fig. 5. Mechanically handmade pottery (MHP).



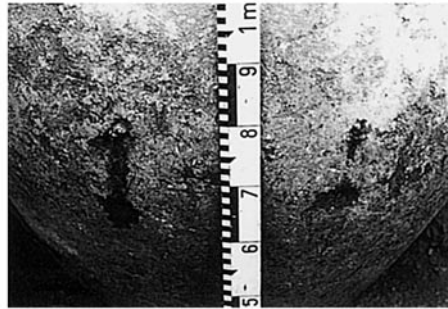
6a



6b



6c



6d



6e



6f

Fig. 6. Construction details on pithoi from Pessinus.

new storey, etc. In other words, not much time elapses between the building of two successive storeys, which means that the clay can dry only to a limited extent so that, consequently, the joint will be firm and almost invisible. To hide the joint between two storeys, a ridge or decorative zone was almost always placed over the joints (fig. 5). The only element that is really visible in the coiling construction are the horizontal or step-like cracks which often run parallel and which seem to occur mostly near the joints between the storeys.

NMHP always has a fine bottom, which may or may not be profiled<sup>60</sup>. This unstable bottom, which made the burial of the *pithos* necessary, clearly proves that these specimens could not have been made on a turntable. Also the size of most of the *pithoi* belonging to this category indicates that they could only have been constructed from the ground up.

The bottom fragment in fig. 6b clearly shows the traces of the coils with which the *pithos* was built. *Pithos* TM 25 was still in good condition at the time of its discovery, but after having been on display in the garden of the local museum for about 30 years, it has broken into two pieces near the largest diameter and now it is severely weather-beaten. "Thanks to" this bad conservation, the construction technique is well illustrated. The coils with their fingerprints – which were necessary to obtain a good cohesion (cf. lobe-pattern) –, are clearly visible both on the inside (fig. 6c) and on the outside. They are approximately 80 to 150 mm high and sometimes they differ in colour. Undoubtedly, the differences in colour and the cracks can be explained by the bad joint. The edge on which the potter placed the next ring was too dry already to make a good cohesion possible (cf. *supra*). Two reparations in lead are visible on the inside. Only the attachment points in the vessel wall are still present and a horizontal crack can be noticed in between. When a *pithos* had cracked, attempts were often made to keep the rings together that way. Exactly the same thing can be noticed on the outside of *pithos* TM 11 (fig. 6d). This *pithos* too has fallen into pieces for the most part. Fig. 6a clearly shows how the potter's fingers were pressed diagonally into the clay on both sides. Less obvious, although positive proof of the coiling method, are the joints between the different clay rings which can be distinguished in some *pithoi* (fig. 7a). Once the vessel wall was high enough, a number of grooves or prints were made on the spot where the rim had to be fixed. The wall fragment in fig. 6f shows grooves which were clearly intended for that purpose, and on one part of a rim of another *pithos*, the positive print of such ridges and of diagonally placed fingerprints can be noticed (fig. 6e).

### Firing

Firing is an extremely risky enterprise and it requires sufficient technical knowledge. Both the firing temperature, the duration and the nature of the firing process must be controlled meticulously. The *pithos* material probably required a protracted pre-fire as well as a long firing term and a slow cooling-off process (cf. ethno-archaeological research). The material from Pessinus shows wide differences in the various types of firing. Yet there is a clear dominance of oxidizingly fired *pithoi*. In addition, we mostly found specimens with a reduced core. Large *pithoi* may have been fired at the location where they were constructed since the substantial weight of the dried clay would have caused them to break if they were moved<sup>61</sup>. A crude oven or an open fire could be constructed over the *pithoi*. Since they were not glazed, a simple oxidizing fire was sufficient.

### Fabrics and their origins

#### Petrographical and chemical analysis

Thin-section petrography and chemical analysis are alternative and complementary approaches to identify, classify and determine the provenance of ancient ceramic materials. About three years ago, in an attempt to elucidate some aspects of the social organization and economic structure of Pessinus, it was decided to apply both techniques to a sample of *pithoi* recovered from different sectors scattered throughout the site. Up to now, 28 vessels have been analysed in the *Laboratory of Mineralogy, Petrology and Micropedology* of the University of Ghent. Their identification is presented in *Appendix*. In a preliminary study, mineral and rock fragments found as inclusions in fourteen *pithoi* covering the period from about 400 BC to 800 AD were examined under the petrographical microscope<sup>62</sup>. The next step in the project was to investigate a limited number of specimens of the same sample by chemical means<sup>63</sup>. Recently, another set of fourteen *pithoi* assigned to the late Hellenistic, Roman, late Roman and early Byzantine periods was studied with regard to non-plastic inclusions and bulk chemistry<sup>64</sup>. This section of the present paper summarizes and comments briefly on the results obtained until today thanks to the laboratory work carried out on *pithoi* from Pessinus.

<sup>60</sup> Some 70% of the samples that were catalogued belong to this group.

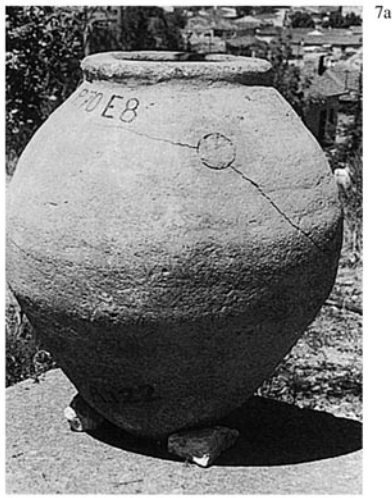
<sup>61</sup> Noble 1966, 16; Garcia 1987, 58.

<sup>62</sup> De Paepe & Vermeulen 1998.

<sup>63</sup> De Paepe & Vermeulen (1999).

<sup>64</sup> De Paepe, Devos & Vermeulen (in preparation).





7a



7b



7c



7d



7e



7f

Fig. 7. Ancient restaurations and decoration.

In the past, archaeologists at Pessinus made little effort to determine the source of the *pithoi* that had been collected on the site. Because of their rudely made fabrics and high mica content, these coarse wares were generally considered to be products of local pottery workshops. On the basis of the scientific evidence presented below, we can now prove the existence of trade contacts between Pessinus and other regions in Anatolia. In addition, we can also roughly date the earliest phase of these trading activities. Unfortunately, in the present state of our research, it is not yet possible to point out with precision the localities or regions from which these non-local wares originate.

#### *Microscopic data*

Based on the wide variety of mineral and rock fragments that occur randomly dispersed in the ceramics, six major classes of fabrics (labelled A to F) have been recognized. The most relevant petrological features of these paste fabrics are the following:

**FABRIC A** (12 pieces): The non-plastic inclusions consist mainly of mineral and rock fragments from low-grade metamorphic rocks. In some sherds, the predominance of inclusions coming from mica schist exposures is overwhelming (**subfabric A1**). In other specimens, abundant debris of metamorphic rocks rich in minerals of the epidote group, combined with variable quantities of mica schist and mica flakes are noticed (**subfabric A2**). Subfabric A1 and subfabric A2 are represented by 8 and 4 sherds respectively.

**FABRIC B** (6 pieces): The non-plastic inclusions are essentially composed of mineral and rock fragments which derive from gneissic and granito-gneissic rocks.

**FABRIC C** (4 pieces): The non-plastic inclusions consist predominantly of mineral and rock fragments resulting from the break-up of granitic rock types.

**FABRIC D** (3 pieces): The non-plastic inclusions are dominated by mineral and rock fragments from unaltered andesitic materials.

**FABRIC E** (2 pieces): The non-plastic inclusions contain a considerable amount of mineral and rock fragments which probably originate from an ophiolitic rock suite.

**FABRIC F** (1 piece): The non-plastic inclusions consist of mineral and rock fragments originating from both low-grade metamorphic and andesitic rocks. The inclusions of metamorphic origin are similar to those found in pottery of fabric A, whereas the andesitic mineral and rock fragments can hardly be distinguished from those embedded in ceramics of fabric D.

In comparison with the petrological typology proposed by De Paepe & Vermeulen (1998), the classification scheme presented above is different with regard to the following points: (1) one new type of fabric is added (fabric F); (2) pottery of fabric A is

subdivided into two subfabrics (A1 and A2), and (3) wares of fabric D are no longer subdivided into two subfabrics (formerly called D1 and D2). Indeed, elemental analysis has shown that ceramics of subfabrics D1 and D2 have almost identical major and trace element patterns testifying to the use of common raw materials.

Full details about paste fabrics A, B, C, D and E were reported previously<sup>65</sup>. Therefore, they are not repeated here. The salient petrological features of fabric F will be highlighted in a forthcoming paper<sup>66</sup>.

#### *Chemical data*

21 out of 28 *pithoi* from Pessinus were submitted to chemical analysis. The technique of atomic absorption spectrophotometry (both flame and electrothermal AAS) was adopted and 19 major, minor and trace elements were measured. The accuracy of the measurements was constantly monitored using FCG, a fired clay reference material issued by the *Department of Analytical Chemistry* of the University of Ghent<sup>67</sup>. In accordance with common practice in work on archaeological ceramics, the elemental concentrations provided by AAS were adjusted to allow for loss on ignition (LOI). The artefacts which were analysed chemically belong to all fabrics and subfabrics identified on petrological grounds. Elemental signatures of vessels that are representative of each fabric and subfabric are given in Table 0.

Since the analysed specimens show a wide compositional variability, the commonly used technique of hierarchical cluster analysis was applied to search for groups of sherds of a similar composition. The UNISTAT program package was chosen to carry out this task. The dendrogram constructed on the basis of all data provided by the chemical analysis (19 variables; 21 specimens), splits the examined pottery sample into three main groups (see dendrogram).

The larger of these groups (14 sherds in total; cluster 1 of the dendrogram) is dominated by ceramics sharing mineral and rock inclusions of metamorphic origin (fabrics A and B). PS43, which contains non-plastic inclusions of both metamorphic and volcanic derivation (fabric F), is also placed in this group, be it on the edge of the group. PS8 (fabric C) is another sample that plots in the larger group, in spite of its clearly marked granitic temper.

Another compositional group (cluster 2 of the dendrogram) links two sherds only. The latter are characterised by abundant lithic and mineral fragments

<sup>65</sup> De Paepe & Vermeulen 1998.

<sup>66</sup> De Paepe, Devos & Vermeulen (in preparation).

<sup>67</sup> De Corte et al. 1984.

Table 0: Chemical analyses(\*) of *pithoi* that are representative of all major paste fabrics recognized at Pessinus.

Sherd no.	PS48	PS44	PS8	PS2	PS54	PS45	PS43
Paste (sub)fabric	A1	A2	B	C	D	E	F
SiO <sub>2</sub>	69.61	60.81	63.16	63.07	62.47	56.70	63.46
Al <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	16.01	17.69	17.16	18.39	18.55	14.45	16.07
Fe <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	6.15	9.74	6.50	5.01	6.25	10.35	7.08
TiO <sub>2</sub>	0.30	1.26	0.66	0.62	1.00	1.06	1.06
MnO	0.10	0.12	0.12	0.09	0.10	0.18	0.17
CaO	2.04	3.60	5.04	4.43	2.78	3.42	3.02
MgO	1.74	2.48	2.40	1.99	1.26	8.26	3.63
Na <sub>2</sub> O	0.85	1.78	2.06	3.08	2.17	3.71	1.43
K <sub>2</sub> O	3.20	2.52	2.90	3.32	5.42	1.87	4.08
Li	32	35	31	31	33	50	37
V	105	185	94	81	102	195	132
Cr	78	294	120	70	83	669	281
Co	20	31	20	14	25	50	32
Ni	54	96	48	25	27	250	135
Cu	32	36	31	26	16	82	41
Zn	102	77	84	72	74	99	95
Rb	133	81	103	114	208	47	152
Sr	236	634	572	975	1157	88	586
Pb	23	14	21	23	52	7	32
P <sub>2</sub> O <sub>5</sub>	0.09	0.44	0.11	0.27	0.28	0.11	0.31
LOI (#)	6.03	5.31	3.09	1.22	2.88	5.09	4.19

(\*) Major element concentrations in wt.-%; trace element concentrations in ppm. Data refer to anhydrous material. Analyst: J. Van Hende (University of Ghent).

(#) Loss on ignition in wt.-%.

deriving from the breakdown of an ophiolitic rock suite (fabric E). The third meaningful group (cluster 3 of the dendrogram) is subdivided into two subgroups. The first subgroup is composed of wares with granitic and granito-gneissic temper (fabrics B and C). The second subgroup links all ceramics with inclusions of volcanic origin (fabric D).

Hence, the dendrogram reveals a near-perfect separation of sherds with metamorphic temper and of sherds with non-plastic inclusions of igneous origin. Outliers may occur but this is not unexpected considering the fact that the granitic rock fragments included in fabric C have broadly the same mineralogy as the gneissic inclusions embedded in pottery of fabric B. The predominance of ceramics of the larger group (cluster 1) may be regarded as an

indication of a local origin and this proposition is corroborated by the results of the microscopic observations and the lithology of the area where Pessinus was located.

A further series of dendrograms were run using a limited set of variables identified visually as good discriminators. They provided broadly similar results, though with differences in detail. Therefore, they will not be presented and commented here.

#### *Macroscopic description*

Most of the pieces of the mechanically hand-made pottery group (MHP) have a reddish brown or an orange-red colour. Almost half of the pieces were fired totally oxidizingly; other specimens have a reduced core and/or coat. The larger part of this pottery, over



75%, belongs to fabric A. The mineral and lithic fragments sometimes differ enormously in size, but generally speaking, the temper turns out to be less coarse than in the specimens of the NMHP group. Considering the large number of non-plastic inclusions, the walls feel very rough. The surface of these *pithoi* is usually partly or totally fluted. In only a few cases, a special treatment of the surface was attested.

The non-mechanically hand-made pottery (NMHP) primarily has a reddish brown colour, although a range of lighter variants exists as well. Almost all *pithoi* that were examined and that belong to this group were fired oxidizingly. Only a few examples with a reduced core and/or coat, or with full reduction are known. The fired clay is usually quite hard and solid, and it feels very rough. The firing temperature was probably lower than for MHP. About 55% of NMHP can be categorized under fabric A, almost 40% under fabrics B, C and E, and only a few among fabrics D and F. Consequently, this group clearly gives a more diversified picture than the group of MHP. The sorting of the tempering elements is worse than in the MHP group. Considering the thickness of the vessel wall, it is not surprising that these *pithoi* were tempered coarsely and abundantly. As was the case with MHP, vegetal tempering was nowhere attested; after all, this would not benefit the impermeability of the storage containers. On a number of *pithoi*, a slip could still be distinguished clearly. It is likely that more specimens underwent such a surface treatment, but the traces have disappeared, probably due to the severe weathering to which they were exposed from the moment they were no longer protected by the subsoil.

#### Source determination

The remains of ancient Pessinus are located in a mountainous region where metamorphic rocks of Paleozoic age (?) are overlain by tabular Neogene continental sedimentary rocks<sup>68</sup>. The metamorphic series mainly consists of marble, phyllite, mica schist, epidote schist, amphibole schist, sericite schist, quartzite and gneiss. In some localities (Sivrihisar, Tekören, İstiklâlbağı), these crystalline rocks are invaded by granitic and dioritic intrusive bodies of variable size. The Neogene cover predominantly consists of limestones and marls.

From the local geology at the site of Pessinus and the petrological typology of the *pithoi* given above, it is concluded that fabrics A, B and C may have been locally manufactured. It appears clearly that fabric A is dominant during the entire period of occupation of the site. In the Phrygian, Hellenistic, Roman as well as the early Byzantine period, the majority of the *pithoi* were tempered with micaceous metamorphic

material. Interestingly, several other earthenware objects bear the same characteristics. So does the common ware originating from the temple area that was excavated between 1967-1973 and that dates from the late Hellenistic until the early Roman period. According to visual observations, most of this material contains a dominant tempering of mica<sup>69</sup>. The mineralogical analysis indeed showed that there was a strong presence of muscovite and brown biotite together with quartz and feldspar<sup>70</sup>. These characteristics fully correspond to fabric A of the *pithos* material, and minerals that are present to a lesser degree like green hornblende, clinozoisite and epidote can only confirm the metamorphic parentage.

While a source determination for fabrics A, B and C within a local context seems obvious, this is not the case with the *pithoi* made of the 3 other fabrics. Determining the precise origin of fabrics containing solely or predominantly unaltered volcanic constituents of andesitic composition (fabric D), or minerals and lithic elements reminiscent of an ophiolitic rock series (fabric E) is somewhat problematic. However, both the distinctive nature of the non-plastic inclusions characterizing the fabrics D, E and F, and the lithology of the region where Pessinus is situated, strongly suggest that vessels with these fabrics originate from pottery workshops which were located in distant places<sup>71</sup>. *Pithoi* of fabric D could originate from the area around Emirdağ or from the neighbourhood of Polatlı, respectively located at about 60 km southwest and northeast of Pessinus. Still, they may also come from more distant areas, where recent volcanic material is outcropping. The same goes for fabric F, which also appears to attest to commercial contacts between ancient Pessinus and other regions in central Anatolia. Hence, now we have solid evidence of the multiplicity of production centres of *pithoi* in ancient times in central Anatolia, and long-distance exchange or trade of pottery is a possibility that can no longer be ruled out.

#### Character and timing of interregional trade

The question arises what exactly was transported here: the raw materials or the finished products, namely *pithoi*. Thanks to ethnographical research on Crete<sup>72</sup>, information on the system of the so-called

<sup>68</sup> Erentöz 1975.

<sup>69</sup> Thoen H., *La céramique du temple*. In: Devreker & Waelkens 1984, 158.

<sup>70</sup> De Paepe P., *Analyse pétrographique de tessons de céramique*. In: Devreker & Waelkens 1984, 170-171.

<sup>71</sup> De Paepe & Vermeulen 1998.

<sup>72</sup> Hampe & Winter 1962.

migrant potters was obtained. Groups of potters left their permanent basis, the potters' villages (e.g. Thrapsano), and travelled across the island from one workshop to another for a number of months, usually from May until August/September. They stayed in a certain village for a couple of days and manufactured the ordered number of *pithoi*. At the end of the season, they returned to their own villages and resumed their regular farming activities and produced pottery for themselves and for the people in their immediate surroundings. This is an example of an ingenious solution to the difficulties and costs which the transport of exceptionally heavy vessels entailed<sup>73</sup>.

Garcia<sup>74</sup> believes that a similar system also existed in the Languedoc from around the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. The earliest *dolia*, dated before 500 BC, were imported into this region. Later on, craftsmen probably controlled the manufacture. They used Hellenic techniques and moved from site to site with their temper and sometimes even with clay, or else they produced at one particular place per sector. Hence, potters travelled around with their raw materials, particularly with tempered clay.

Although we cannot rule out the possibility that raw materials were transported, it seems improbable that the same thing happened in Pessinus. The distances in the Languedoc were no longer than some ten kilometres, whereas the raw materials of a number of *pithoi* which were found in Pessinus would have had to have been transported over distances varying from sixty to several hundreds of kilometres. Moreover, geomorphologic surveys in the area around Pessinus proved the sufficient presence of raw materials (good clays) within the territory of the town<sup>75</sup>. The local production of other *pithoi* and of smaller ceramics attest this too. That is why we are convinced that the *pithoi* with fabrics D, E and F, filled up or not, were imported in their finished form.

As far as small medium-sized specimens like TM 17 and MM 1 (see tables 1-4) are concerned, this line of reasoning seems to create few problems. A *pithos* like MM 1, which must have weighed approximately 250 kilos when filled, could not have created an insurmountable problem, neither when transported by water nor when transported overland. The late Roman *pithos* TM 9 (PS 54), however, has a capacity of about 770 l, and *pithoi* MM 2 and MM 4, which were only partly preserved, probably had a capacity of up to 500 l or more. It seems likely that such big specimens were transported empty. Still, there is nothing to suggest that this was actually the case so that the possibility of transport of filled *pithoi* cannot be ruled out. If the latter is correct the question as to their contents remains to be

answered. We may also ask ourselves via what route the *pithoi*, filled or not, reached Pessinus. It seems likely that transport via the river network would have been preferred not only for speed and comfort, but also to avoid cracks. However, the precise role for navigation in Antiquity of the *Sangarios*, situated approximately 8 km to the south of the town centre, must still be examined.

With the exception of PS54, all *pithoi* that are believed to originate from outside the Pessinus' area (fabrics D, E and F) have been found in early Byzantine contexts. Only specimen PS54 probably dates back to the late Roman period. This suggests that trade or exchange of *pithoi* between Pessinus and workshops or settlements in other regions of Anatolia only started in late Roman times. Since a considerable number of early Byzantine vessels investigated within the framework of the present work appear to be non-local products, it is likely that inland transport of *pithoi* was quite common from the onset of the Byzantine period. The results of future work are awaited with interest because they can provide new evidence to support this hypothesis.

#### *Towards a typology based on the original use*

Pliny states that pot-bellied and wide-necked *dolia* were less suitable<sup>76</sup>. According to Columella, vessels for the conservation of wine had to be wide-necked and have a diameter of the same width, and they were certainly not to be shaped like fermentation vats ("*nec in modum doliorum formata*"). When part of the stored food was removed for consumption, the food that remained had to be pressed down to the bottom with an equal weight since the food was kept fresh only if it did not float on the surface and if it was constantly covered by liquid<sup>77</sup>. Anyway it is likely that *dolia* were normally pear-shaped and that they were at their widest at shoulder height to allow the contents to expand in the earliest phase of fermentation<sup>78</sup>.

Assuming that the shape reveals something about the content, it seems appropriate to examine the profile of each "complete" *pithos*. However, shape

<sup>73</sup> Peacock 1982, 27-28.

<sup>74</sup> Garcia 1987, 59. This hypothesis is based on the analysis of the *dolia* from the region of Béziers, Ensérune, Mailhac and Pech-Maho. Shell-tempering and clay from the estuary of the Aude are typical raw materials for these *dolia*.

<sup>75</sup> Vermeulen, De Dapper & Brackman 1996, 39-40; Vermeulen, De Dapper & Brackman 1998, 64-66.

<sup>76</sup> Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* XIV. XXVII. 134; Pliny means undoubtedly, "less suitable for the fermentation of wine".

<sup>77</sup> Columella, *Res Rustica De Arboribus* XII. IV. 5.

<sup>78</sup> White 1975, 145.

description is usually a matter of subjective observation, even more so than the macroscopical registration of technological aspects. Therefore, a basis as objective as possible was developed, by means of which the shape was roughly characterized. This basis is mainly founded on two factors: firstly, on the proportion between the entire height of the *pithos* and the largest diameter (the slimness factor: slim, well-rounded and thick) and secondly, on the proportion between the height of the *pithos* and the height of the largest diameter (shape specification: inversely pear-shaped, egg-shaped/spherically shaped and pear-shaped). To refine this, we also took the proportion between the largest diameter and the diameter of the inside of the rim (the size of the mouth) into account, as well as the volume of the *pithos*<sup>79</sup>. This resulted in four series of figures in which a number of boundaries were defined which comprise the different shapes (cf. tables 1, 2, 3, 4).

#### *Relation between form and contents*

Generally speaking, little is known for certain about the relation between form and contents of the *pithoi*. Together with White, we may conclude from the writings of Pliny and Columella that it was better when fermentation vats had an asymmetric profile<sup>80</sup> (pear-shaped and with the largest diameter at shoulder height) and a narrow mouth, whereas wine containers rather required a symmetric profile (egg-shaped/spherically shaped) and a wider mouth. But we could not find any ancient indications as to the specific requirements for the storage of goods other than wine. Although some modern writers sometimes refer to the functional aspect of *pithoi*, the relation between the shape of the *pithos* and the product which had to be preserved is nowhere clearly defined. This is mainly due to the fact that the interest in this subject is almost non-existent. As a result of this, a lot of material and information is lost during and after excavations. It rarely happens that it is considered worthwhile to pay attention to these less attractive artefacts. Another problem is that complete *pithoi* or *dolia* are usually discovered either empty or filled with rubbish, therefore, we can only guess at their original function.

Apart from the many empty specimens, the *pithoi* at Pessinus mainly contain remnants of metallurgy, textile production, building material, utensils, broken jewellery and other refuse. There are also some *pithoi* in which coins have been found. Much more interesting, however, was the discovery in 1997 of a large amount of grapestones in a Byzantine *pithos* (TM 26) which was sealed with a marble cover. We may conclude here that this pot was intended for the fermentation or storage of wine. A Phrygian specimen, which was unearthed in 1998, contained a

considerable amount of corn grains. Finally, in a large *pithos*, which had been repaired with lead clamps, we found the complete skeleton of a sucking pig, which had probably been pickled in it<sup>81</sup>. To reconstruct the nature of the contents, it is not always necessary to find the stored product itself. The treatment of a *pithos*, the presence of a spigot and of repairs are important indications too. But the fact whether a *pithos* is buried or not reveals little about its content. For liquids like wine and dry products such as grain, require a cool and oxygen-poor atmosphere.

The term treatment is understood to mean: making earthenware impermeable. Unglazed pottery which was intended for the storage of liquids, especially expensive liquids like olive oil, wine or perfume<sup>82</sup>, had to be smeared to reduce the loss of content. How important it was in Antiquity to make *pithoi* impermeable can be deduced from the fact that six chapters are devoted to this topic in the *Geoponika* (VI. 4-9)<sup>83</sup>. The ancient authors recommended to coat wineskins and wine containers with pitch, but resins, wax, glaze and oil were used as well<sup>84</sup>. The coating of these and other vessels with pitch had to be completed by the time of the vintage and the harvesting of the various types of produce<sup>85</sup>. Cato writes: "Have everything that is needed for the vintage ready; have the vats cleaned, the baskets mended and pitched, and the necessary number of containers must be pitched on rainy days..."<sup>86</sup>

A treatment was normally aimed at making the *pithos* waterproof and at improving the preservation possibilities. Burning the inside of *pithoi* (cf. *pithos* MM 1) can be regarded as some kind of treatment too. The purpose of this was to disinfect the *pithos*, particularly by exterminating weevils, which implies that intentionally burned *pithoi* were used to store grain products. But in practice, it is very difficult to determine the exact function of *pithoi* since all traces of treatment have usually disappeared.

The presence of a spigot clearly indicates that the *pithos* in question contained a liquid. Since olive stones have not yet been found in Pessinus, we may conclude that it must have been wine that was kept

<sup>79</sup> According to Rice, vessels used for long-term storage had a greater capacity than those used for short-term storage; vessels used for transport over small distances had a greater capacity than those that were carried over large distances; cf. Rice 1987, 236.

<sup>80</sup> By way of illustration, see also White 1975, 187.

<sup>81</sup> See also Cato, *De Agri Cultura* CLXII.

<sup>82</sup> Rye 1981, 26.

<sup>83</sup> Frayn 1979, 56.

<sup>84</sup> Nriagu 1983, 340-341.

<sup>85</sup> Frayn 1979, 48.

<sup>86</sup> Cato, *De Agri Cultura* XXIII. 1.



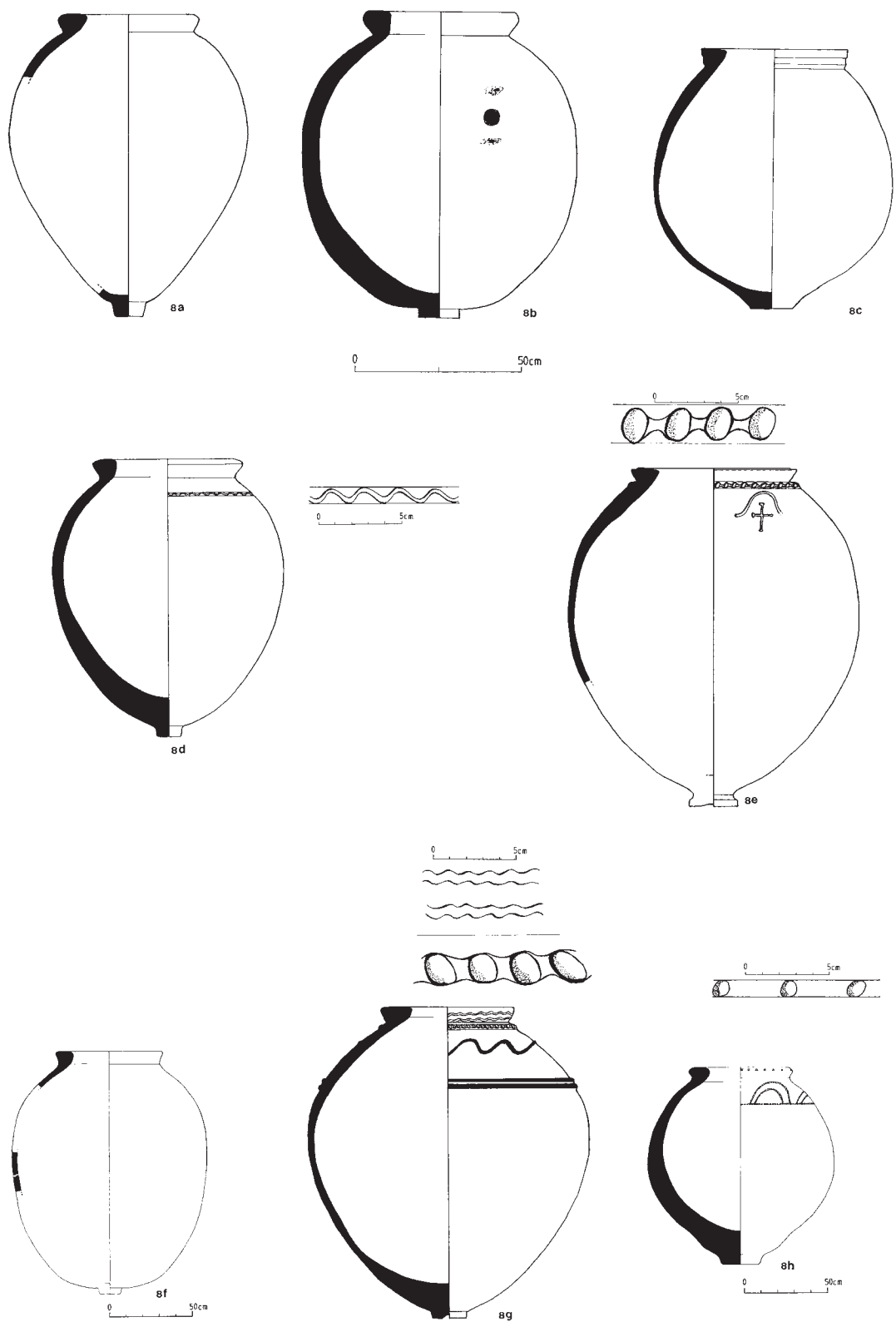


Fig. 8. Non-mechanically handmade pottery (NMHP).

in those *pithoi*. Still, it may also have been olive oil; the late Roman olive mill found in area E is an indication in that direction. On the other hand, olive oil was probably imported. *Pithos* TM 16 has a spigot at the height of the largest diameter (fig. 8b). The spigot was originally sealed with a lead clamp, which was removed afterwards. *Pithos* MM 1 had two spigots, which were still sealed with lead at the time of excavation (fig. 7b). One spigot was found more or less at the height of the largest diameter; the other one had been placed a bit lower. These earthenware spigots were not only sealed with a strip of lead, they were also fully embedded in lead. *Pithos* M 2, on the contrary, has a spigot at shoulder height without a lead seal (fig. 7a). Other *pithoi* like TM 11 and maybe also TM 25 (fig. 6c) have a round hole in the shoulder, which probably contained a spigot once.

Non-sealed spigots, which were always placed at shoulder height, may have been used to decrease the pressure during fermentation. The sealed spigots, which were placed a bit lower, must have served a different purpose. Our hypothesis is that they must be associated with the transport of wine or olive oil. The spigots were sealed during transport. This was done as a kind of guarantee to the customer. As soon as the *pithoi* were delivered and the wine or oil was ready for consumption, the lead was removed so that the wine or oil could flow out once the spigot had been pulled out. This proposition implies that *pithoi* were transported while holding a content.

The mending of *pithoi* is another source of information about contents. The manufacturing of *pithoi* was a labour-intensive enterprise. We learnt from ethno-archaeological research<sup>87</sup> that the construction of these storage containers, with which only specialists were charged, could take several days or even weeks. Obviously, that was what made them so expensive; according to the Edict of Diocletian, the price of one *pithos* was 1000 *denarii*, which amounted to more than five weeks' wages of a farm worker<sup>88</sup>. A *dolium* consequently became one of the items of farming property, which smallholders hoped to inherit from their forbears. The fact that they were extremely valuable is confirmed by the abundant evidence that has been found of mendings and of their long life. Cato gives detailed instructions for the mending of *dolia*:

"When the weather is bad and no other work can be done,... Mend *dolia* with lead, or hoop them with thoroughly dried oak wood. If you mend them carefully or hoop them tightly, closing the cracks with cement and pitching them thoroughly, you can convert any *dolium* into a *dolium vinarium* (wine

container). Cement for a *dolium* is to be made as follows: Take one pound of wax, one pound of resin, and two-thirds of a pound of sulphur. Mix in a new vessel. Add enough pulverized gypsum to obtain the consistency of a plaster, and mend the *dolium* with it. To make the colour uniform after mending, mix two parts of crude chalk and one part of lime, form into small bricks, bake in the oven, pulverize, and apply to the *dolium*."<sup>89</sup>

Traces of a similar thickener have not yet been found in the *pithoi* of Pessinus. Still, a number of specimens mended with lead or iron set in lead were discovered (fig. 6c, 6d and 7c).

The cracks observed in several *pithoi* may have been caused by a displacement or by transport. *Pithos* MM 1, which had been imported according to the petrographical analysis, has two repairs. But since most of the *pithoi* were buried all the time, the most plausible explanation is that they cracked as a result of the pressure caused by the fermentation of *mustum* or the after-fermentation of wine. In other words, it is likely that mended *pithoi* were originally used as fermentation vats or wine containers in most cases. After they were repaired, they were used for the preservation and fermentation of liquids or for the preservation of dry goods, depending on the way in which they had been mended.

*Pithoi* mended with lead were no longer waterproof and served as containers for dry goods. The cracks of a *pithos* that was to contain a liquid, had to be filled with a kind of plaster and eventually they had to be retreated with pitch, as is described by Cato.

#### Functional typology

**Fermentation vats** (fig. 7a and fig. 8a) are inversely pear-shaped (asymmetrical), slim to well-rounded, and they have a spigot at shoulder height allowing the carbon dioxide to escape and, consequently, to prevent the *pithos* from bursting. Moreover, they have a very narrow mouth compared to their largest diameter. Nevertheless, a number of specimens show cracks, which were mended with lead clamps. In other words, not even an adapted shape and the possibility to relieve the pressure could guarantee a successful fermentation. But it was the one method that offered most chances of success. Most of the *pithoi* that served as fermentation vats or wine containers were probably treated with resin or pitch. However, traces of such a treatment could be observed in a few cases only.

<sup>87</sup> Hampe & Winter 1962.

<sup>88</sup> Frayn 1979, 139.

<sup>89</sup> Cato, *De Agri Cultura* XXXIX.

As far as **wine containers** are concerned (fig. 8e and fig. 5b), the symmetrical, egg-shaped/spherical and wide-necked specimens were dominant. In addition, most of them are slim to well-rounded. Sometimes they show cracks (and repairs) as a result of an after-fermentation process of the wine. Since *pithos* TM 26 contained grapestones, we may assume that it was used for the fermentation or preservation of wine. This vessel is inversely pear-shaped, but because it is wide-necked and no spigot is present (fig. 8d), we assume that it was used for the storage of wine.

Detecting ***pithoi* for the storage of olive oil** is a difficult task since their porosity was not reduced by applying pitch to them, but by immersing the *pithoi* in *amurca* - a treatment that is almost impossible to trace. It is totally unclear what the formal requirements for this category are.

There are clearer indications with regard to the **storage of dry products**. As mentioned above, mended *pithoi* were probably reused as containers for dry goods. The intentional burning of the inside vessel wall clearly implies that it was used for grain storage. No dominant shapes can be defined here either. The shape of a *pithos* that was intended for the storage of olive oil or dry products was probably of secondary importance.

**Transport *pithoi*** like *pithos* MM 1 and *pithos* TM 16 (fig. 8b) had a spigot which was placed much lower than in the specimens we have discussed so far. Therefore, we are not inclined to regard them as fermentation vats. It is an established fact that *pithos* MM 1 was imported (cf. petrographical analysis), and also *pithos* TM 16 must be considered as having been imported on the basis of the archaeological classification. This leads us to the following hypothetical reconstruction:

*Pithos* TM 16 was transported with a sealed spigot and delivered to the customer who removed the seal in due course of time to consume the content, probably wine or olive oil.

*Pithos* MM 1 was transported as well. It had two sealed spigots. But during transport or while unloading the goods, a crack formed near the bottom and the content flowed away. As a result, it was no longer necessary to break the seal (fig. 7b) and it was decided to mend the crack to make sure that this *pithos* could still serve a useful purpose. It

was filled with grain and whenever it was fully emptied, a bundle of burning straw was inserted to disinfect it completely so that the next grain harvest would not be affected by all sorts of vermin. This annual treatment was absolutely necessary since the *pithos* was not airtight any more. This procedure did not always need to be applied to intact storage containers, which were intended for the storage of grain.

Nothing is known for certain about formal requirements. Yet, this category seems to be rather egg-shaped/spherically shaped or pear-shaped, which means that the centre of gravity is lower. Hence, this category was more suitable for transport. As regards size and capacity, there appears to be a large variety, strange as it may seem: both small *pithoi* with a capacity of 100 or 200 l, and seemingly unmanageable specimens with a capacity of approximately 700 l were transported. Not all transported *pithoi* had a spigot. Perhaps the seal was not generally applied, or the *pithoi* contained dry goods, or the imported *pithoi* were empty. In this case, it is more appropriate to speak of imported *pithoi* rather than transport *pithoi*.

#### *Rim and bottom types*

As opposed to the bottoms, only a purely formal distinction will be made where rims are concerned since there are few clear indications about functional or other differences. The only thing that can be noticed is that a rim with an inside ledge seems to be more suitable for a lid and that a specimen with a strongly outwardly thickened lip is ideal for the attachment of a cover tightened over the opening of the *pithos* (e.g. a piece of animal skin or a cloth). Gaitzsch<sup>90</sup>, in any case, speaks of a cloth (in addition to earthenware or wooden lids) that could be stretched over the projecting rim of the *dolium*. But since these are mainly suppositions and considering that no archaeological evidence could be found in Pessinus, rims will be classified only morphologically.

As for the bottoms, a distinction must be made between stable and unstable bottoms. A stable bottom makes it possible to place the *pithos* on the ground without burying it; an unstable bottom, however, makes a partial or a complete burial necessary.

#### *Typology of rims*

**Type I:** Horizontally flattened rim with an outwardly thickened lip (fig. 9a and 10a)

# The rim is characterised mainly by a strongly outwardly thickened lip. It is mostly turned inwards.

MHP

average outer diameter: 317 mm

average inner diameter: 221 mm

number of specimens: 6

NMHP

average outer diameter: 504 mm

average inner diameter: 327 mm

number of specimens: 8



**Type II:** Rim with an inwardly thickened lip (fig. 9b and 10b)

# The rim always has an inwardly as well as an outwardly thickened lip.

MHP

average outer diameter: 350 mm

average inner diameter: 250 mm

number of specimens: 2

NMHP

average outer diameter: 513 mm

average inner diameter: 357 mm

number of specimens: 3

**Type III:** Strongly outward pointed rim with a vertically flattened interior (fig. 9c and 10c)

# The rim is mostly orientated outwards and it always shows a kink (cf. fig. 8b) or a more flowing curve (cf. fig. 8f) on the inside.

MHP

average outer diameter: 345 mm

average inner diameter: 240 mm

number of specimens: 6

NMHP

average outer diameter: 551 mm

average inner diameter: 359 mm

number of specimens: 21

**Type IV:** Strongly inward pointed rim with a vertically flattened exterior (fig. 9d and 10d)

# The rim is always horizontally and vertically flattened to a larger or lesser extent, and it mostly bends strongly inwards.

MHP

average outer diameter: 240 mm

average inner diameter: 164 mm

number of specimens: 1

NMHP

average outer diameter: 524 mm

average inner diameter: 331 mm

number of specimens: 12

**Type V:** Rim with a short vertical neck (fig. 9e)

# Typical is the distinctly receding part just under the rim, mostly between the outermost lip and a rope pattern. In section, this rim seems to be triangular.

This type only comprises MHP.

average outer diameter: 374 mm

average inner diameter: 251 mm

number of specimens: 5

### *Typology of bottoms*

#### **Type A: Stable bottoms**

All *pithoi* belonging to the MHP have a stable bottom. A first implication is that these specimens could be easily produced on the turntable. Another advantage is that the *pithos* could be placed on the ground and that it was no longer necessary to bury it. Yet, that does not mean that all specimens were placed completely above ground.

##### **A.1. Bottom with a flat base (fig. 5d)**

# Very thin, flat bottom

average diameter: 154 mm

average thickness: 19 mm

number of specimens: 5

##### **A.2. Bottom with disc-shaped base (fig. 5a)**

# Slightly outwardly profiled bottom with a flat base

average diameter: 200 mm

average thickness: 28 mm

number of specimens: 4

##### **A.3. Bottom with foot (fig. 5b)**

# This bottom has a solid foot and a flat base

average diameter: 195 mm

average thickness: 50 mm

number of specimens: 1

#### **Type B: Unstable bottoms**

All *pithoi* belonging to the NMHP have an unstable bottom and were, therefore, partially or completely buried. At first sight, a pointed, unstable bottom seems

less practical than a flat bottom, especially during the manufacturing process. Nevertheless, we observe that predominantly *pithoi* with a pointed bottom were manufactured. There is a simple explanation for this. In comparison with a flat bottom, an unstable bottom is less sensitive to cracking during the firing process. The moisture content of a flat bottom is higher. Consequently, the bottom dries out to a lesser extent, and consequently the odds are that cracks may form during the firing process. The smaller the bottom surface, the smaller the risk of cracking.<sup>91</sup>

##### **B.1. Pointed bottom with flat base (fig. 8a)**

# This bottom is often strongly profiled.

average diameter: 120 mm

average thickness: 74 mm

number of specimens: 20

##### **B.2. Pointed omphallos bottom (fig. 8g)**

# This bottom is always strongly profiled.

average diameter: 119 mm

average thickness: 84 mm

number of specimens: 9

##### **B.3. Bottom with omphallos and foot (fig. 8e)**

# This type has a solid foot

average diameter: 140 mm

average thickness: 90 mm

number of specimens: 1

<sup>90</sup> Gaitzsch 1993, 77.

<sup>91</sup> Hampe & Winter 1962, 98-99.

### *Dolium types*

Only one *dolium* rim was discovered (fig. 9f). Undoubtedly, it comes from western regions, which clearly proves that international trade existed, at least from the 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD onwards. The specimen in question seems to be a small variant of the *dolium* type which is mainly found in Northern Gaul and estimated to date back to the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC-1<sup>st</sup> c. AD (cf. Oberaden 112<sup>92</sup>, Haltern 97<sup>93</sup>, Hofheim 78<sup>94</sup>, Keldenich<sup>95</sup>). These types have a very thick, inversely pear-shaped body and a stable bottom with a flat base.

This *dolium* which was manufactured by means of a turntable, has a horizontally levelled and distinctly inward rim with an outwardly thickened lip. The bottom side is concave, in contrast to many other *pithoi*. The inner and outer diameter are 164 mm and 280 mm respectively. The rim shows signs of red paint.

### *Decoration*

It is sometimes difficult to describe exactly what is meant by decoration on *pithoi*. Generally speaking, decoration is considered to be a purely ornamental aspect, but it might also be partly functional. The boundaries are often vague and the distinction between finishing techniques and decoration can be very unclear.

A decorative element which is often – and exclusively – found in MHP, the purpose of which is difficult to determine, are the bands that are placed over the joints between the different storeys, the so-called “girdles”. On each joint, with the exception of the lowest one, the master put a ring of clay. The result was a *pithos* with four bands, two below the largest diameter, around the belly, and two above, around the shoulder. The question is whether these bands were purely ornamental or whether they had a functional purpose as well. Maybe their main purpose was to strengthen the vessel wall. Thorough examination of the *pithoi* shows, however, that the most important function of these bands was probably to emphasise the junctures and to camouflage the joint between the storeys. Exactly the same pattern as the one found in the *pithoi* from Crete (cf. *supra*) can be noticed in *pithos* D 30 (fig. 5b). The only difference is that it has a fifth ridge near the curving transition from shoulder to rim. This is quite common in *pithoi* from Pessinus, both in MHP and in NMHP. Pessinian *pithoi* of this type have five bands, two below and three above the largest diameter. *Pithos* TM 5 has one band more which covers the bottom joint. The “master” of Asomatos (Crete) did not cover this joint with a band, but just made a small groove (fig. 5a).

*Pithos* TM 17 has three ridges below the largest diameter and is in this respect identical to *pithos* TM 5. However, the part above the largest diameter is

completely different in this specimen. The joints were not covered with clay strips, but with a decorative pattern. It is a levelled imitation of the ridge pattern with fingerprints, with above it a wavy line and a few grooves (fig. 5c). In other words, the junctures between the various storeys can also be indicated by a non-plastic decoration. Apparently, the “girdles” were not a functional necessity. We may conclude that they had a merely decorative purpose and that they were not aimed at making the structure stronger<sup>96</sup>. There is no doubt that their purpose was to conceal the joints and to emphasise the different components of the vessel.

Therefore, a non-plastic decoration was another valid option. *Pithos* D 37, for example, always shows three grooves at these places. *Pithos* D 31 was decorated with wavy lines, grooves and guilloché motifs (fig. 5d), and in *pithos* D 28 the joints were camouflaged by means of black brushstrokes or a little wavy line and a number of grooves.

*Pithos* M 3 is the only specimen among the intact MHP that does not show any of these elements. However, its entire surface was fluted. This was also observed in other specimens, between the ridges or other elements of decoration. But they do not appear on the drawings since they were very light and shallow.

The NMHP is decorated with ridges and girdles near the largest diameter as well as in the curving transition between shoulder and rim. Usually this pottery is also decorated with a wavy ridge. The belly is rarely decorated, if ever. A decorative element that is often found in MHP as well as in NMHP is the ridge that consists of fingerprints or the so-called rope motif. It often occurs near the curve between shoulder and rim, but also on the joints between the various storeys of the MHP. Such rope patterns originate from the imitation of the texture of ropes used to handle large vessels, to support the vessel walls and to protect them<sup>97</sup>.

The rim is often decorated as well, mainly with slightly engraved wavy lines.

Quite some variation has been observed in the decorations on the shoulder and belly. In addition to

<sup>92</sup> Vegas 1975, 71, nr. 1 and 6, tf. 28.

<sup>93</sup> Gose 1950, 31, nr. 356, tf. 57.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 31, nr. 357, tf. 58.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 31, nr. 358, tf. 58.

<sup>96</sup> These bands undoubtedly strengthened the pot, but, in our opinion, that aspect was only of minor importance. With regard to the description of the decorated *pithoi* from the Archaic to the early Hellenistic period from the north of the island Keos, Sutton makes reference to a horizontal band decorated with stamps or prints, “which may have been added to hide or strengthen the joints between the sections in which the pot was made” cf. Sutton 1991, 257.

<sup>97</sup> Anderson 1980, XX.

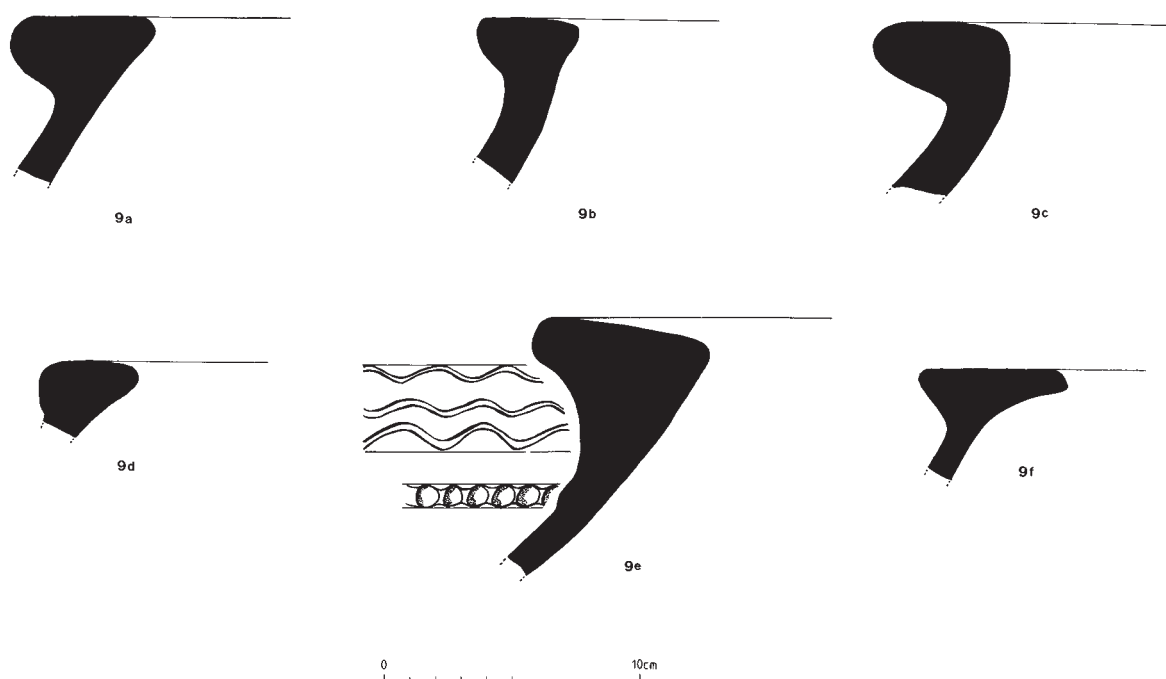


Fig. 9. Rimtypes of MHP.

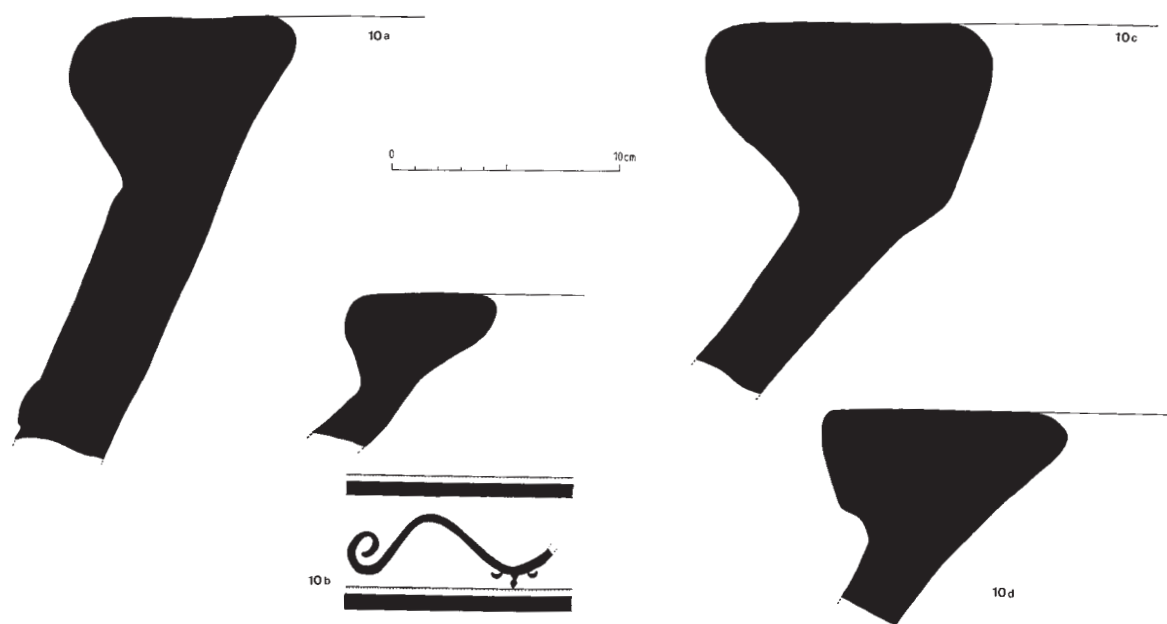


Fig. 10. Rimtypes of NMHP.



wavy lines and grooves, ridges and rope patterns, we can also distinguish herringbones, guilloche motifs, zigzag patterns and all sorts of carvings. An exceptional decoration was found on the shoulder of *pithos* TM 14: a series of double semicircles created by small round imprints (fig. 8h). Such a pattern can also be found in *pithos* TM 25 and it is clearly visible in old photographs (fig. 7e). The most important difference with *pithos* TM 14 is the cross inside these semicircles. Another remarkable decoration is that of *pithos* fragment D 2 (fig. 10b).

A recurrent feature is the accentuation of the separate components of a *pithos*. As far as MHP is concerned, this is done with bands or even decorative elements over the joints and in the curve between rim and shoulder, and as far as NMHP is concerned, this accentuation is made in the transition between belly and shoulder and also between shoulder and rim.

Furthermore there are various specimens which are completely undecorated. This seems very logical since the larger part of the *pithoi* was buried during use. But of *pithoi* that were completely or partly decorated, only the rim extended above floor level or they were buried on a level with the floor. Since these storage containers were intended for long-term use, it is possible that in a previous life they were only partially buried or not at all (cf. MHP). This mainly depends on the content and on the storage duration.

There is no reason to suggest that there is a difference in status between the highly decorated and the undecorated *pithoi* or between MHP and NMHP. All types are placed at random and occur within the same context.

The *pithoi* from Pessinus were decorated before they were fired, when the clay was leather-hard. It was very rare that the clay was still wet. The decoration was applied with the fingers (e.g. rope pattern), with a pointed tool (cf. engraved wavy lines and grooves, herringbone design) or with a jagged cutting tool. In addition, also printed stamps (four-leaf clovers, crystal and star patterns) were used repetitiously. On the one hand, decorations were engraved, incised, imprinted, etc. On the other hand, certain elements were added, e.g. bands and ridges which sometimes ran completely horizontally and sometimes undulately across the body.

Paint is used rarely if ever. If it is used, it is always black or red paint. In a few cases, a layer of slip or the so-called engobe is still visible. This slip mainly has a whitish yellow colour and it is often difficult to distinguish. Consequently, it had only a limited decorative function. Supposedly, this material was not impermeable enough and was mainly used to make the surface smoother.

### *Inscriptions and stamps*

Only a few of the examined *pithoi* bear an inscription (fig. 7d). This inscription is always engraved or imprinted on the shoulder and it consists of one or several Greek letters. Little is known about the meaning of these inscriptions. Anyhow, it is likely that they refer to the contents of the vessel (cf. Ostia) or that they mention the name of the potter. According to Schuler<sup>98</sup>, graffiti on *dolia* mostly concerned numbers, which can generally be explained as an indication of measurement or weight. Other interpretations are possible too.

The interpretation of the stamps (fig. 7f) poses a problem too. It is possible that stamps, in line with one of the possible explanations for the inscriptions, were used by potters to individualise their production<sup>99</sup>, in other words, as a signature. In any case it is clear that they also have a decorative function since they were imprinted in two rows, one above the other, all around the vessel. Apparently there is always a combination of stamps with ridges, undulate or not, with elongated, widely spaced fingerprints on top. The constantly recurring motifs are four-leaf clovers and a kind of crystal pattern.

### *Foundations for a typochronology*

As mentioned above, little cultural or chronological distinction can be made between the *pithoi* from Pessinus on the basis of technical features. It is noticed that MHP is more abundantly present during the pre-Roman period than in later periods. More than 60% of the *pithoi* was manufactured on the turntable during Hellenistic times<sup>100</sup>, whereas this was only the case for 20% of the *pithoi* during the Roman period and for 35% during the Byzantine period<sup>101</sup>. This seems to indicate that from the Roman period onwards a larger storage capacity was required, undoubtedly because of the increased population. However, we have to proceed with caution, considering the small amount of pre-Roman finds. Also with regard to the shape, there is little scope for making a classification. The most striking aspect is the predominance of small specimens during the Hellenistic period. Furthermore, it is likely that the fragments belonging to rim type V stem from the early- Byzantine period. No technical or purely formal basis could be found for drawing up a typochronology.

As far as decoration is concerned, a few remarks can be made, but they are not coherent enough to have a binding effect. Most of the *pithoi* have an incised

<sup>98</sup> Schuler 1993, 75.

<sup>99</sup> Solier 1979, 102.

<sup>100</sup> Very little data are available about the Phrygian period.

<sup>101</sup> 28% of the undated pieces can be classified among MHP.

or imprinted decoration, or a combination thereof with an added decoration. We notice, however, that MHP shows almost exclusively a combination of both; not a single specimen had a merely added decoration and only three mechanically made *pithoi* showed a purely incised or imprinted decoration. Among the slipped specimens, only one “turned” *pithos* can be distinguished.

Generally speaking, it may be stated that NMHP shows a more diverse picture than MHP.

Especially the Byzantine *pithoi* are distinguishable because they are usually more decorated than their older counterparts. They are mostly decorated with fingerprints or spatula prints, on a ridge or not, or with incised or added horizontal or waving lines. In some cases, inscriptions and/or stamps were found and sometimes the whole body was slipped.

The pre-Byzantine *pithoi* only have engraved or incised decorations and no added decorative elements, nor inscriptions or stamps. A slip could not be attested either.

Two wall fragments dating from the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, namely C 15 and C 18, are an exception to the rule; C 18 has a slightly elevated broad band and C 15 has two horizontal ridges. However, fingerprints on a ridge, the so-called rope pattern, exclusively occur during the early Byzantine period, usually in combination with other decorative elements.

The engraving or printing of a cross motif was attested both in a late Roman specimen (TM 25) and in an undated, probably early Byzantine, *pithos* (TM 2). In *pithos* TM 25 (fig. 7e), this cross which is formed by small imprinted circles recurs seven times, whereas the engraved cross in *pithos* TM 2 does not recur even once (fig. 8e). Probably the first (TM 25) was meant purely as decoration, whereas the second (TM 2) had a religious meaning. In any case, Christian symbols are found in Pessinus since the middle of the third century<sup>102</sup>, which means that on this basis little can be said in this regard.

On the basis of “reliable” elements, which must always occur in combination with each other, it was possible to assign a number of undated *pithoi* to the early Byzantine period. But for the time being, it appears to be an impossible task to develop an actual typochronology on the basis of these data.

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<sup>102</sup> Devreker & Waelkens 1984, 26.

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#### APPENDIX: IDENTIFICATION OF MATERIALS STUDIED PETROLOGICALLY

Labor. no.	Sample no.	Temporal emplacement	Invent. no.	Paste fabric
AR5703	PS1	E.B.	88/I3/51	D
AR5704*	PS2	E.B.	—	C
AR5705*	PS3	E.B.	—	D
AR5706*	PS4	E.B.	88-I3-K3	E
AR5707	PS5	E.B.	88/I3/K4	A1
AR5708*	PS6	L.P.	93-B3-26bis	A1
AR5709	PS7	H.	94-B5b-65	A1
AR5710*	PS8	L.H.	92-B4-25	C
AR5711	PS9	L.H./E.R.	95-B1-43	C
AR5712	PS10	E.R.	95-N1-27	B
AR5713*	PS11	M.R.	95-N1-23	B
AR5714*	PS12	L.R.	92-B1-73	A2
AR5715	PS13	L.R./E.B.	92-B1-56	A1
AR5716	PS14	E.B.	92-L1-19	A1
AR5735*	PS41	E.B.	92-B1	A2
AR5736*	PS42	E.B.	89-I5-19	A1
AR5737*	PS43	E.B.	89-I6-28	F
AR5738*	PS44	E.B.	71-H-22	A2
AR5739*	PS45	E.B.	89-I5-11	E
AR5740*	PS46	E.B.	92-B1-54	B
AR5741*	PS47	L.R.	92-L1-14	A2
AR5742*	PS48	E.B.	89-I5-11	A1
AR5743*	PS49	E.B.	94-B5a-26	B
AR5744*	PS50	L.H.	92-L1-35	A1
AR5745*	PS51	R./E.B.	70-D-77	B
AR5746*	PS52	E.B.	96-P1-12	B
AR5747*	PS53	E.B.	96-P1-13	C
AR5748*	PS54	L.R.	69-E-5	D

#### *Symbols used:*

L.P. = late Phrygian      M.R. = middle Roman  
H. = Hellenistic      L.R. = late Roman  
L.H. = late Hellenistic      E.B. = early Byzantine  
E.R. = early Roman      \* = analysed chemically too.

Table 1

Pithos	volume (in l)
TM1	880
TM2	330
TM3	240
TM4	320
TM5	120
TM6	110
TM7	285
TM8	200
TM9	770
TM10	275
TM11	920
TM12	180
TM14	470
TM15	580
TM16	245
TM17	105
TM18	100
TM19	760
TM20	580
TM21	460
TM22	550
TM23	320
TM24	390
TM25	1000
TM26	160
TM27	420
MM1	180
MM5	350
M1	70
M2	85
M3	65
D28	60
D29	100
D30	150
D31	105
D37	50

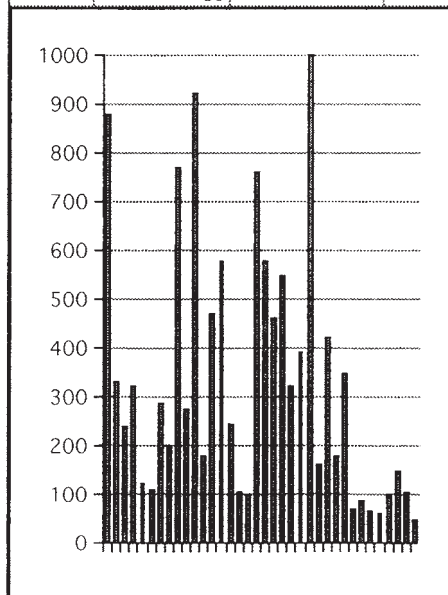
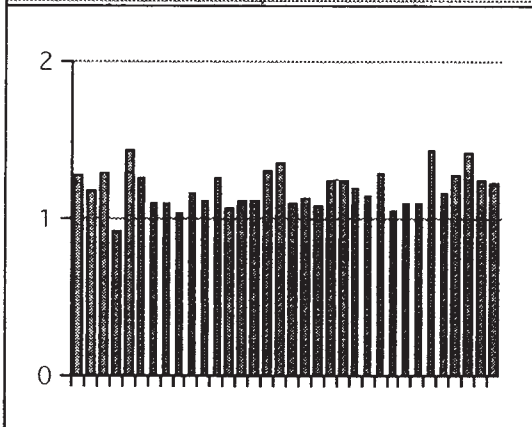


Table 2

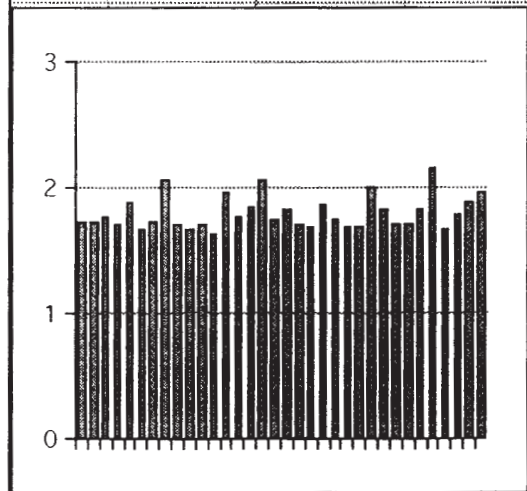
Pithos	height	largest Ø	proportion
TM 1	ca. 1540 mm	1210 mm	1,272
TM 2	1020 mm	870 mm	1,172
TM 3	ca. 975 mm	755 mm	1,291
TM 4	920 mm	995 mm	0,925
TM 5	830 mm	580 mm	1,431
TM 6	770 mm	610 mm	1,262
TM 7	935 mm	850 mm	1,1
TM 8	785 mm	720 mm	1,09
TM 9	ca. 1250 mm	1210 mm	1,033
TM 10	ca. 950 mm	820 mm	1,159
TM 11	ca. 1450 mm	1300 mm	1,115
TM 12	915 mm	725 mm	1,262
TM 14	1190 mm	1120 mm	1,063
TM 15	1240 mm	1110 mm	1,117
TM 16	925 mm	830 mm	1,114
TM 17	ca. 720 mm	ca. 550 mm	1,309
TM 20	ca. 1450 mm	1070 mm	1,355
TM 21	ca. 1100 mm	1010 mm	1,089
TM 22	ca. 1250 mm	1110 mm	1,126
TM 23	ca. 1050 mm	965 mm	1,088
TM 24	ca. 1150 mm	920 mm	1,25
TM 25	1460 mm	1180 mm	1,237
TM 26	840 mm	700 mm	1,2
TM 27	1130 mm	980 mm	1,153
MM 1	ca. 900 mm	ca. 700 mm	1,285
MM 5	ca. 1000 mm	ca. 950 mm	1,052
M 1	580 mm	530 mm	1,094
M 2	650 mm	590 mm	1,101
M 3	600 mm	420 mm	1,429
D 28	ca. 580 mm	500 mm	1,16
D 29	725 mm	570 mm	1,272
D 30	ca. 860 mm	605 mm	1,421
D 31	ca. 700 mm	565 mm	1,239
D 37	ca. 550 mm	ca. 450 mm	1,222



> 1,25: slim  
 $\geq 1,1$  and  $\leq 1,25$ : plump  
 < 1,1: thick

Table 3

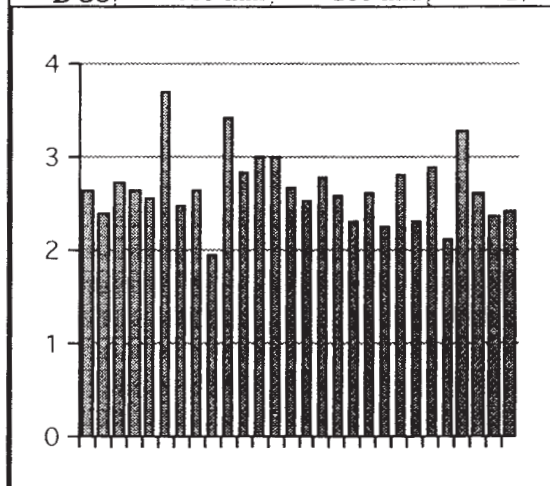
Pithos	height	h. largest Ø	proportion
TM 1	ca. 1540 mm	890 mm	1.73
TM 2	1020 mm	590 mm	1.729
TM 3	ca. 975 mm	ca. 550 mm	1.773
TM 4	920 mm	540 mm	1.704
TM 5	830 mm	440 mm	1.886
TM 6	770 mm	460 mm	1.674
TM 7	935 mm	540 mm	1.731
TM 8	785 mm	380 mm	2.066
TM 9	ca. 1250 mm	ca. 730 mm	1.712
TM 10	ca. 950 mm	ca. 570 mm	1.667
TM 11	ca. 1450 mm	ca. 850 mm	1.706
TM 12	915 mm	560 mm	1.634
TM 14	1190 mm	610 mm	1.951
TM 15	1240 mm	700 mm	1.771
TM 16	925 mm	500 mm	1.85
TM 17	ca. 720 mm	350 mm	2.057
TM 20	ca. 1450 mm	ca. 830 mm	1.747
TM 21	ca. 1100 mm	ca. 600 mm	1.833
TM 22	ca. 1250 mm	ca. 730 mm	1.712
TM 23	ca. 1050 mm	ca. 620 mm	1.694
TM 24	ca. 1150 mm	ca. 620 mm	1.855
TM 25	1460 mm	840 mm	1.738
TM 26	840 mm	500 mm	1.68
TM 27	1130 mm	670 mm	1.687
MM 1	ca. 900 mm	ca. 450 mm	2
MM 5	ca. 1000 mm	ca. 550 mm	1.818
M 1	580 mm	340 mm	1.706
M 2	650 mm	380 mm	1.711
M 3	600 mm	330 mm	1.818
D 28	ca. 580 mm	270 mm	2.148
D 29	725 mm	435 mm	1.667
D 30	ca. 860 mm	480 mm	1.792
D 31	ca. 700 mm	370 mm	1.892
D 37	ca. 550 mm	ca. 280 mm	1.964



> 1.9: pear-shaped  
 > 1.72 and ≤ 1.9: egg-shaped/spherical  
 ≤ 1.72: inversely pear-shaped

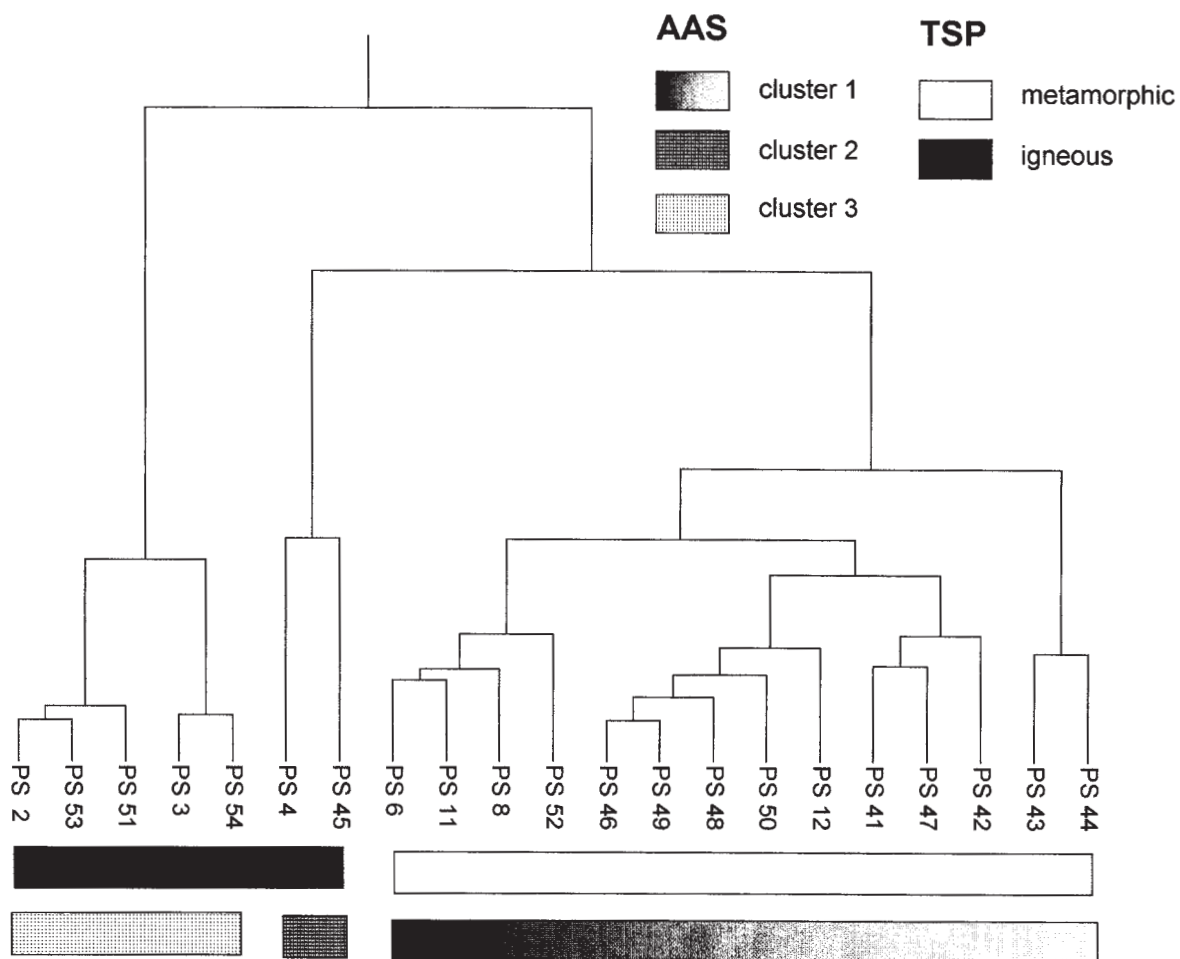
Table 4

Pithos	largest Ø	inner Ø rim	proportion
TM 2	870 mm	330 mm	2.636
TM 3	755 mm	315 mm	2.397
TM 4	995 mm	365 mm	2.726
TM 5	580 mm	220 mm	2.636
TM 6	610 mm	240 mm	2.542
TM 7	850 mm	230 mm	3.696
TM 8	720 mm	290 mm	2.483
TM 9	1210 mm	460 mm	2.63
TM 10	820 mm	420 mm	1.952
TM 11	1300 mm	380 mm	3.421
TM 12	725 mm	255 mm	2.843
TM 14	1120 mm	375 mm	2.987
TM 15	1110 mm	370 mm	3
TM 16	830 mm	310 mm	2.677
TM 21	1010 mm	400 mm	2.525
TM 22	1110 mm	400 mm	2.775
TM 23	965 mm	375 mm	2.573
TM 24	920 mm	400 mm	2.3
TM 25	1180 mm	450 mm	2.622
TM 26	700 mm	310 mm	2.258
TM 27	980 mm	350 mm	2.8
MM 1	ca. 700 mm	304 mm	2.303
MM 5	ca. 950 mm	330 mm	2.879
M 1	530 mm	250 mm	2.12
M 2	590 mm	180 mm	3.278
M 3	420 mm	160 mm	2.625
D 29	570 mm	240 mm	2.375
D 30	605 mm	250 mm	2.42



> 3: small mouth  
 ≥ 2.4 and ≤ 3: medium-sized mouth  
 < 2.4: wide mouth





*Dendrogram of 21 pithoi from Pessinus, based on cluster analysis of the AAS data (19 variables). TSP = thin section petrography.*

# The settlement of Muro Tenente, southern Italy<sup>1</sup>

## Third interim report

Gert-Jan Burgers and Douwe Yntema

### 1. INTRODUCTION

If we consider that urbanization has long been a major theme in the archaeology of ancient Italy, it may come as a surprise to find that not long ago a survey of early urban sites in Southern Italy demonstrated a striking lack of well-documented settlement contexts in most of the regions concerned (Gualtieri 1987). Many explanations can be given for this negative outcome, prominent among them the traditional fascination of Classical archaeology for a particular type of urban site, namely the Greek one. Although Italiote Greek towns are represented only in very small numbers, until recently they totally dominated scholarly attention, to the neglect of investigations into the neighbouring regions of Southern Italy. However, this focus is gradually being counterbalanced by an upsurge of non-Greek settlement research, revealing that urbanizing trends also occurred in the rest of the South; the small Greek enclaves along the Ionic coasts clearly do not constitute the only type of urban site in pre-Roman southern Italy. Accordingly, it is increasingly acknowledged that urbanization should be investigated as a differentiated phenomenon, with a range of variations in regional trajectories. These regional trajectories have come to represent a major research topic in Italian archaeology in general.

The upsurge of settlement research has been particularly intense on the Salento peninsula<sup>2</sup>. The undulating landscape of this heel of Italy is literally dotted with fortified ancient towns. One of these Salento *oppida* lies hidden under the surface of an estate conventionally known under the toponym of 'Muro Tenente' (Fig. 1). It is located some 18 km south-west of Brindisi. This 52 ha site constitutes the most recent research object of the long-term project that the Archaeological Institute of the *Vrije Universiteit* of Amsterdam (AIVU) has been carrying out in Salento since 1981. In view of the fact that the site is situated in open countryside and that it is formally protected from destructive agricultural activities, it is admirably suited for large-scale excavation aiming at gaining insight into its chronological, functional and spatial characteristics. With these excavations we wish to contribute to the general research theme discussed above.

The present interim report is dedicated to the preliminary results of the 1997 and 1998 excavation campaigns at Muro Tenente (for previous reports, see *BaBesch* 1996 and 1998).

### 2. THE VARIOUS RESEARCH LEVELS

The excavations at Muro Tenente are part of a series of investigations undertaken by the AIVU in the Brindisi district, in the north-east of Salento. These investigations include similar digs in other Brindisi sites as well as regional field surveys in various landscape and settlement units (Fig. 2).<sup>3</sup> We therefore intend to study the process of urbanization in a wider regional context and to analyse how and the extent to which this evolved into the formation of a regional landscape differentiated by town – countryside relations. On the basis of the ongoing research, it can now be argued that such differentiation gradually developed from the 6th century BC onwards, when a number of sites emerged, fulfilling political, socio-economic and religious central place functions to wider micro-regional polities. This process accelerated in the later 4th century BC with the formation of a whole series of *oppida* throughout the region and the large-scale settlement of the countryside around them with isolated farmsteads and small villages. It is one of the major aims of the AIVU research to clarify and to explain this regional process.

<sup>1</sup> Correction of English text: Taalcentrum-VU. Drawings: Mr Harry Burgers and Mr. Jaap Fokkema.

<sup>2</sup> Especially noteworthy are the excavations of the *Scuola di Specializzazione in Archeologia Classica e Medievale* of the Lecce University (e.g. sites of Cavallino, Vaste, San Vito) and the *Soprintendenza Archeologica della Puglia* (e.g. Monte Sannace, Manduria). For other recent excavations, see in particular D'Andria 1991 and the annual supplement of the journal *Taras*, i.e. the *Notiziario delle attività di tutela*. We sincerely thank our colleagues at Lecce and Taranto for their unstinting cooperation and support, especially Professor Francesco D'Andria, Professor Mario Lombardo, Dr Grazia Semeraro (Lecce), Dr Giuseppe Andreassi and Dr Assunta Cocchiario (Taranto).

<sup>3</sup> See especially Boersma/Yntema 1987; Boersma *et al.* 1991; Yntema 1993a; Yntema 1993b; Boersma 1995; Burgers 1998.

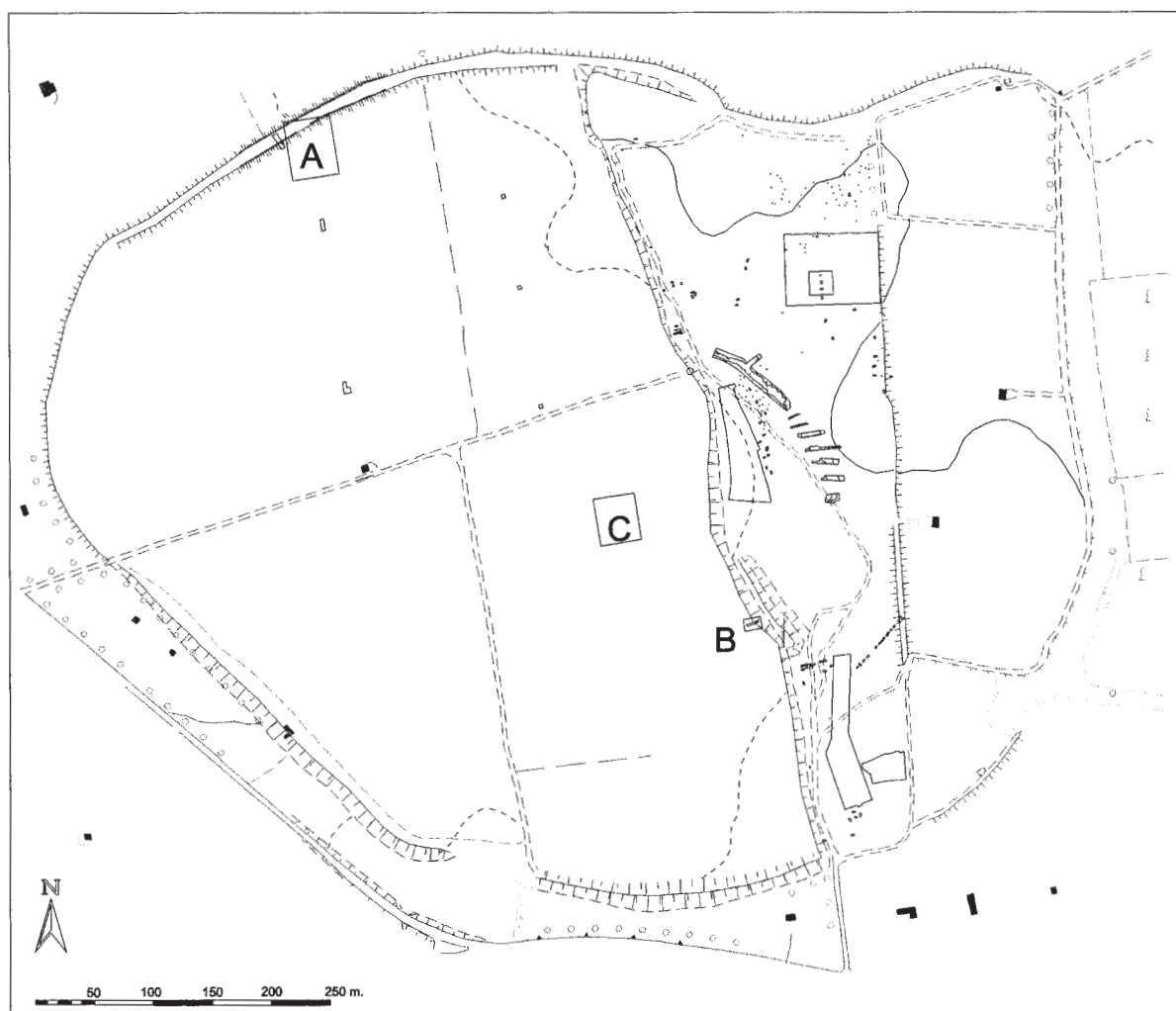


Fig. 1. Muro Tenente. Major trenches excavated in the 1997 and 1998 seasons.

Significantly, similar processes are commonly encountered in other Italian districts. In view of this, new insights may also be gained from comparative analyses on a supra-regional level. Indeed, this is the principle aim of the umbrella project which the AIVU started in 1997 together with the Groningen Institute of Archaeology. Focusing on similarities and differences in regional urbanization processes, it is aptly called the 'Regional Pathways to Complexity' (RPC) project.<sup>4</sup>

However, apart from regional and supraregional levels of research, it is imperative to include detailed studies of specific local dynamics. It is to this end that the Muro Tenente research was launched. Excavations at this site were preceded by intensive

surveys of both the intra-mural area and its extra-mural periphery. These surveys were started in 1993 and have recently been published *in extenso* (Burgers 1998). They have allowed us to build hypotheses on structural transformations in local landscape and settlement organization. A series of small trenches was subsequently laid out in order to

<sup>4</sup> Attema, Burgers, Kleibrink, Yntema 1998. This four-year project is subsidized by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO), the *Vrije Universiteit* of Amsterdam and the Groningen Institute of Archaeology. The three regions that constitute the starting-point of the comparative analyses are the Sibaritide, the Pontine region and the Salento Isthmus.



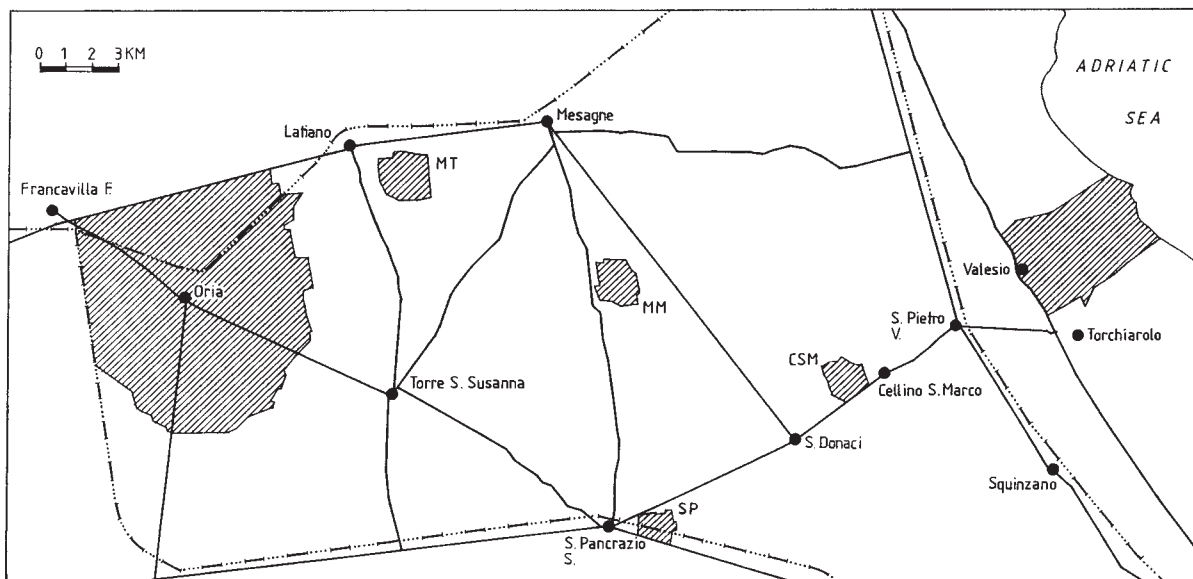


Fig. 2. The AIVU-survey areas in the Brindisi region.

test the surface data. Both surveys and test trenches indicate that the site was continuously and intensively occupied from the 8th century BC until within the early Imperial age. It reached its maximum expansion in the early Hellenistic period, i.e. the late 4th/early 3rd century BC. In this same phase a fortification wall was built, clearly with the aim of enclosing the entire resident population. This population was concentrated in large built-up nuclei separated only by relatively small open areas. Two of these nuclei have been selected for large scale excavations, one at the centre of the site and one at its northern periphery (Fig. 1). With these choices we wish to investigate whether intrasite differentiation can be observed. The 1997 and 1998 campaigns concerned both areas.

### 3. EXCAVATIONS IN THE NORTHERN PERIPHERY (TRENCH 14)

In view of the common belief that South-Italian *oppida* incorporate extensive open, non-built-up spaces, it may come as a surprise that the surveys and excavations at Muro Tenente suggest that the larger part of the intra-mural area was built up. In fact, it can even be safely concluded that habitation is also found in the extreme periphery of the walled area, with dwellings almost literally leaning against the fortification walls. In south-east Italy such a pattern has thus far been encountered only at Monte

Sannace, slightly to the north of Salento (Scarfi 1962; Russo Tagliente 1992).

At Muro Tenente, we have excavated such peripheral structures in a c. 2000 m<sup>2</sup> large trench located right along the inner side of the northern section of the fortifications (Figs. 1, A and 3). The trench is oriented along a north – south axis, at right angles to the fortification walls. We have uncovered the stone foundations of a substantial part of an extensive and complex domestic quarter. According to our stratigraphical analysis, these dwellings were built and occupied during the early Hellenistic period (late 4th – 3rd century BC; Fig. 5). Parts of them had already been excavated in 1996; they have been described in a previous report (Burgers/ Yntema 1997). This also goes for construction techniques, to which the most recent excavations add only a few new details.

Almost all foundation walls uncovered in this trench are built at right angles to each other, which gives the structure a regular layout. It is constituted of a series of adjoining houses which make up a kind of *insulae*. These are separated from each other by clearly defined streets. Thus far, two streets have been excavated, both measuring c. 4,5 m in width. One of them runs immediately along the inner side of the east-west orientated northern section of the fortifications (Fig. 3, A), the other at right angles to this street, turning to the south in the direction of the centre of Muro Tenente (Fig. 3, B).

Unfortunately, the upper layers of these streets have been touched by the plough. Nevertheless,



*Fig. 3. Muro Tenente. Plan of the excavated structures in the trench at the northern periphery. A and B: streets.*



Fig. 4. Muro Tenente. Terracotta bath tub in room I of the northern trench.

judging by the find of a few concentrations of dressed cobbles and stones on their surfaces, it may be concluded that the streets were paved at least partially.

Blocks of houses were erected both to the east and the west of street B. Of the eastern block we have excavated only a small part, whose plan it has as yet been impossible to reconstruct. Only the northernmost room of this block has been completely excavated (Fig. 3, I). The sides of this square room measure c. 5m. The room is closed on the street side. It is entered from the south, from what was presumably a large courtyard. The entrance is clearly recognizable in the form of a threshold, composed of a large, monolithic dressed block with a length of c. 1.5m. So far we have only found one similar threshold in this trench (see below). In the south-eastern corner of this room a terracotta bath tub was found *in situ* (Fig. 4). In the same room we found half of a large stone mortar. Considering that it was split and that we have only found one half of it, it can be

argued that it was dumped into the building in a phase postdating its abandonment.

For large parts of the western block we are much better informed than for the eastern one. This western block can be divided, in turn, into an eastern and a western compartment separated by a blind wall. The eastern compartment is the best known so far. Reconstructing its layout, two options must be considered, to be tested with further investigations. They possibly represent two subsequent phases. We will first discuss the earliest one. It is characterized by three joining courtyard-dwellings, lined up from north to south along street B (Fig. 5, X, Y, Z). These three units have almost identical dimensions, measuring approximately 12 m on the street side and 14 m in length. The entrances to all three are on the street side, opening up to a courtyard.

The northernmost unit (Fig. 5, Z) contains an L-shaped open courtyard which has a small shed leaning against its eastern wall. To the back of this courtyard there is a group of three rooms, which together form a similar L-shape. These rooms have been described in a previous report (Burgers/Yntema 1998). One clearly served a storage function; it contained a series of large dolia still *in situ*. The southernmost wall of this dwelling is shared by the adjacent unit, also measuring 12 x 14 m (Fig. 5, Y). Tile-covered rooms are encountered to the north and south of the entrance of this unit. The foundation walls of the southern room are badly preserved; they have partly been dismantled. To the west of the courtyard, another series of three rooms is lined up from north to south. The northernmost room is the only one to have been excavated in this trench so far that contained white plastered walls. It is entered from the adjacent southern room through a doorway measuring c. 1.5 m. in width, like the one noted above in the northern room of the eastern dwelling block. The threshold, however, is missing here; perhaps it was dismantled and reused elsewhere. There are other similarities between these two rooms: both are square, have sides of c. 5m, and are situated in the north-western corner of their respective dwelling units. This appears to be a pattern which returns in the other units identified thus far (Fig. 5; the rooms are indicated with closed square symbols).

A room with identical dimensions is also found in the third, southernmost dwelling unit (Fig. 5, X). This is also entered from the south. Moreover, this entrance is indicated by a similar monolithic threshold still *in situ*. It is, however, the only clearly distinguishable room of this unit. Most of the foundation walls of the other spaces in it have been badly preserved. The evidence is too fragmentary to reconstruct the exact layout of this dwelling. The same goes for the wall structures to its south. They





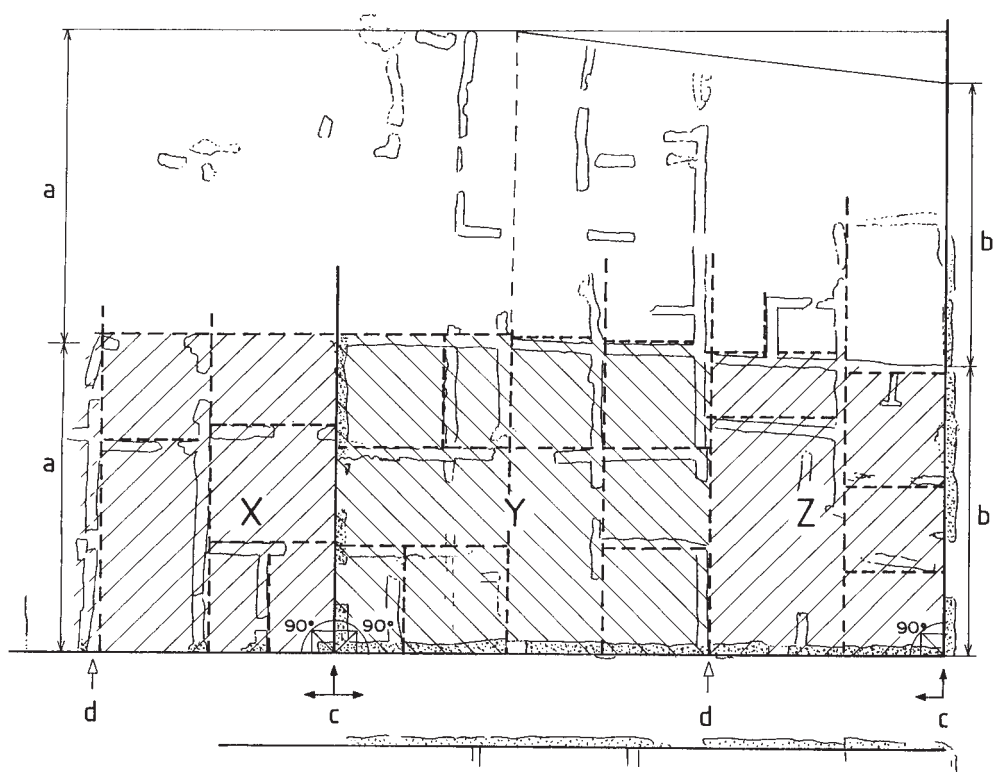


Fig. 6. Muro Tenente. Reconstruction of the second phase of the major dwelling units (X, Y, Z) of the northern trench.

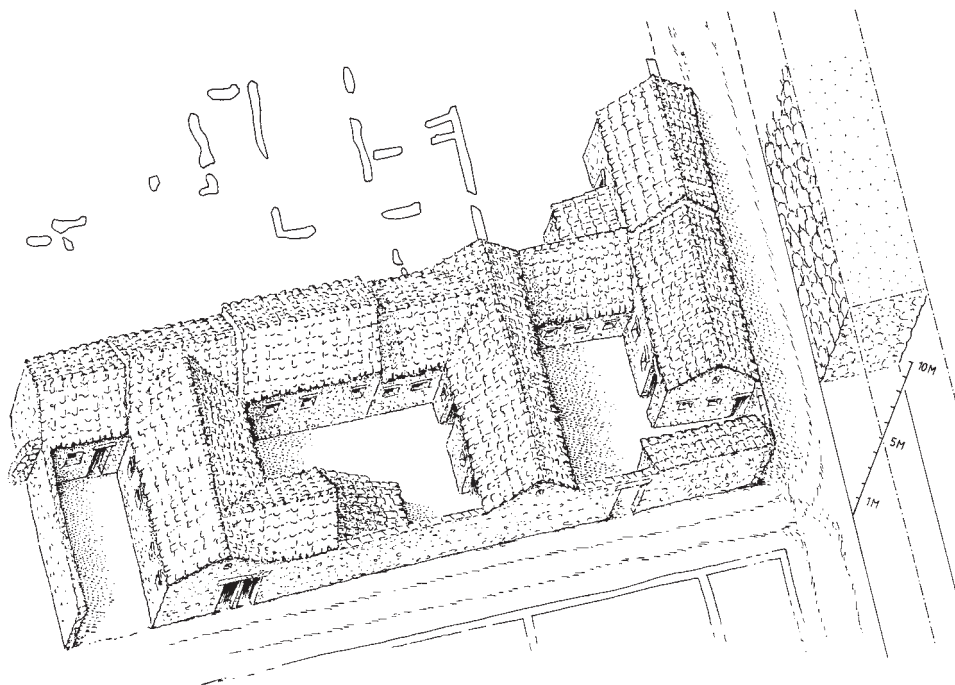


Fig. 7. Muro Tenente. Hypothetical reconstruction of part of the domestic quarter excavated in the northern trench.

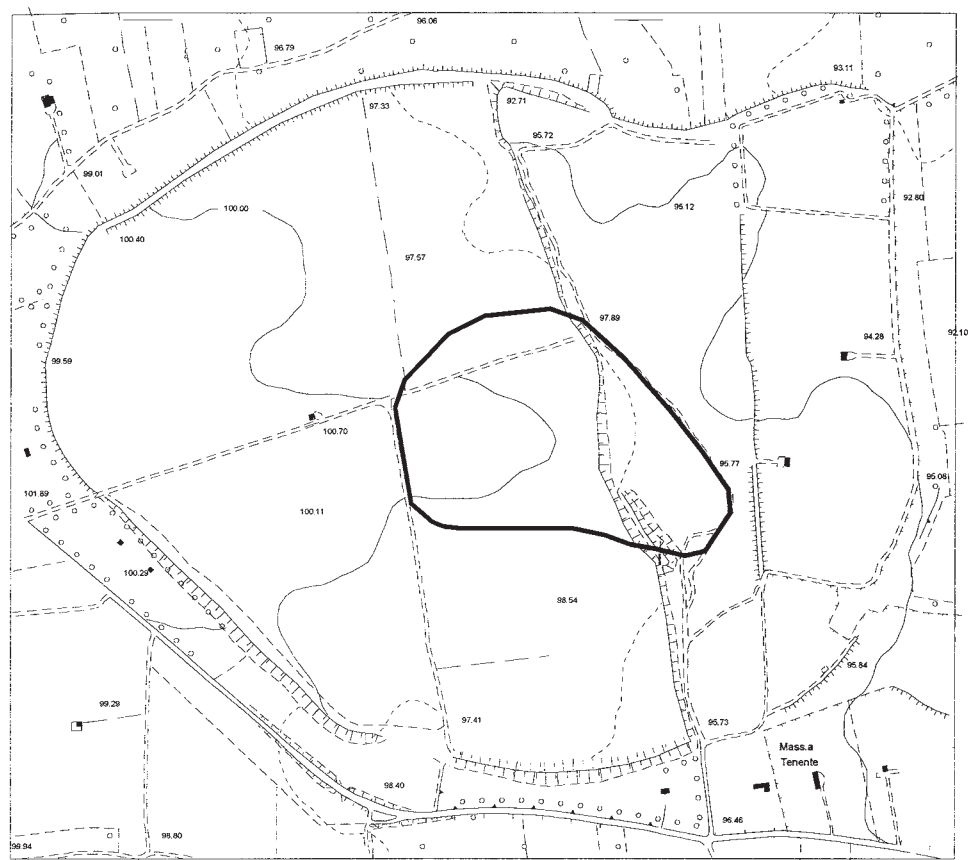
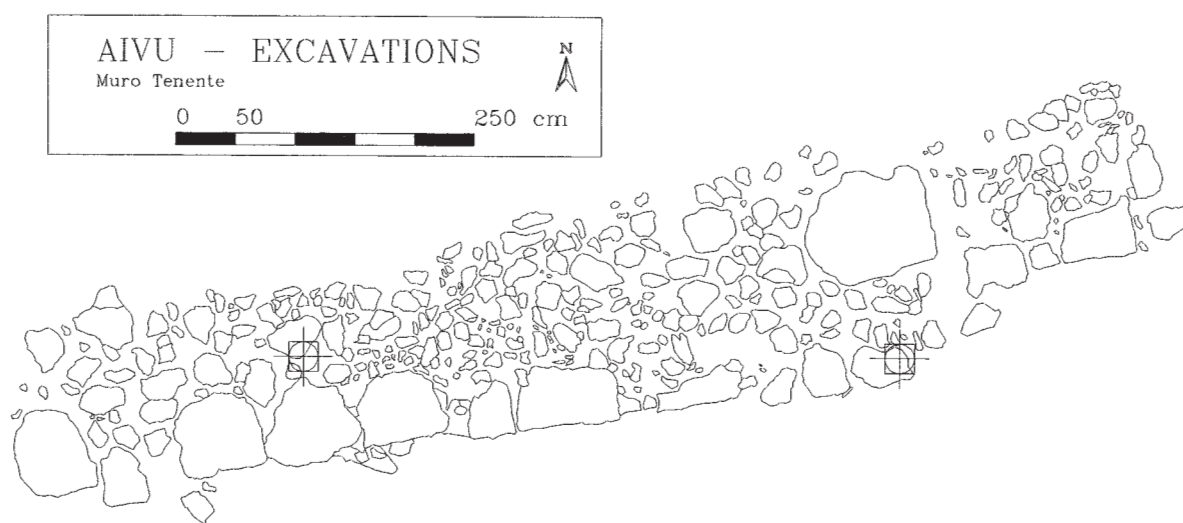






Fig. 10. Muro Tenente. Plan of the excavated structures in the central trench. A: pit burial; B: largest cist tomb; C and D: burial lots; E: courtyard-structure.

of fact, this part of the *insula* does not seem to have been inhabited. The walls uncovered in it may be hypothesized to have functioned to delineate small gardens and sheds. In contrast, the northernmost unit probably contained a large courtyard, similar to the one in the adjacent unit of the western compartment. The layers deposited on the floor of this yard contained numerous pottery misfires, which indicates that a kiln was situated in or nearby this yard. In the same layers, large concentrations of burnt mudbrick were found spread all over, suggesting that the destruction of the walls was accompanied by fire or that a fire took place shortly after the collapse of the building. Considering that the rest of the excavated complex does not show any similar traces, it seems justified to conclude that this fire was of limited extent.

In spite of the poor preservation of some parts of this complex, it can be safely concluded that the whole complex conveys a striking degree of regularity of plan. Not only are its foundation walls invariably built at right angles to each other, but the layout of individual rooms and dwelling units also seems to have been dictated by standardized proportion modules not dissimilar from those encountered in Greek domestic architecture. Moreover, at least the central series of dwellings of this trench appears to have been originally arranged within lots of almost identical dimensions, to be changed in a subsequent phase. Finally, dwellings as well as outdoor areas can be argued to have been incorporated into blocks separated from each other by a clearly defined street grid, recalling the orthogonal pattern so characteristic of Greek towns. Indeed, such regular arrangements actually suggest a significant degree of planning.

As was stated, the stratigraphical data indicate that construction of this complex was started in the later 4<sup>th</sup>/early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. No earlier traces of habitation have been detected in this area. This observation coincides with the above-mentioned conclusion, drawn from the survey results, that the early Hellenistic period was a phase of settlement expansion. The entire complex, though, was not built in one operation, some rooms clearly having been added in subsequent phases. As yet, the analysis of the stratigraphy does not allow us to follow this sequence. Nevertheless, one may positively conclude that the entire structure was in use in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, to be abandoned towards the final quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.

#### 4. EXCAVATIONS AT THE CENTRE OF THE SITE (TRENCH 18)

Excavations in the centre of the fortified area started in 1997 and continued in 1998. It is on this highest

part of the site (c. 100m above sea level, compared to c. 95m in the surrounding terrain) that our surveys have documented the most dense and differentiated surface concentrations. These include the larger part of the Iron Age scatters found at Muro Tenente, suggesting that this area constituted the heart of the settlement from its very inception (Burgers 1998). Here, a first hypothesis we wished to deal with concerned the possible existence of an inner fortification circuit surrounding this central area. Similar internal wall circuits have been attested at quite a number of other *oppida* in Salento, but had hitherto remained unnoticed at Muro Tenente. However, close examination of aerial photographs of the site revealed to us various types of soil marks which might possibly be interpreted in this vein. To test this hypothesis, a 150 m<sup>2</sup> trench was laid out at right angles to the supposed southern section of the fortification circuit (Fig. 1, B). The results of these excavations are positive; such a section was actually uncovered. It is composed of a wall of c. 1,5m in width, still standing up to an average height of 1 m. The wall is composed of irregularly-placed stones of large dimensions and various forms (Fig. 8). It proved to be founded on a compact clay stratum. Iron Age impasto wares were discovered in this stratum, providing a *terminus post quem* to this wall's construction.

The excavated section runs east-west, as could actually be suspected on the basis of the soil marks noted on the aerial photographs. This correspondence suggests that these soilmarks can indeed be related to a fortification circuit. Following the line of these soil marks, it may be hypothesized that the circuit encloses an area of some 8 ha (Fig. 9). The discovery of this interior fortification is of considerable importance to the understanding of the layout of the settlement. A major conclusion that can be drawn from it is that the central area apparently had a special status that was accentuated by the construction of a monumental wall circuit. In this way, it was closed off both physically and symbolically from the larger settlement.

In addition to this fortification, other differentiating factors may be observed on the basis of a c. 35m x 35m large trench within the intra-mural centre (Fig. 1, C). This trench is located slightly to the north-west of the section of the wall circuit just discussed. Before turning to the excavated features and structures, some thought should be given to the preservation of archaeological strata.

Whereas in the northern periphery the depth of the ploughzone amounts to almost half a metre, in this trench it is only 20/30 cm thick. This might give the impression that ploughing has been less deep in the central area and that, consequently, archaeological

structures are, on average, better preserved. However, considering that this zone is situated on higher terrain, one must take into account the fact that the degree of erosion of topsoils is relatively high (in contrast, soils accumulate in the lower, peripheral terrain). Continual ploughing is a factor which speeds up this erosion process. Indeed, one may conclude that in this central zone the terrain is likely to have been somewhat higher in the past than it is now and that former archaeological strata to some degree have already disappeared. An indicative find was an isolated inhumation burial in a shallow pit immediately below the ploughsoil (Fig. 10, A). At Muro Tenente, such pit burials are generally a little deeper and covered by limestone slabs. Apparently, in this case both the cover stone and the upper part of the pit had been touched by the plough, leaving only the skeleton at the bottom of the pit. Nevertheless, a comparison between the survey data and the excavated strata suggests that the disturbance of the strata cannot have been very dramatic; since they exhibit close chronological correspondence. It would have been much more worrying if the surface debris had contained large amounts of artefacts of more recent layers no longer encountered beneath the ploughzone.

The grave mentioned above concerns a female burial. It was not the only grave discovered in this central trench. As a matter of fact we uncovered part of a necropolis here. Of this graveyard, we have so far excavated five burials. Unfortunately, with the exception of the grave already discussed, these had already been largely emptied by graverobbers. This obstructs a detailed analysis of both the diachronic and synchronic contexts of the necropolis. Nevertheless, a number of observations can be made which suggest that this burial plot differed significantly from the one discovered below the domestic quarter in the northern periphery. In contrast to the latter, which contained only pit burials, the central one consists mainly of elaborate cist tombs (with the exception of the pit burial mentioned above). The largest of these measures c. 1,45m x 2,3m (Fig. 10, B). The four walls of this tomb are composed of finely cut, large rectangular stone slabs. These walls carried three cover stones placed latitudinally. As was stated, the tomb had been opened and robbed. It had been carefully refilled with stones and earth. Apart from these differences in architecture, it must be observed that whereas the peripheral necropolis was built over in a subsequent phase, there is nothing to indicate that the central one was. A major conclusion that can therefore be drawn is that this central area was apparently specifically reserved for burial purposes and that it was to be respected as such. Contributing to this thesis is the fact that the

cist tombs in the eastern half of the central trench are arranged in clearly definable (family?) units, spatially separated from each other by small, dry stone demarcation walls. These walls are similar to those uncovered in the domestic quarter in the northern periphery, except that the latter served as foundation walls that once carried tile-covered superstructures.

Besides these differences, one must also point out the striking similarity between the excavated structures in the eastern half of the central trench and those in the periphery of Muro Tenente. This similarity concerns their layout. Since the excavation of the central trench is still in progress, it is too early to comment in detail on the layout of the demarcated burial lots. However, it is already quite clear that it demonstrates a degree of regularity very similar to that of the domestic quarter of the northern periphery; walls run parallel to each other and all edges are at right angles. Moreover, the tombs excavated thus far all neatly follow this disposition. To this it can be added that in two cases (Fig. 10, C and D) the burial lots seem to have been square in form, both with sides of c. 10m (double the size of the square rooms in the northern periphery). On the basis of all this, it can be concluded not only that the necropolis was arranged according to a preconceived plan, but also that this layout has much in common with that of the early Hellenistic domestic quarter excavated in the periphery. Unfortunately, as yet the state of excavation in the central trench does not allow us to establish if there is also a close chronological correspondence, as might be suspected. Here, what can be said on chronology must be deduced from the dispersed grave goods found in the subsurface and in the layers inbetween the graves (see below paragraph 5.2). The different orientation of a small number of badly preserved walls crosscut by those of the excavated burial lots indeed suggests that various phases are represented. It is up to the 1999 excavations to clarify this matter and to establish whether the layout discussed above can actually be dated to the early-Hellenistic period, as are the structures in the periphery.

Although these similarities in layout are striking, the two trenches also show clear differences. Accentuating this diversity is the fortification circuit surrounding the central area. Considering that within this circuit we have uncovered a regularly arranged necropolis with clearly defined burial lots containing elaborately built tombs, the thesis that this area had a special status seems justified. Of course, much more detail is needed. This goes, for instance, for the structures excavated immediately to the north-west of the necropolis; here we have uncovered part of what seems to be a large courtyard (Fig. 10, E).



It is delineated by similar dry stone fences as have been encountered in the necropolis. Parts of this courtyard are paved with large dressed stones. It also contains a drainage channel, discharging water into a well situated in the north-western corner of the trench. It cannot yet be established with certainty whether or not this courtyard belonged to a residential structure, of which we have possibly excavated part of the foundation walls in the north-eastern corner of the trench. Although the excavations in the central parts of other Salento *oppida*, such as Vaste and Monte Sannace, provide parallels for the coexistence of a necropolis and a residential/ ceremonial complex, this hypothesis has to be tested with further excavations.

## 5. THE FINDS

The two large trenches (14 and 18) made during our fieldwork at Muro Tenente in 1997 and 1998 proved to be very rich in finds. Although both the character and the quality of the architectonic remains by themselves supply information on the function of the buildings and the function of the area in which they were found, the finds provide important additional evidence on this subject. The mainly ceramic artefacts recovered during these digs contain a series of clues that facilitate the interpretation of the structures that have come to light. They provide, moreover, insight into the occupational history of these parts of the settlement of Muro Tenente. It is therefore useful to present both a sample of the movable finds and the implications they have for the interpretation of the architectural remains. Whenever these Muro Tenente finds indicate an unusual or hitherto unknown aspect of material culture, they will also be discussed from this perspective.

### 5.1. Artefacts from trench 14

The trench and the substantial architectural remains of *insulae* consisting of houses with a regular ground plan were discussed in paragraph 3 above. The large-scale excavation of this trench began in 1997 and continued in 1998. During these digs the occupational history of the north-western periphery of the site has become clear. The stratigraphies here appear to be gratifyingly simple.

Geophysical research suggests that the soil underneath the houses with rectangular plan is likely to have been used for agricultural purposes prior to the construction of the habitation quarters. In the midst of these fields were a few small and scattered cemeteries, each with a handful of tombs. Because most of the graves had been robbed, their exact dating is uncertain. The tombs which still contain some

objects can be dated to the 4th century BC; for instance, an unrobbed grave contained, *inter alia*, a Lucanian Red-Figured skyphos of c. 380/370 BC. The outer fortifications of Muro Tenente postdate this phase. Around the middle of the 4th century BC the area of the *insulae*, therefore, was part of the halo of fields surrounding a settlement of only limited extension.

The north-western area has only a single occupation layer. This is the phase of the *insulae* which were built after the outermost town wall had come into existence. The close relation between outer town wall and *insulae* suggest that the latter were built only shortly after the construction of the outer fortifications: both features were part of a new, carefully planned settlement layout. The ceramics used in the houses of the north-western quarter, therefore, supply crucial information on the dating of this revolutionary development in the settlement history of the site of Muro Tenente. Among the large quantities of pottery found in the occupation layer, Apulian Black Gloss is undoubtedly the class with the greatest diagnostic value. A number of pieces of this class stemming from the dwellings will therefore be discussed here.

Selection of finds from the *insula* houses in trench 14:

1. Inv. MT.98.14.27.2.2 (Fig. 11.1)  
Rim, part of wall and handle of skyphos; class: Apulian Black Gloss; pale yellow clay (Munsell 2.5YR 8/4), semi-lustrous black gloss; diam. rim 12 cm. Suggested dating: late 4th/early 3rd century BC.
2. Inv. MT.98.14.27.2.2 (Fig. 11.2)  
Rim, wall and part of handle of one-handler; class: Apulian Black Gloss; yellowish clay (Munsell 10YR 8/6), semi-lustrous black gloss; diam. rim 11.5 cm. Comment: the shape occurs in black gloss wares of southern Italy from the 5th century to within the first half of the 2nd century BC (*cf.* Burgers/Yntema 1998, 123 Fig. 5 no. 7).
3. Inv. MT.98.14.27.2.3 (Fig. 11.3)  
Complete form of small ring-handled kantharos; class: Apulian Black Gloss; yellowish clay (Munsell 10YR 8/6), dull dark brown to black gloss; diam. rim 8 cm. The ring-handled kantharos is a characteristic form of the 3rd and early 2nd centuries. Comment: the specimen discussed here is unusually small (diam. rim mostly 11-13 cm); it belongs to the earliest series with a slight S-curve profile which replaced the skyphos (see item 1) as the most popular drinking vessel (*cf.* Yntema 1991, 174, Fig. 16 nos. 2-3). These early ring-handled kantharoi date mainly to the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 3rd century BC (see also Burgers/Yntema 1998, 123, Fig. 5.9).
4. Inv. MT.98.14.27.2.2 (Fig. 11.4)  
Rim and wall of krater bowl with triangular rim; class: Apulian Black Gloss; very pale brown clay

(Munsell 10YR 8/4), dark brown, cracked, semi-lustrous gloss; diam. rim 21 cm. The krater bowl with triangular rim is common in settlement contexts of the middle to later 3rd and the first half of the 2nd century BC (cf. Yntema, in press, form K31b).

5. Inv. MT.98.14.27.2.1 (Fig. 11.5)

Complete form of *patera*; class; Apulian Black Gloss; very pale brown clay (Munsell 10YR 7/3), dull dark brown gloss; diam. rim 15.5 cm. Suggested dating: 2nd/3rd quarter of the 3rd century BC (see Yntema 1991, 173, Fig. 15 no. 2).

The admittedly small selection of a large quantity of pottery belonging to the occupational phase of the *insulae* indicate that the dwellings in the north-western sector were inhabited during part of the 3rd century BC. Both the skyphos and the ring-handled kantharos are represented among the drinking vessels. On the basis of the settlement excavations of Valesio and various Salento tomb groups, it may be assumed that both forms existed side by side during the second quarter of the 3rd century BC. The general air of the Black Gloss sample from the Muro Tenente *insulae* is 2nd-3rd quarter of the 3rd century BC. Characteristic forms exclusively found in contexts of the later 4th century and the first one or two decades of the 3rd century are conspicuous by their absence in this sample (e.g. Yntema 1991, Fig. 15 no. 1 and Fig. 17 no. 1). The same holds true for forms which made their appearance in south-eastern Italy in the last third of the 3rd century BC (Yntema 1991, Fig. 15 nos. 3-5, Fig. 16 nos. 4-6, Fig. 17 nos. 4-8) which in our Valesio digs are often associated with small Tarantine coins of the late 3rd century BC and the first emissions of Brindisi of the final decades of the 3rd century BC. On the basis of these data one may suggest that the north-western quarter of Muro Tenente with the *insula* houses was inhabited between c. 300/280 and c. 240/220 BC. The outer city wall is therefore likely to have been constructed in the final years of the 4th or in the early years of the 3rd century BC. The 3rd-century occupation is covered with the debris caused by the collapse of the dwellings. The ceramics found on top of the debris date to the late 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. These were badly corroded, which suggest that they had been exposed to the weather for a considerable time. The area of the collapsed *insula* houses had been turned into an area where those who continued to live in the central part of the site of Muro Tenente dumped their rubbish. Some of these late pieces have been described in Burgers/Yntema 1998, 122 (e.g., Fig. 5 nos. 1-5).

## 5.2. Artefacts from Trench 18

The large trench 18 (measuring c. 35m x 35m) in the very centre of the site of Muro Tenente has

produced hundreds of artefacts. As has been explained above, the central part is at present the most elevated part of the site. The finds suggest that the ancient layers were partly removed in the not too distant past. Whilst substantial quantities of middle and late Hellenistic ceramics had been collected during the urban survey of that part of the site (Burgers 1998, Figs. 26-28), the present more or less undisturbed layers which came to light after removing the fairly thin layer of topsoil are likely to date to the later 4th century BC. Because the central area in which trench 18 is found is the only part of the site in which late-Hellenistic and early Imperial artefacts appear to cluster according to our survey results, one may conclude that this area must have been the only, admittedly small focus of human activity in these 'late' periods of the settlement. Of such activities, however, no traces have been found in the more or less undisturbed soil of trench 18. Although the results of the urban survey clearly indicated that human occupation in the central part of the site continued to well into the 1st century AD (Burgers 1998, 66-70), the most recent traces found hitherto in the excavations of this area seem to date to the last third of the 4th century BC.

### 5.2.1. The Iron Age.

The ceramics found in trench 18 seem to confirm the information collected during the urban survey of the site.<sup>5</sup> The interpretation of the surface materials encountered during this latter activity indicated that this part of the site was a focus of human activities during the Iron Age. It probably contained a settlement nucleus (Burgers 1998, 61-62). During the excavations in trench 18, again, a substantial number of pottery fragments came to light that belong to typically Iron Age classes. It should be stressed here that items 6-10 all stem from partly disturbed layers near the surface and the first undisturbed layers dating to the last third of the 4th century BC. The Iron Age finds described here were certainly redeposited. Foremost among these Iron Age ceramics are the Burnished Impasto wares and Salento Matt-Painted pottery. Whilst the former class is likely to have died out in the second half of the 7th century (Yntema 1991), Salento Matt-Painted can often be dated fairly closely because of its sometimes rapidly changing decorative features (Yntema 1990). The small but representative sample from trench 18 presented below indicates that Iron Age human activity was intense in the first half of the 7th century BC at this particular part of the site.

<sup>5</sup> For a short survey of the regionally produced Iron Age ceramics, see Yntema 1991.

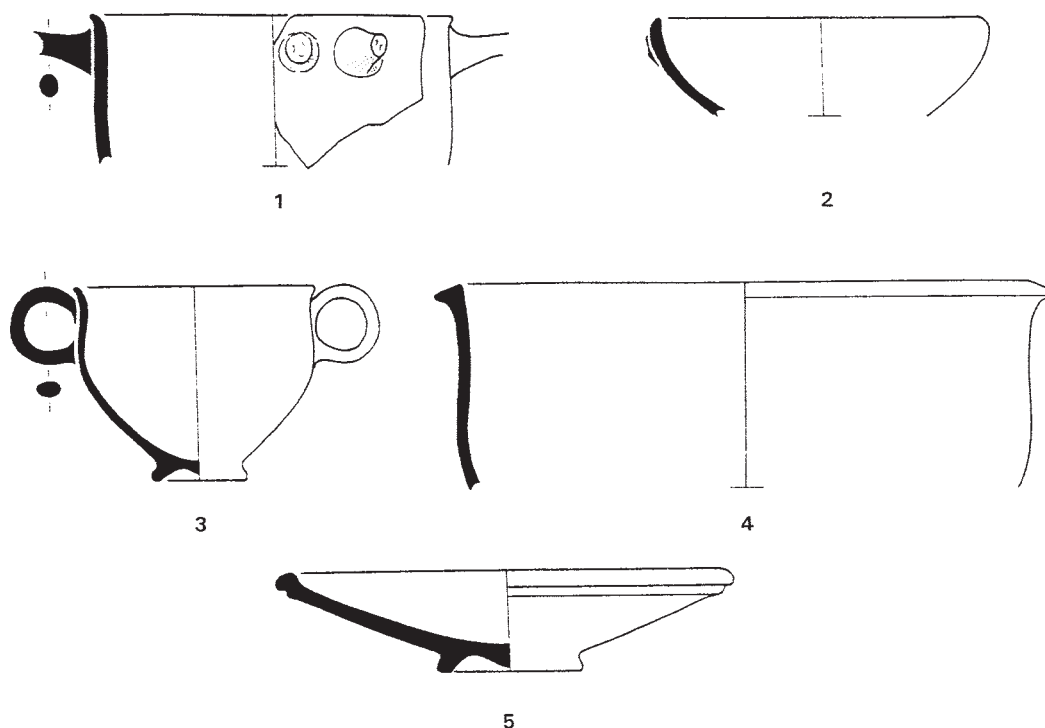


Fig. 11. Muro Tenente (Brindisi). Small selection of Apulian Black Gloss Wares from the insula houses in trench 14 (north-western periphery of the walled area): 1. skyphos; 2. one-handler; 3. ring-handled kantharos; 4. krater bowl with triangular rim; 5. patera. Dating: c. 300/280-240/220. Scale 2:5.

#### Selection of Iron Age finds:

##### 6. Inv. MT.98.18.0.2/5858 (Fig. 12.6)

Rim fragment of large *tazza* with double plastic grip; class: Burnished Impasto; lightly burnished, yellowish red clay (Munsell 5YR 5/6) containing fairly large rounded particles of manganese, some mica, quartzite sand and small particles of crushed limestone; diam. rim 24 cm.

Comments: see next item.

##### 7. Inv. MT.98.18.0.2 (Fig. 12.7)

Rim fragment of *tazza* with plastic grip; class: Burnished Impasto; cursorily burnished black clay containing fairly large rounded particles of manganese, mica, some quartzite sand and small particles of crushed limestone; diam rim 21 cm.

Comments: Both this specimen and the preceding item have close parallels in early 7th-century contexts of the Valesio excavations (Yntema, in press, items 16 and 17); whilst very careful burnishing is often encountered in contexts of the 8th and early 7th centuries, the more sloppily done burnishing of these two pieces may well be indicative of the decline and disappearance of the class in the 2nd to 3rd quarters of the 7th century.

##### 8. Inv. MT.98.18.02/5858 (Fig. 12.8)

Base of a narrow-necked jug/flask; class: Salento

Matt-Painted; pale brown clay (Munsell 10YR 7/4) containing small particles of quartzite sand and crushed limestone; monochrome dark brown paint; decoration consisting of check pattern with gridded and plain fields; diam. base 8 cm.

Comments: The fragment is likely to belong to a narrow-necked jug or flask. The closest parallel is a flask from the Mesagne area once in a private collection (now dispersed) at Mesagne (van Alberda *et al.* 1999). The fact that elaborate decoration is also found near the base suggests that the pot must be identified as belonging to the earlier phase of Salento Subgeometric wares and may be dated to the first half of the 7th century.

##### 9. Inv. MT.98.18.0.2 (Fig. 12.9)

Shoulder fragment of closed vessel; class: Salento Matt-Painted; pale brown clay (Munsell 10YR 7/3), whitish surface (Munsell 10 YR 8/2); monochrome dark brown paint; decoration consisting of a series of cross-hatched triangles (both upright and suspended) between narrow horizontal bands; height 4.5 cm, width 4.4 cm.

Comment: The opposed triangles/wolftooth design which has as its basis a single-line zigzag (as found on this piece) are probably characteristic of the Salento Subgeometric I phase, i.e. approximately in the first half of the 7th century BC (*cf.* Yntema 1990,



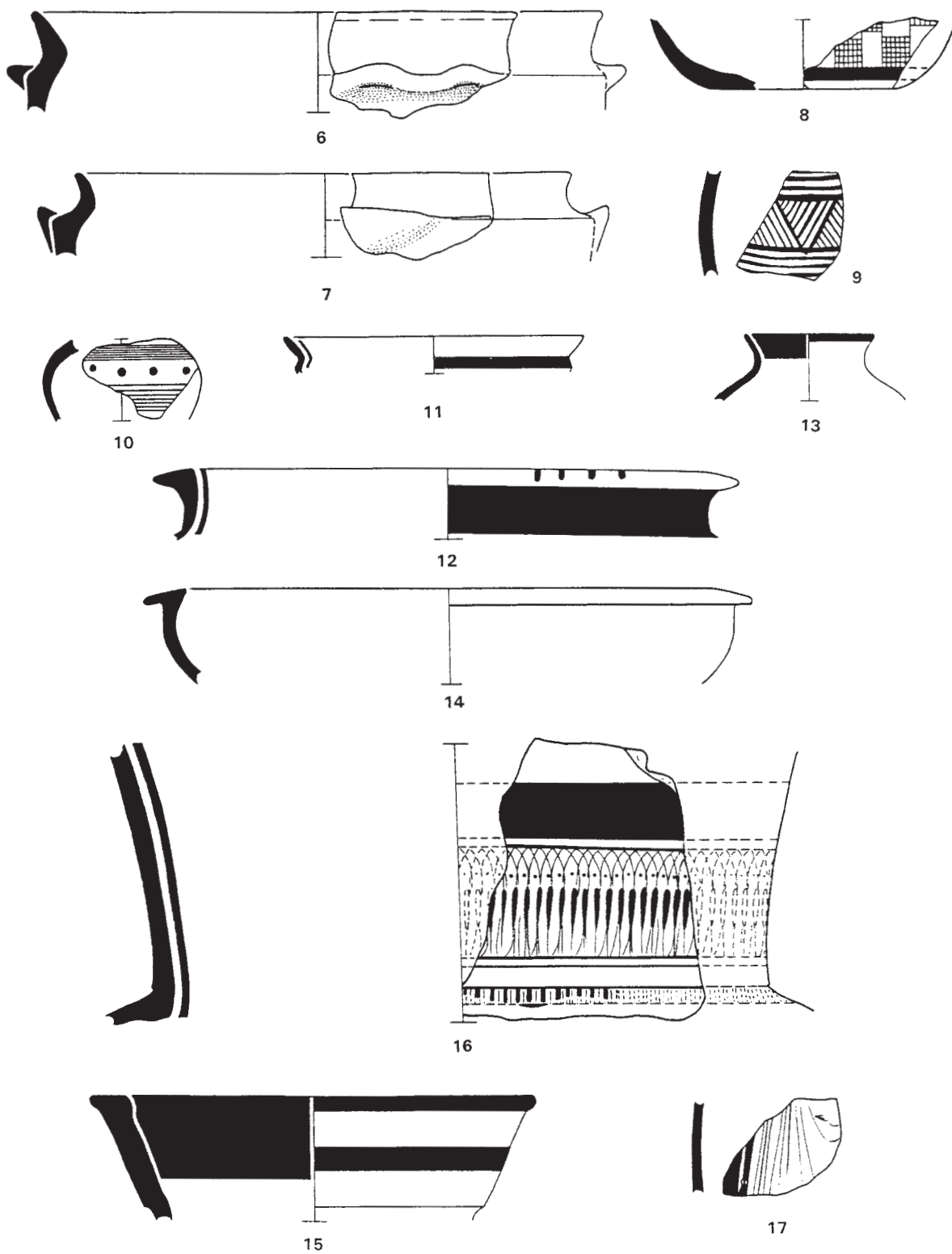


Fig. 12. Muro Tenente (Brindisi). Selection of finds of the Iron Age and the Archaic and Classical periods from trench 18 (central part of the site): items 6-17 (see descriptions). Scale 2:5.

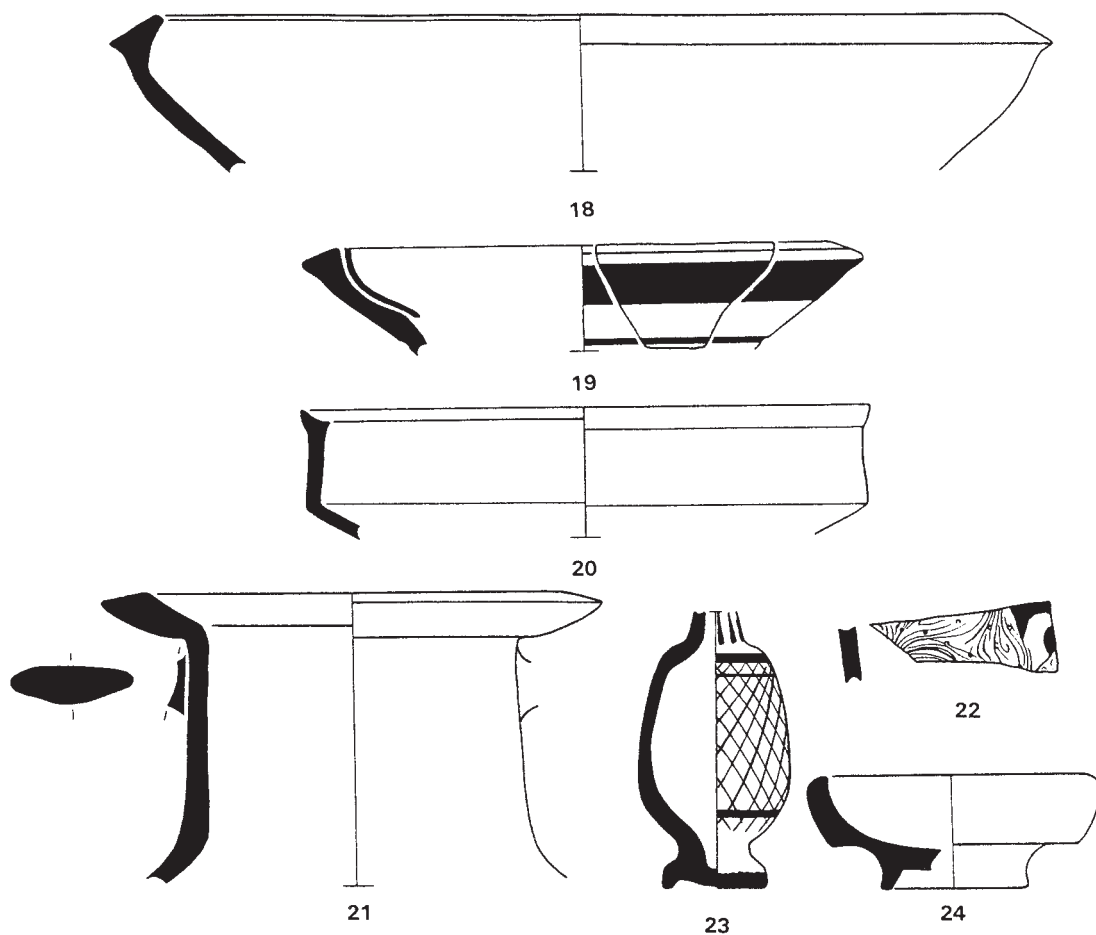


Fig. 13. Muro Tenente (Brindisi). Selection of finds of the Hellenistic period from trench 18 (central part of the site): items 18-24 (see descriptions). Scale 2:5.

89, Fig. 65 no. 22); the preceding late 8th century phase (Salento Late Geometric II) invariably has a wolftooth design based on a double-line zigzag (Yntema 1990, 66, Fig. 47 nos. 16-17).

10. Inv. MT.98.18.11.1 (Fig. 12.10)

Shoulder fragment of a piriform *aryballos*; class: Middle Protocorinthian; reddish yellow clay (Munsell 5YR 7/6), pale yellow to whitish surface (Munsell 10YR 7/8); dark brown, fairly lustrous paint; height 4 cm, width 5.5 cm.

Comments: The imported Corinthian wares of 8th and 7th century Salento and adjacent districts consist almost exclusively of vessels which in Greek contexts are likely to have been used for the consumption of wine (mugs, cups and jugs; cf. D'Andria 1984 and 1994). *Aryballoi* are rare in the research area. As far as I know this shape has hitherto exclusively been found in burials of south-eastern Italy (cf. Lo Porto 1964, from Brindisi-Tor Pisana; Bianco & Tagliente

1985, 68, from Alianello; Berlingò 1986, pl. 22, from Siris-Madonelle). The burials at Brindisi and Siris/Policoro have generally been interpreted as the graves of Greeks. The presence of this piece in the centre of the native settlement of Muro Tenente is, therefore, rather surprising and raises a series of questions.

### 5.2.2. The Archaic-Classical phase

The central area of Muro Tenente was also an area of human activity during the Archaic-Classical period which covers the middle to later 6th, the 5th and the first half of the 4th century BC. This is clear from the results of the urban survey (Burgers 1998, 62, Fig. 21). These survey data, moreover, have been confirmed by the 1998-excavations which have, again, produced a series of artefacts that belong or are likely to belong to the so-called

Archaic-Classical phase of the regional Salento culture. The following items can be assumed to date to this particular phase. It should be noted that the study of the wheelmade Banded wares of this period is still in its infancy. Items 12-15 are, therefore, tentatively assigned to this period.

Selection of probably Archaic-Classical finds:

11. Inv. MT.98.18.0.2/003642 (Fig. 12.11)  
Rim of small 'Ionian' cup; class: Banded wares, presumably colonial-Greek or native; pale yellow to whitish clay (Munsell 2.5Y 8/2); paint: dark brown to black, slightly lustrous; decoration: broad band on the inside of rim; diam. rim 12.5 cm.  
Comments: This type of cup is very common in southern Italy and Sicily. It is a guide fossil for the late(r) 6th and early 5th centuries and continued to circulate till about the middle of the 5th century BC. 'Ionian' cups may occur in burials, settlement contexts and sanctuaries (*cf.* Yntema, in press, form C31).
12. Inv. MT.98.18.0.1 (Fig. 12.12)  
Rim and neck of stamnoid vessel with thick rim; class: Banded wares, colonial-Greek or native; pale yellow to whitish clay (Munsell 2.5Y 8/2); paint: reddish brown to dark brown; decoration: group of four short traits on top of the rim; broad horizontal band on both the inside of the rim and the neck; diam. rim 25 cm.  
Comments: the stamnoid vessel of this type is probably a variant of the more current straight-rimmed krater that is found in burials of the Bari area (e.g. the sites of Valenzano and Rutigliano) in the late 6th and first half of the 5th century. Suggested dating: 5th century BC?
13. Inv. MT.98.18.27.1/001203 (Fig. 12.13)  
Rim and shoulder of small olletta, mug or jug; class: Banded Wares, probably colonial-Greek or native; pale yellow clay (Munsell 2.5Y 8/2), dull reddish brown paint containing small particles of quartzite sand; decoration: horizontal band on both the inside and outside of the rim; diam. rim 5.5 cm.  
Comments: The shape is simple and may have occurred over a long period. Present evidence, however, suggests that this was not the case. The form is uncommon in Salento. The fragment presented here has two finely potted, close parallels from Valesio both stemming from settlement layers of the late 6th century BC (Yntema, in press, form C51).
14. Inv. MT.98.18.0.2 (Fig. 12.14)  
Rim and part of wall of bowl with T-shaped rim/lekanè; class: Banded wares, native? Pale brown clay (Munsell 10YR 7/4); reddish brown paint; decoration: broad horizontal band on the inside below the rim; diam rim 25.5 cm.  
Comments: The bowl is likely to be an early variant of the very popular lekanè of the 4th century and Hellenistic period (Yntema, in press, form C22a). It has good parallels in late-Archaic/early-Classical contexts (e.g. Pancrazzi 1979, pl. 62 no. 6, from Cavallino; Lo Porto 1990, pl. 34 no. 4, from Oria; Descoeudres and Robinson 1993, from *masseria Fani*). Present evidence indicates that it functioned in both settlement and burial contexts. Suggested dating: 5th century BC.
15. Inv. MT.18.7.1/005867 (Fig. 12.15)  
Rim of large 'collared' hydria; class: Banded wares, colonia-Greek or native; pale yellow clay (Munsell 2.5Y 8/2), dark brown flaky paint; decoration: two bands on the outside, one very broad band on the inside; diam. rim 19.  
Comments: Of the seven hydrias with collar-like rim reported hitherto, four come from settlement contexts and one from a sanctuary (Yntema in press, form C52b).  
See, for instance, *Archeologia dei Messapi*, 267 no. 103, from Oria sanctuary).
16. Inv. MT.98.18.0.2 (Fig. 12.16)  
Neck and shoulder of column krater; class: Attic Red-Figured; almost pure, light red clay (Munsell 2.5YR 6/8), good lustrous black gloss; decoration: reversed lotus buds on neck, tongue pattern on shoulder; preserved height 12 cm.  
Comments: The execution of the lotus buds on the neck suggests that the fragment may have belonged to a very late-Archaic to early-Classical column krater datable between c. 480 and 440 BC. Such kraters are invariably found in the tombs of males believed to have belonged to the local elite families (e.g., *Archeologia dei Messapi*, 78-79, from Vaste; Semeraro 1983, pls. 69-73, from Otranto; Lo Porto 1995, specimens from Brindisi, Ugento, Valesio).
17. Inv. MT.98.0.1 (Fig. 12.17)  
Wall fragment of bell krater; class: Lucanian Red-Figured; fairly pure, pale pink clay (Munsell 5YR 8/4), good lustrous black gloss; decoration: part of draped youth with stick; height 4 cm.  
Comments: The rendering of the drapery suggests that the fragment belongs to a bell krater of the earliest phase of Lucanian Red Figured (Amykos-Pisticci workshop; *cf.* Trendall 1967); suggested dating: c. 430/410 BC. Pieces stemming from the same workshop have been found at Cavallino and Valesio (Lo Porto 1994, 75, Fig. 23; Boersma/Yntema 1987, 46, pl. 9). Lucanian Red-Figured bell kraters, like Attic Red-Figured kraters, are probably typical for elite burial contexts.

These materials indicate that the area of trench 18, which is in the very centre of the site, may be assumed to have contained a series of elite burials during the 5th century. The red-figured pieces must almost certainly be interpreted in this way. The banded wares may have functioned in the same type of contexts, but they can equally be interpreted as signs that people were actually living on the spot in the late 6th and 5th century BC. In fact, there is reason to believe that this dilemma is rather artificial. In Salento, family graveyards were close to domestic quarters and could even be made within habitation



areas of the settlement (Burgers 1998, 199). In view of the information available at present, one may hypothesize that the area of trench 18 contained at least one elite burial plot in the late 6th and 5th centuries. It may be assumed to have been close to a group of contemporary dwellings which probably belonged to the same social group.

### 5.2.3 The Hellenistic period

On the strength of the information collected during the cleaning operation and the excavation of the first undisturbed layers, the remains of the buildings unearthed in trench 18 can be tentatively dated to the early Hellenistic period, i.e. the last third of the 4th century and the early years of the 3rd century BC. The main indicators of everyday household activities are some forms of early Hellenistic Banded wares and coarse and plain kitchen wares (items 18-21). One of the aims of the 1999 campaign is to establish the exact time of construction of the structures by means of stratigraphical digs.

The finds of the later 4th/early 3rd century, however, indicate that the area of trench 18 was not exclusively used for dwellings. Some of the ceramics from the trench are very likely to have been part of a burial (items 22-24). Although the present evidence is too patchy to be proof of a continuity of burial practices in this central area of Muro Tenente during the 5th, 4th and early 3rd centuries, it seems plausible to assume that graves were also dug in this area during the early Hellenistic period.

Selection of finds from the Hellenistic period:

18. Inv. MT.98.18.3.1 (Fig. 13.18)  
Rim and wall of bowl with triangular, sharply in-turned rim; class: Plain wares; pale brown clay, very pale brown surface (Munsell 2.5Y 8/2); tempering consisting of small white particles (crushed limestone) and some quartzite sand; diam. rim 32 cm. Comment: the so-called *scodella* (either plain or decorated with bands) is a common form in settlement contexts of Salento between the later 4th and the early 2nd century BC (Yntema, in press, form C21a).
19. Inv. MT.98.18.0.2 (Fig. 13.19)  
Triangular rim of hydria; class: Banded wares; pale brown clay with pale yellow surface (wash; Munsell 2.5Y 8/2); tempering: small white particles (crushed limestone) and some quartzite sand; dark brown band on both inside and outside of the rim; diam. rim 19 cm. Comment: the hydria with triangular to stepped rim is a characteristic and common form in Salento settlement contexts of the late 4th and 3rd centuries BC (e.g., *Archeologia dei Messapi*, 166 nos. 286-287).
20. Inv. MT.98.18.0.2 (Fig. 13.20)  
Rim wall and part of base of carinated casserole with forked rim; class: Coarse cooking ware; heavily tempered clay, black exterior, yellowish red interior

(Munsell 2.5Y 4/8); diam. rim 19.5 cm.

Comment: the extremely common fork-rimmed and carinated casseroles are typical features of Salento household contexts of the late 4th, 3rd and early 2nd centuries BC; cf. Morel 1970, 104, Fig. 28.1 (from Cozzo Presepe); Semeraro 1983, pl. 93 nos. 250-251 (from Otranto).

21. Inv. MT. 98.18.14.1 (Fig. 13.21)  
Rim and neck of probably Corfiote amphora ('Corinthian B'); pinkish brown clay (Munsell 7.5YR 7/4); dull dark brown band of both inside and outside of the rim; diam. rim 17 cm.  
Comment: amphoras of this particular shape and fabric are certainly not uncommon in settlement contexts of southern Italy (e.g. Tréziny 1989, Fig. 68 no. 529; from Caulonia; mainly earlier specimens from Torre San Giovanni, southern Salento, in Désy/De Paepé 1990, 199-202). In Valesio this very same form is present in contexts dating to the late 3rd and early 2nd centuries BC. Specimens decorated with bands seem to be rare.
22. Inv. MT.98.18.0.2/966 (Fig. 13.22)  
Wall fragment of bell krater? class: Apulian Red Figured; clay; reddish yellow (Munsell 5YR 6/8), lustrous black gloss; decoration: finely folded drapery of female and tendril; width 6 cm, height 2.3 cm.  
Comment: in Salento Apulian Red Figured wares are almost exclusively found in tombs.
23. MT.98.18.0.2/005822 (Fig. 13.23)  
Net lekythos, mouth and part of body missing; class: Apulian; clay: reddish yellow (Munsell 5YR 7/8); gloss: lustrous black; decoration: net pattern all over the body of the vessel; preserved height: 9.4 cm.  
Comment: Net lekythoi are common in contexts of the later 4th century BC; they function exclusively in funerary contexts and in the sacred sphere in Salento.
24. MT.98. 18.0.2 (Fig. 13.24)  
Nearly complete salt-cellar, part of base missing; class: Apulian Black Gloss; pale brown clay (Munsell 10YR 7/4); semi-lustrous black gloss; diam. rim 10 cm.  
Comment: both fabric and shape suggest that the salt-cellar should be dated to the earlier 3rd century BC. This shape occurs in various types of contexts (settlement, sanctuary, burial). It is, however, one of several nearly-complete pieces that have been found in that part of trench 18 that is close to the robbed graves. This suggests that these pieces – like the typical funerary net lekythos – may well stem from the graves and were probably discarded when the graves were robbed.

### 5.2.4 Evidence for storage facilities in trench 18

Trench 18 has also supplied a substantial quantity of fragments that belong to medium-sized to large storage vessels. Some of them are highly likely to date to the later 4th and early 3rd centuries. They are, therefore, contemporary to the above items 18-24 and, being objects characteristic of settlement

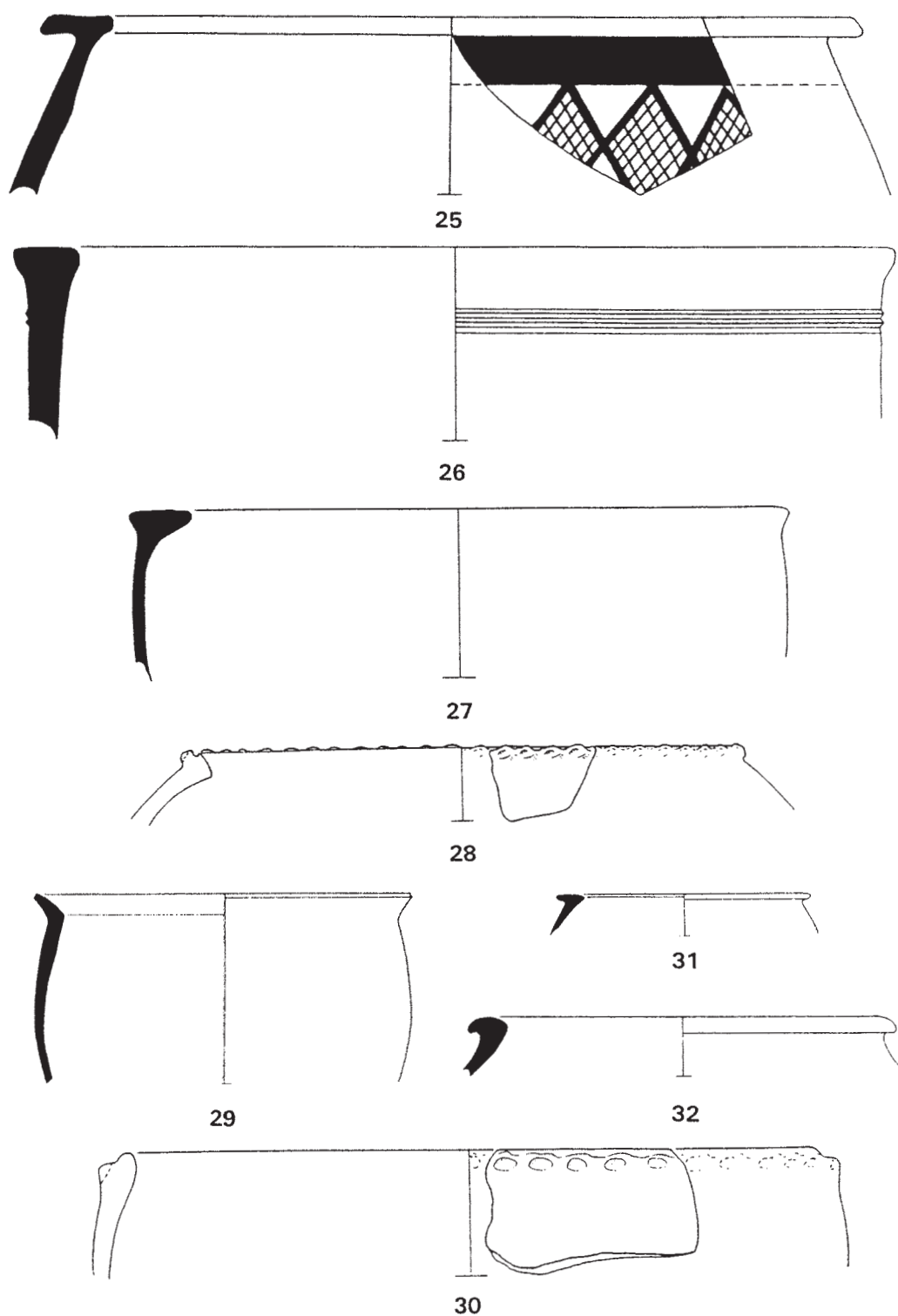


Fig. 14. Muro Tenente (Brindisi). Selection of storage jars from trench 18 (central part of the site), possibly all dating to the later 4th/early 3rd century BC: 25. Banded wares; 26-27. Plain Wares; 28-32. Impastoid Coarse Ware (profile solid black: wheelmade; profile white: handmade). Scale 1:4.

contexts, suggest that the remains of dwellings excavated in trench 18 contained one or more storage rooms.

Selection of storage vessels with light coloured clay from trench 18:

25. Inv. MT.98.18.0.2 (Fig. 14.25)

Rim and part of wall of container vessel with T-shaped rim; class: Banded wares; pale yellow to whitish clay (Munsell 2.5Y 8/2); reddish brown paint; decoration: large horizontal band below the rim and a group of large cross-hatched lozenges; diam. rim: 51 cm.

Comment: painted storage vessels are rare (e.g. *Archeologia dei Messapi* 167 no. 291); the shape is fairly common in the Plain Wares during the later 4th and 3rd centuries.

26. Inv. MT.98.18.13.1 (Fig. 14.26)

Rim and part of wall of large storage vessel with T-shaped rim; class: Plain wares; pale yellow clay (Munsell 2.5Y 8/2) containing some quartzite sand and white particles (crushed limestone); diam. rim 60 cm.

Comment: fairly common form in contexts of the later 4th and 3rd centuries BC; trench 18 has produced fragments of c. 10 different pieces of the same form ranging in diameter from c. 35 cm to c. 60 cm.

27. Inv. MT.98.18.27.1/000295-001246 (Fig. 14.27)

Rim and part of wall of large storage vessel with in-turned triangular rim; class: Plain wares; pale yellow clay (Munsell 2.5Y 8/2); diam. rim 42 cm.

Comment: very similar jars are common in settlement contexts of the site of Valesio during the late 4th and 3rd centuries BC (Yntema, in press, forms C71 and M73).

The form is represented in trench 18 by c. 15 different specimens with a diameter from c. 30 cm to 45 cm.

The three fragments described above are only a small selection that represents in fact c. 15 to 20 large plain or banded storage vessels, all stemming from the north-western part of trench 18. The rooms uncovered in this angle of the trench may therefore have served as a kind of warehouse. The very same area of the trench has produced a series of fragments that belong to storage vessels of a different class. At first sight, these large pots seem to belong to the class of the so-called Coarse Impasto wares (for definition, see Yntema 1991, 144: *ceramica ad impasto grossolano*). They display a fabric which closely resembles that of Iron Age Coarse Impasto wares, they often have the 'classic' pithoid form of the same Iron Age wares and may display the characteristic plastic cord decoration of the same vessel type. Coarse Impasto is a class of handmade pottery fired in the open at fairly low temperatures: the walls of these pots are reddish brown to dark brown, whilst the core of the clay is

invariably dark grey to black; the tempering consists of numerous white particles of chalky crushed limestone, some quartzite sand and large rounded particles of manganese. Coarse Impasto pottery – invariably handmade – is often believed to be characteristic of the end of the Bronze Age and the Iron Age. There is, however, reason to believe that such handmade impasto pots were made in southern Italy to well within the 5th century BC.

The 'Impasto' pieces recovered from the north-western part of the trench, however, differ from the usual Coarse Impasto wares in several respects. Some of them are wheelmade, many of them lack the typical crushed limestone tempering, most of them are hard-fired and some pieces appear to have very unusual forms. If these fragments of impasto-like storage vessels must be related to the same storage rooms which are likely to have contained items 25-27, this means that the tradition of producing large container vessels with impasto-like clay continued to live on at Muro Tenente until early Hellenistic times. If this should prove to be the case, the site of Muro Tenente would be the second Salento site in which this rather protracted continuation of the Bronze Age/Iron Age Impasto tradition is observed. The same phenomenon occurred at Valesio (Boersma *et al.* 1991, 118-119: Impastoid Coarse ware).

This observation probably means that the widely received view that Coarse Impasto is a ceramic class mainly indicative for late Bronze Age and Iron Age contexts and which may occur (albeit sparingly) in contexts of the 6th or early 5th century BC should be revised. The finds from the settlement excavations at both Muro Tenente and Valesio suggest that ceramics with fabrics, forms and plastic decorations very similar to the Iron Age Coarse Impasto wares were also made in the later 4th century. Whilst the unusual features of these probably 4th-century Impastoid Coarse wares are fairly evident in pieces which turn up during excavations, they are almost illegible in pieces which have been exposed to the weather for any length of time. 'Impasto' found during field surveys, therefore, should be treated with the utmost caution. It is dangerous to postulate Iron Age human activities on the basis of 'Impasto' wares only.

Selection of Impastoid Coarse wares:

28. Inv. MT.98.18.0.2 (Fig. 14.28)

Rim of large pithoid, wheelmade jar; yellowish red clay (Munsell 5YR 4/8) with grey core, hard-fired; plastic cord decoration with impressed finger tipping; diam. rim c. 35 cm.

29. Inv. MT.98.18.0.2 (Fig. 14.29)

Rim and part of wall of wheelmade pithoid jar; dark grey clay (Munsell 10YR 3/1), fired hard, reddish



yellow exterior (Munsell 5YR 6/6); inside burnished; diam. rim 23.5 cm.

Comment: the shape is the so-called pithos which is often taken to be characteristic of the Iron Age; the finely shaped rim and the wheelmarks on the inside of the pot, however, mean that it must belong to a later period of Salento ceramics.

30. Inv. MT.98.18.0.2 (Fig. 14.30)  
Rim and part of wall of handmade pithoid jar; yellowish red clay (Munsell 5YR 4/8), hard-fired; tempering consists of large lumps of quartzite; plastic cord decoration with impressed finger tipping; diam. rim c. 45 cm.
31. Inv. MT.98.18.0.2/005893/001207 (Fig. 14.31)  
T-shaped rim of small wheelmade jar; coarse yellowish red impastoid clay (Munsell 5YR 4/8), hard-fired; diam. rim 16 cm.  
Comment: this vessel displays a strange mixture of ceramic features; the shape is closely paralleled by large Plain Ware storage jars (for a rare Banded specimen, see item 25), whilst the clay is impasto-like and the surface treatment can be compared with that of Hellenistic cooking wares. Suggested dating: later 4th century/early Hellenistic.
32. Inv. MT.98.18.0.2 (Fig. 14.32)  
Thick, out-curving rim of wheelmade storage vessel; impastoid yellowish red clay (Munsell 5YR 4/8), hard-fired; diam. rim 27 cm.  
Comment: the shape is already found in the Iron Age; it occurs exclusively in the handmade Salento Plain Wares and never in the Coarse Impasto Wares; the shape is also found in wheelmade Plain Wares of the 4th century BC. Muro Tenente is the first Salento site where this form appears in wheelmade Impastoid Coarse Ware.

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# The 1998 Pisidia Survey Project. A Preliminary Report of Work at “Melli”.

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## INTRODUCTION

After a one year gap, a team from the University of Leuven under direction of L. Vandeput continued the Pisidia Survey Project, initiated by S. Mitchell of Swansea University in the early eighties. Mitchell's was the first larger-scale scientific project to concentrate on this mountainous region in southern Asia Minor since the pioneering activities of the Polish count Lanckoronski<sup>1</sup> a hundred years earlier. Indeed, the area received little attention from 20<sup>th</sup> century scientists and was usually considered to be the homeland of warlike barbarians<sup>2</sup>. Mitchell's work vastly improved our knowledge of the area through a detailed recording of the visible ruins of several cities. By thoroughly examining both larger cities<sup>3</sup> and smaller sites<sup>4</sup> in southern Pisidia, the first outline of the pattern and history of urban settlement could be reconstructed. Large-scale excavations at Sagalassos and an interdisciplinary survey of this city's territory helped from the early nineties onwards to place the results of the Pisidia Survey Project in a proper archaeological and historical framework<sup>5</sup>.

It has become clear that, while the Pisidians may well have earned their warlike reputation, they were by no means barbarians. Hellenisation of the region appears to have been much more intensive than prior assumptions allowed, and from the Hellenistic period onwards, Pisidia was a region of cities and city states, a situation which was maintained till at least the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD<sup>6</sup>. The monumentalisation of public centres started from the 3rd century BC onwards and by the 1st century BC, many centres and certainly the larger cities could provide their inhabitants with the necessary infrastructure for religious, political and social needs<sup>7</sup>. The cities in Pisidia knew their greatest prosperity during Imperial times, however, as is clearly reflected by the increasing development of the monumental centres of the larger cities, which were adorned with additional public facilities. An important condition for classification as a “city” according to Roman Imperial standards was thus fulfilled by all larger centres in Pisidia<sup>8</sup>. Besides the urban centres, we are also much better informed about an elaborate and dense road system, which linked the Pisidian centres with the rest of Asia Minor<sup>9</sup>. This allowed the

transport of commodities and formed an important factor in the economic prosperity of the cities.

During the final years of the survey, Mitchell concentrated on the careful recording of the remains of some smaller cities in the south of Pisidia, including Ariassos, Panemoteichos, Kodrula and Sia. Of these, Ariassos, Sia and Panemoteichos (Fig. 1) are situated on the southernmost fringes of the Taurus mountain range, south of which the ground drops steeply to the much lower level of the Pamphylian plains<sup>10</sup>. A “missing link” in this range of small cities in southern Pisidia is “Melli”, situated slightly more to the northeast (Fig. 1) and it is here that the new Pisidia Survey picks up. Our small team consisted of Sabri Aydal (Antalya Museum), P. Cosyns (K.U.Leuven), T. Debruyne (K.U.Leuven), V. Köse (K.U.Leuven, University of Cologne), Th. Robinson (Oxford University), L. Schouten (Leiden University) and Dr. L. Vandeput (K.U.Leuven)<sup>11</sup>. Ünal Çınar of Antalya Museum was our representative from the Turkish government and provided valuable assistance at many occasions, for which we are grateful.

<sup>1</sup> Lanckoronski, 1892.

<sup>2</sup> Mitchell 1991a, 122. It should be noted, however, that some specific topics were investigated since the 1950s cf. Mitchell 1998, 238-240.

<sup>3</sup> The survey started at Pisidian Antioch, the main Roman colony in the region. For the final report, see Mitchell and Waelkens 1998. After this, the survey concentrated on the remains at Sagalassos and Cremna, of which the final report is also available cf. Mitchell 1995. For Sagalassos, see Waelkens 1993, 37-81, with references to earlier work.

<sup>4</sup> Mitchell 1991b (Ariassos); Mitchell 1994 (Panemoteichos, Kaynar Kale); Mitchell 1995 and 1996 (Sia, Panemoteichos, Kaynar Kale); Aydal et al. 1997 (Panemoteichos); Aydal et al. 1998 (Sia, Kaynar Kale).

<sup>5</sup> For the preliminary reports of the excavations and survey of Sagalassos, see *Sagalassos I to V (Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia Monographiae 5, 6, 7, 9 and 10)*.

<sup>6</sup> The Pisidia survey mainly focussed on urban development but detailed survey of the territory of Sagalassos also yielded information on smaller villages and individual country houses, see Mitchell 1998, 238, 245-248; Waelkens et al. 1997a, 11-102.

<sup>7</sup> Mitchell 1998, 243; Waelkens et al. 1997b.

<sup>8</sup> Mitchell 1993, 80; Bauer 1996, XV.

<sup>9</sup> Mitchell 1998, 239-242.

<sup>10</sup> Compare with Mitchell 1993, map 5.

<sup>11</sup> Th. Robinson and L. Schouten accomplished the study of the domestic architecture at Sia to the south.



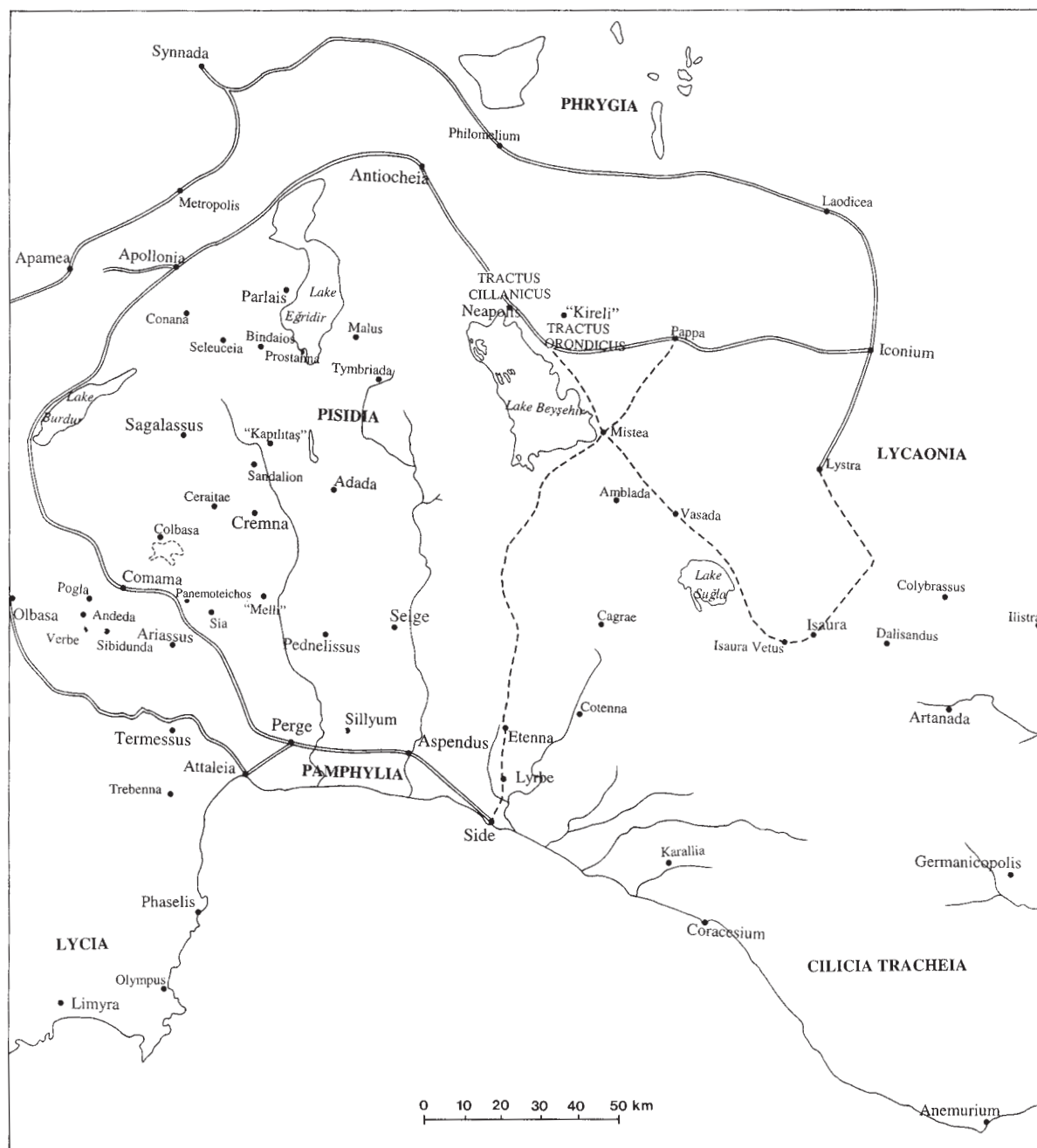


Fig. 1. Map of Pisidia (after Mitchell 1993, map 5).

The city of “Melli” (Fig. 1) is located c. 1 km from the present village, Kocaaliler about 26 km south of the town of Bucak in the province of Burdur. In antiquity, Cremna and Sia were the neighbouring cities to the north and south respectively. The ancient name of the site is not known but Bérard suggested “Milyas”<sup>12</sup>, mainly because of the similarity with “Melli”, the previous name of Kocaaliler. Bean<sup>13</sup> expressed doubts on this identification but recent studies on the epigraphical material by Horsley and Mitchell<sup>14</sup> failed to clarify its ancient name and, in spite of some new finds during the first survey campaign, it remains unknown. The ancient site occupies a high, rocky outcrop in the vicinity of a small plain with arable land. Immediately behind the site, the land rises steeply and the flat area gives way to high peaks in all directions. The ruins are concentrated around the peak of the outcrop (Fig. 2), on two small plateaus of which the higher one slightly tilts towards the east. The relatively level plateau ends abruptly in steep slopes to the east and west, allowing no habitation at these sides. To the south, the plateau is bordered by a small peak with equally steep slopes. To the north and northwest, however, the land slopes gently and it is from this side that the ancient road curves up to the site, then and now. Before reaching the actual city, the road passes an extensive necropolis and ends at the city’s fortifications.

Because of its location on a stony outcrop, only little erosion material has gathered amongst the ruins so that these remain well visible despite having collapsed. Nowadays, the site is heavily overgrown with dense shrubbery. We envisage a total of three seasons to plan all the remains at “Melli”. During the first campaign, work concentrated on the establishment of a topographical map of the site and state plans of two major monumental complexes, a temple and the agora. Research on these and other remains will continue next year.

#### THE TOPOGRAPHICAL MAP AND THE FORTIFICATIONS

Our main aim was to produce a 1:1000 topographical map of the site (Fig. 2). We succeeded in mapping all remains within the fortifications, corresponding with the extension of the ancient city (Fig. 3). With its position on top of a high, rocky outcrop and its fortification walls, “Melli” compares well with other Hellenistic cities in Pisidia which are all located on high, easily defensible spots. Security seems to have been one of the main reasons for the selection of a specific location for a city in this period<sup>15</sup> and the fortifications served to enhance the topography.

The fortifications still encircle the entire city despite having collapsed especially on the east side. To the east, south and west, the city walls follow the contour of the edge of the plateau whereas on the north side the wall crosses the plateau. The remains of well-constructed towers still flank the main city gate and traces of at least one more tower were identified in the north wall, the side from which the city was most easily accessible. The masonry of the fortification wall shows some variation. Most of the southwest range is composed of large and well-assembled blocks, sometimes placed in irregular courses<sup>16</sup> with smaller slabs often inserted for levelling. Other wall stretches are built up of smaller, irregular stones (Fig. 4), which occasionally seem to have been kept together with mortar. The first type of masonry is reminiscent of other Hellenistic fortification walls<sup>17</sup>. It bears close resemblance to the well-preserved city and acropolis walls of nearby Sia and with fortifications of several other, smaller hilltop sites in Pisidia<sup>18</sup>. The fortifications of these sites are dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> century BC<sup>19</sup>. Apart from these smaller fortified cities, traces of similar walls were also found in several of the larger cities in Pisidia. Those at Cremna<sup>20</sup>, which were extensively rebuilt before the siege of the city in AD 278, are in a much better state of preservation and at least some of the visible remains date to the Hellenistic period. Some of this masonry has been linked to the extensive building programme of King Amyntas (39-25 BC), but it cannot be excluded that some wall stretches are older. Other stretches of the walls at “Melli” are built up of smaller, irregular stones, similar to the walls at Ariassos which have also been dated to the Hellenistic period<sup>21</sup> and to particular stretches of the fortifications at Cremna and Sagalassos<sup>22</sup>.

We may assume that construction of the fortifications started at the time of the foundation of the city

<sup>12</sup> Bérard 1892, 436-438.

<sup>13</sup> Bean 1960, 79.

<sup>14</sup> Horsley and Mitchell 1999, nr. 148-165 (in press).

<sup>15</sup> For Sagalassos and several smaller Hellenistic cities on its territory, (e.g. Taç kapı and Sandalion), see Waelkens et al. 1997a, 21-34, Figs 7-21; Loots et al. 1999 (in press). The same goes for Cremna, Kodrula and the small cities along the southern border of the Taurus mountain range (e.g. Sia, Panemoteichos and Pednelissos), see Mitchell, 1995a, 4-5, Fig. 4, col. Pl. I, 1; Mitchell 1991a, Pl. 13,1; Aydal et al. 1998, 275-284, Figs 1, 2, 8-11.

<sup>16</sup> Bean 1960, pl. 10b.

<sup>17</sup> McNicoll 1997, 121.

<sup>18</sup> For Sia, Pednelissos and Etenna, see Mitchell 1991a, 135-136, pl. 10, 2; 11, 2, 13.

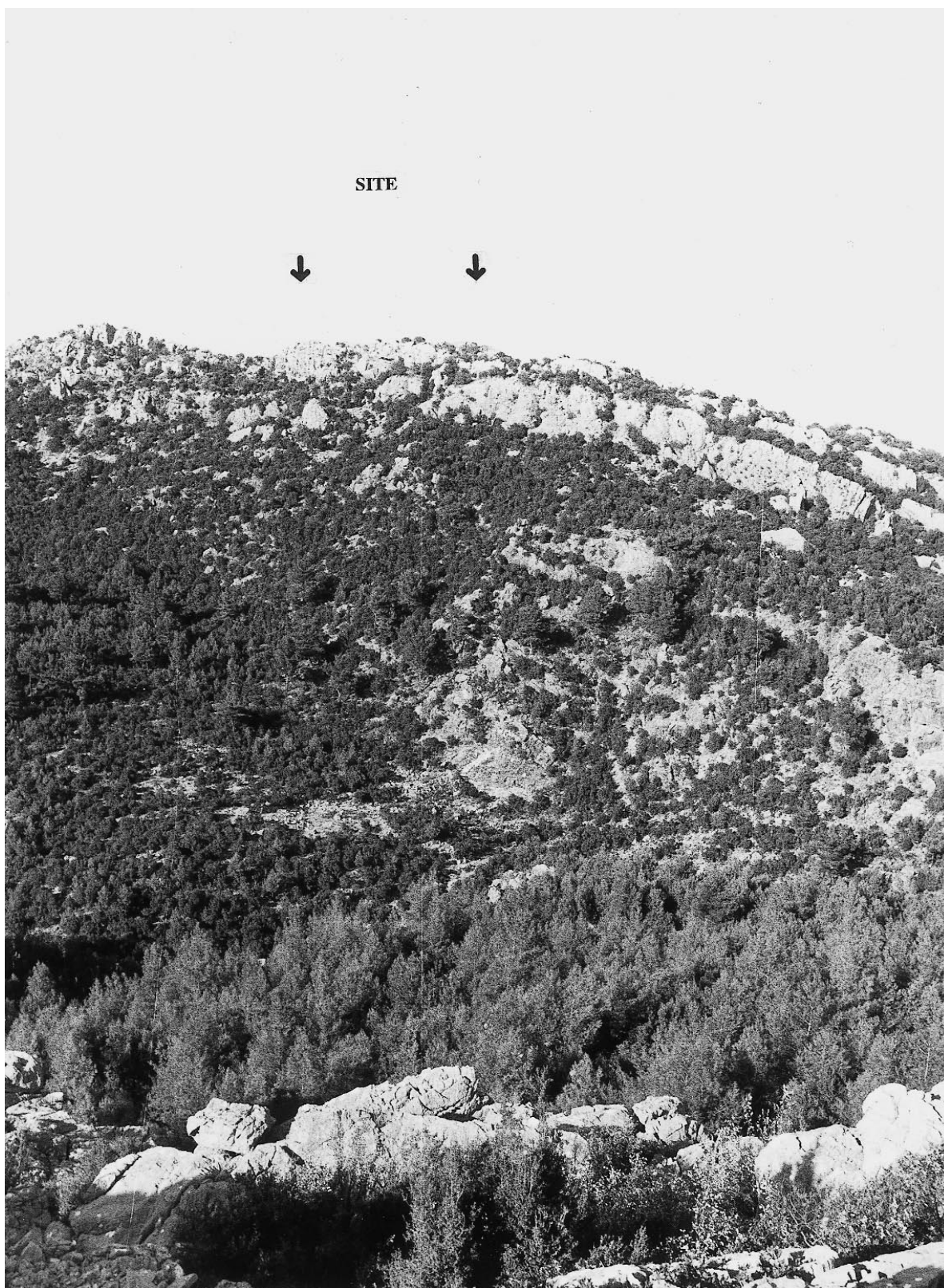
<sup>19</sup> See previous note and Mitchell 1996, 19.

<sup>20</sup> Mitchell 1995a, 48-50, 188-194, Figs 104-106.

<sup>21</sup> Mitchell 1991b, 159.

<sup>22</sup> Mitchell 1995a, 190; Loots et al. 1999 (in press).





*Fig. 2. Location of "Melli" on top of the outcrop. View from the South.*







Fig. 4. Part of the city walls at “Melli”, built up of irregular stones.

and that they were maintained in the course of the following centuries. The original fortifications of “Melli” seem to have remained in use for a long period. Building activity outside the walls is very limited indeed, suggesting that the city developed within its Hellenistic perimeter throughout its further history. In this respect, “Melli” strongly differs from other Pisidian cities such as Sagalassos, Ariassos and Sia<sup>23</sup>.

#### THE MONUMENTAL CITY CENTRE.

In addition to topographical mapping, we began the process of recording and studying the monuments in the city centre. Within the fortifications, ancient buildings are well preserved. Along the northwest side of the plateau, terrace walls were constructed in order to enlarge the available terrain for building. In the monumental centre, we identified, among the better preserved public monuments, the remains of a small theatre, a temple, the agora and an elongated structure which probably was a market building. All

around these are extensive remains of domestic quarters. Many of the houses are in an excellent state of preservation because they were partly cut out of the rock. In the Early Christian period, several churches were incorporated between the houses, a phenomenon which also occurs elsewhere in Late Antiquity<sup>24</sup>.

#### *The agora and its environments.*

A small agora occupies the lowest terrain of the monumental centre (Fig. 5). Its southeastern corner was supported by artificial substructures, which have partly collapsed. The original size of the square is not clear but it is certain that it was bordered on its north side by a narrow, stepped street, that gave access to a lower terrace. The southeast side of the square is bordered by a pile of ashlar blocks indicating the presence of one or more collapsed buildings,

<sup>23</sup> Sagalassos: Loots et al. 1999 (in press); Ariassos: Mitchell 1991b, 160; Sia: Mitchell 1996, 19.

<sup>24</sup> For Ephesos, see: Foss 1979, 64; Potter 1995, 80-83.

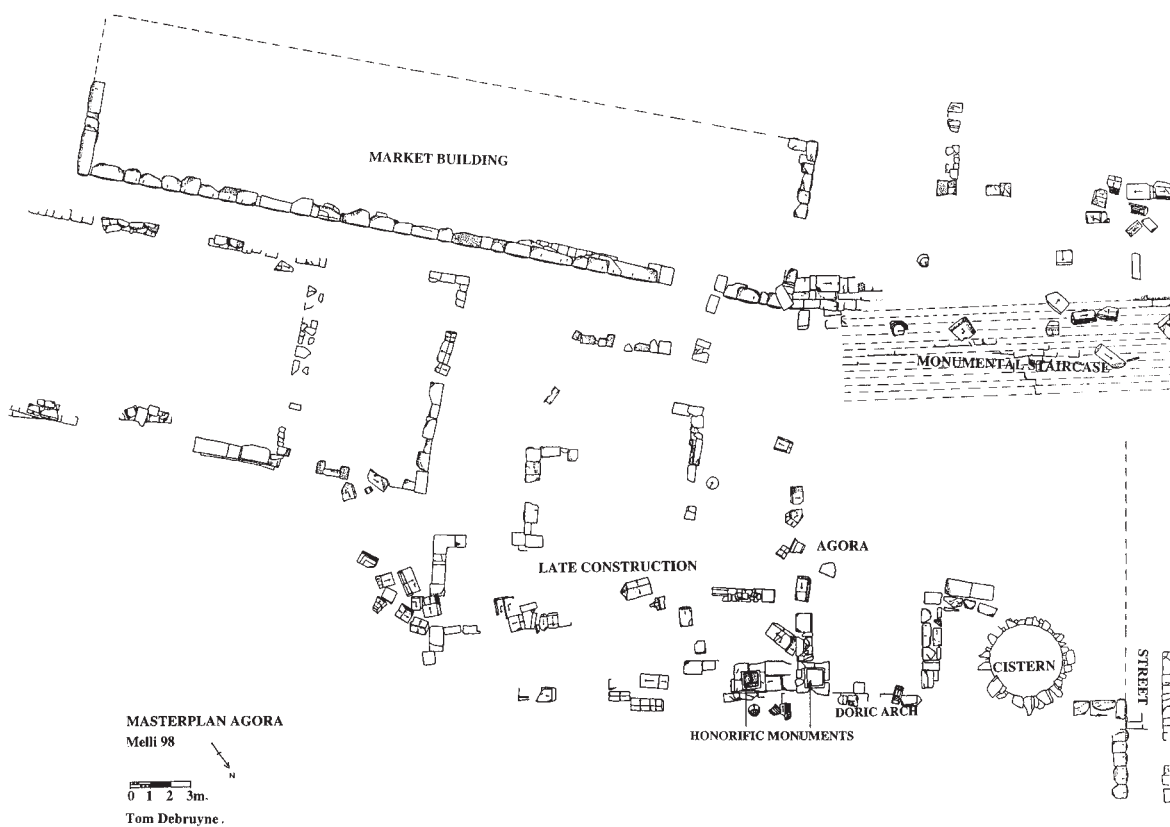


Fig. 5. Detailed map of the agora and its environment.

preventing the identification of the precise southern edge of the agora. The square is surrounded by several other monuments, which still remain to be studied in detail. A Doric arch is situated at the northeast side, providing access to a street which ran east of and parallel to the agora. One of the monuments along the south side of the agora counted arches at different sides, but its function remains unclear.

The best preserved building in the area of the agora is a long narrow hall to the west. Its walls are built of well-cut and evenly coursed ashlar blocks laid in headers and stretchers, forming pseudo-isodomic masonry. The blocks were finished with a fine point and are nicely pulvinated. Only the ground floor facade is preserved, but the amount of fallen ashlar in and around the ruins seems to suggest that the monument originally had more storeys. The façade is orientated towards the agora, allowing easy access from the square. The original main entrance consisted of two arches, flanking a central, rectangular doorway. More to the south, several smaller doors opened on the agora (Fig. 6) and, at some point, additional doorways were inserted into the façade.

Each of the doors gave access to a row of small, rectangular rooms, separated from another by interior partition walls. Some of the rooms communicate via a door, others could only be entered from the front. The interior walls, made entirely of small, irregular stones, may belong to the same phase as the added doorways into the facade. The function of this monument is not yet clear, but its general organisation and its position in the immediate vicinity of the agora provides a parallel to market buildings in other cities of Pisidia, such as at Selge, Pednelissos and probably Sagalassos. Of the market building bordering the northern side of the Upper Agora at Sagalassos, only the lowermost storey towards the square has been preserved<sup>25</sup> but at Selge and Pednelissos, the buildings count three stories. The latter have been built against a steep slope, where the lower story probably functioned as storage room and the highest as shops<sup>26</sup>. The plan of the building

<sup>25</sup> Waelkens et al. 1997b, 127, fig. 34.

<sup>26</sup> Mitchell 1991a, 128, 136, pl. 14, 2 (Pednelissos); Machatschek and Schwarz, 55-58, pls 7-8, figs 22-23.





*Fig. 6. View of the façade of the Hellenistic market building at “Melli”.*

at Selge has been compared to prototypes from Northwest Asia Minor dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. The building at “Melli” seems to present a miniature version of these monuments. One other difference apart from scale is that it was not built on a steep slope but on a relatively flat area. In this respect, it rather resembles a large, three-storeyed building next to the agora at Adada<sup>27</sup>. In any case, this type of building was obviously well represented in Hellenistic Pisidia. Dating these buildings is difficult because none is provided with an inscription. The better known example at Selge<sup>28</sup> is quite similar to some 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC buildings on the Northwest coast of Asia Minor and the building at Sagalassos has been dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC<sup>29</sup>. It can thus be assumed that the monument at “Melli” also dates to the Hellenistic period and probably to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

A flight of steps of ca. 18 m long with a slightly different orientation was installed at the west side of the agora. It probably provided access to a colonnade but its precise date of construction and function still need to be established. West of the aforementioned

colonnade is a rectangular building which also seems to have been public in nature. A large pile of ashlar and rubble of its collapsed walls obscures its interior original lay-out and function. Only its monumental entrances remain standing.

None of the preserved ruins allow a secure dating of the first establishment of the agora in the Hellenistic period. The presence of the market building in its immediate vicinity, however, which is clearly orientated to the square proper, seems to favour the hypothesis that at the moment of its construction, an important civic element such as an agora already existed at the spot. The agora certainly retained its function during the Roman Imperial period, for a row of honorific monuments was erected on a low podium along its eastern border (Fig. 7). All of these consist of a high base, a shaft with an inscription and a capital, in total about 1.80 to 2.00 m high. The capitals show holes for the feet

<sup>27</sup> Mitchell 1991a, 134; Büyükkolanc, 28-31.

<sup>28</sup> Mitchell 1991a, 128.

<sup>29</sup> Waelkens et al. 1997b, 127.





Fig. 7. The agora at “Melli” with the honorific monument for Antoninus Pius.

of bronze statues. The inscriptions clarify that we are dealing with honorific monuments, erected by the council and the people of the city<sup>30</sup> for Roman emperors of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD.

During its later history, important modifications took place in the agora. At some stage, a large, circular cistern was dug into one of the corners of the square, reducing its original extent considerably (Fig. 5). Of the honorific monuments for the emperors, only the monolithic monument for Antoninus Pius (Fig. 7) was left in place. All others were demolished and re-used together with other spolia in the construction of an L-shaped wall that was built on the agora. This wall is part of a late construction that occupies the entire southern half of the agora at different levels. A street which seems to have bordered the square on the west side, was even partly blocked by this construction, made of spolia. This structure again strongly reduced the surface of the square. What happened at “Melli” can be compared to the fate of the large palaestra near the Harbour Baths at Ephesos, left in ruins for some time and later modified into a residential area,

mostly constructed of spolia<sup>31</sup>. Obviously, the open space of the agora and its surroundings, including the street along its western edge, became less popular and necessary than in earlier times and were consequently reduced in size. The same phenomenon of encroachment can be observed in the domestic areas of the city, where streets are partly overbuilt by houses. Such changes appear to have taken place in many cities during Late Antiquity and have been commented upon, for example, at Ephesos<sup>32</sup> and Sagalassos<sup>33</sup>.

#### *The temple*

A temple, located on a prominent spot inside the city fortification walls was visible and easily identifiable

<sup>30</sup> See Horsley and Mitchell 1999, nr. 149-155 (in press) for the inscriptions.

<sup>31</sup> Foss 1979, 60.

<sup>32</sup> Foss 1979, 78-79, 97; Potter 1995, 83; Bauer 1996, 299.

<sup>33</sup> During the excavations of 1998, soundings in streets illustrated how private houses were constructed on top of earlier streets during Late Antiquity, see *Sagalassos VI* (forthcoming).





*Fig. 8. General view of the temple at "Melli".*



*Fig. 9. Antae capital of the temple at "Melli".*





*Fig. 10. Incision in the West anta of the temple at "Melli".*



(Figs 3, 8). The building is a temple *in antis* of 10 by 6.70 m with a finely constructed outer wall of blocks, irregularly placed. The inner side of the wall has been given a face of irregular rubble, kept together with mortar. At present, the position of the original front wall of the cella with the entrance doorway can no longer be traced. Part of an Attic-Ionic column base and a piece of the shaft of an unfluted column are still present as are the antae capitals which are lying close to the front of the temple. The latter are decorated with several simple mouldings (Fig. 9). A proper capital has not yet been located, however. Few elements remain of the pediment. Three long, undecorated slabs seem to have figured above the columns *in antis* and may be considered as architraves. Apart from this, part of a cornice is also preserved, in the form of a completely plain rectangular block with a badly damaged lion's head water spout. There is no trace of the frieze blocks. Whether or not the extant remains allow a reconstruction to be proposed depends on further examination. In spite of certain elements suggesting a more elaborate monument, such as the Attic-Ionic base and the lion's head water spout, it seems more likely that we are dealing with a simplified version of an antique temple. This is suggested by the antae capitals, the undecorated fronton blocks, the plain architraves and the shape of the preserved cornice. The absence of frieze blocks could also reflect a real situation. Similar "unorthodox" temple buildings occur at Sia, where they are dated to Roman Imperial times<sup>34</sup>.

East of the temple, the construction of a large terrace wall resulted in the creation of a flat area (Fig. 3). Although it is very tempting to link this area with a temenos wall around the temple, the orientation of temple and terrace wall are quite different. It can thus only be conjectured that the constructions are contemporary.

Like other buildings in the city, the temple witnessed serious changes during its existence. At some point, it was incorporated into a larger construction, a fact that probably explains why the cella wall can no longer be traced. At a certain stage, incisions were cut in the antae (Fig. 10), the columns *in antis* and their bases. These suggest that it was then possible to close the front of the temple by a thin panel. These different modifications probably imply that the building changed function at a certain moment and, judging from the extant remains, incorporation into a house should be considered as one of the possibilities.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The results of this first survey season allow some general conclusions. It is obvious that the city of

"Melli" remained inhabited for a considerable period of time. The original lay-out of its fortifications, the agora and the market building west of the agora seem to date to the Hellenistic period. Its location on a high, easily defensible outcrop also compares well with other cities in the area founded in this period and it may then be suggested that "Melli" was also established during the Hellenistic period. The city was certainly in existence during the Roman Imperial period, when the inhabitants of "Melli" erected a series of statues for Roman emperors on their agora. The extensive necropolis, to be studied during the next campaign, mainly comprises Imperial remains, also suggesting that these were the heydays of "Melli".

The present ruins, however, mirror the city as it was in Late Antiquity before its abandonment, when a series of important modifications took place. It may be assumed that these changes especially date to the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, as at Ephesos and Sagalassos<sup>35</sup>. The most striking new feature is Christianity, to which the numerous churches in the city testify. Moreover, the monuments and squares of the old centre were no longer important and were consequently either incorporated into houses, as is the case with the temple, or strongly reduced in size, as happened with the agora. As a result, the city lost its openness giving the impression of a far more crowded city, comparable to later Medieval ones. When "Melli" was finally deserted in favour of the present village located more favourably on the edge of flat arable land remains to be established.

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<sup>34</sup> Mitchell 1995b, 18; Mitchell 1996, 20; Aydal et al. 1998, 280, Fig. 3, 4, 12.

<sup>35</sup> Foss 1979, 96-97; Potter 1995, 83; Loots et al. 1999 (in press).

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## Bemerkungen zu zwei neuerworbenen Hadra-Hydrien in der Antikensammlung Erlangen

von Peter Kranz

Am 9. Dezember 1994 wurde im Rahmen einer grundlegenden Neugestaltung, die die Antikensammlung der Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg in den Jahren 1991 bis 1997 erfuhr, zunächst deren Original-Sammlung eröffnet<sup>1</sup>; drei Jahre später folgte die Gipsabguss-Galerie, deren Anfänge bereits im mittleren 19. Jahrhundert liegen<sup>2</sup>. Die bisher ausschliesslich der akademischen Lehre dienende Erlanger Antikensammlung ist somit erstmals als Ganze der Öffentlichkeit zugänglich. Noch während dieser Neuaufstellungsphase gelangten zwei sogenannte Hadra-Hydrien als Dauerleihgabe beziehungsweise Schenkung in den Besitz der Sammlung. Dieser Neuzugang ist umso willkommener, als Hadra-Hydrien im Bestand der Erlanger Antikensammlung bisher nicht vertreten waren<sup>3</sup> und die beiden Gefässe zudem, wie sich jetzt zeigt, zwei unterschiedliche landschaftliche Gruppen dieser Gattung vertreten – nämlich die kretische “Groupe du Laurier”, deren Vertreter als Hadra-Hydrien ‘par excellence’ gelten können, und die alexandrinische “Groupe du Laurier sans Branche”, eine seltener bezeugte Sondergruppe von Hadra-Hydrien<sup>4</sup>.

Die erste, ausschliesslich mit pflanzlichen Motiven verzierte Hydria (Abb. 1-8) ist aus mehreren Scherben zusammengesetzt<sup>5</sup>; die Brüche sind im Bereich des Gefässkörpers mit Ölfarbe leicht retuschiert, nur im Gitterfeld neben dem linken Horizontalhenkel sowie am Doppelstreifen darunter finden sich stärkere Übermalungen. Auch an der Mündung waren drei kleinere Scherben ausgebrochen, jedoch wurden sie ohne Übermalung wieder angesetzt. Der Ton des Gefässes ist von feiner Konsistenz, poliert und von hell-beiger, im Scherben von blass-rosa Farbe. Der Firnis hat eine schwarze, silbrig-glänzende, in lasierenden Partien auch dunkel-braune bis hell-braune Farbe; dort, wo der Firnis abgeplatzt ist, hinterlässt er in der Regel grau-braune beziehungsweise rötlich-braune Spuren.

Die Bestimmung von Hadra-Hydrien ist dank der Arbeiten von A. Enklaar heute problemlos möglich<sup>6</sup>. Die Form der Erlanger “Efeu-Hydria” (Abb. 2. 3. 5) entspricht nach der Typologie von Enklaar<sup>7</sup> der Form L 2. Dies ist in unserem Zusammenhang insofern wichtig, als die Form L 2 unter anderem auch von dem sogenannten “Peintre du Lierre” verwendet wird, auf den auch die Ornamente und ihre

jeweilige Ausführung verweisen. So entsprechen die Palmette unter dem Vertikalhenkel (Abb. 4. 8) und die Efeuranke auf der Vorderseite zwischen den Horizontalhenkeln sowie die sie begrenzenden gegitterten Rechtecke (Abb. 1. 6) genauestens der Formenwahl und Zeichenweise dieses Malers<sup>8</sup>. Das gilt auch für die beiden Lorbeerzweige aus paarweise angeordneten sowie im Wechsel grösseren und kleineren Blättern, die den Hals der Hydria umgeben und auf der Vorderseite einen Kreis, dem

<sup>1</sup> Zur Neugestaltung der Erlanger Antikensammlung s. P. Kranz, Eine akademische Studiensammlung wird zum Museum für alle – Zur Neuaufstellung der Erlanger Antikensammlung, in E. Paul – R. Vollkommer (Hrsg.), Antikenpräsentation in der heutigen Zeit – zwischen Tradition und Zukunft. Internationales Kolloquium in Leipzig 1994 (Leipzig 1995) 31-36.

<sup>2</sup> Zur Geschichte der Erlanger Antikensammlung s. M. Boss, Die Antikensammlung der Friedrich-Alexander-Universität, in Chr. Friedrich u.a. (Hrsg.), Die Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg 1743-1993. Geschichte einer Hochschule (Erlangen 1993) 597-604.

<sup>3</sup> Zu den Beständen der Erlanger Antikensammlung s. bisher allein W. Grünhagen, Antike Originalarbeiten in der Kunstsammlung des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität Erlangen (Nürnberg 1948); in neuerer Zeit s. ferner CVA Deutschland Bd. 67, Erlangen Bd. 1 (München 1995) bearbeitet von O. Dräger sowie weitere Angaben bei P. Kranz, Boreas 21/22, 1998/99, 219 Anm. 2. – Ein umfassender wissenschaftlicher Katalog der Erlanger Antikensammlung befindet sich in Vorbereitung.

<sup>4</sup> s. hierzu und zu Fragen der landschaftlichen Zuweisung weiter unten. – A. Enklaar (Enschede) bestätigte freundlicherweise in einem Brief vom 27.1.1992 sowohl die von mir vorgenommene Bestimmung der jeweiligen Maler als auch die Tatsache, dass es sich bei den Gefässen um zwei der Forschung bisher unbekannte Exemplare handelt.

<sup>5</sup> Inv. Nr. I 1257; im Jahre 1993 erworben, ehemals süddeutscher Privatbesitz. – H 37,5 cm; max. Dm 23,5 cm; Dm der Mündung 13,7 cm; Dm des Fusses 10,7 cm.

<sup>6</sup> Enklaar 1985 und Enklaar 1986; s. ferner bereits Guerrini 1964 und jetzt auch Ovidi 1994, 1-36 (mit umfangreichem Katalog S. 14-28).

<sup>7</sup> Enklaar 1986, 52f. Abb. 13 (hier wohl fälschlich ohne Rotellen wiedergegeben; vgl. z.B. ein Gefäss der gleichen Form [Alexandria 10458: Guerrini 1964, 16 Nr. D 29 Taf. 6], das Rotellen aufweist). – Im übrigen gibt Enklaar 1986, 53 Abb. 13 dasselbe Gefäss (Alexandria 8818) wieder, das auch in der Ornamentik die nächsten Entsprechungen zur Erlanger “Efeu-Hydria” bietet (s. die folgenden Anm. 8 und 9).

<sup>8</sup> s. zur Henkelpalmette z.B. Enklaar 1985, 123 Abb. 8 g (Alexandria 8818) sowie zur Efeuranke mit Korymben und gegitterten Rechtecken z.B. Enklaar 1985, 123 Abb. 8 c (Alexandria 8818); die entsprechende Ranke des “Peintre des Couronnes de Lauriers” ist zwar ähnlich, doch stärker gewellt (s. z.B. Enklaar 1985, 118 Abb. 5 h).

ein Punkt eingeschrieben ist, mit je zwei grösseren Blättern umschliessen (Abb. 1-4. 7); zwischen dem Kreis und diesen Blättern befindet sich jeweils eine Punktreihe<sup>9</sup>. Typisch für diesen Maler ist schliesslich auch die Begrenzung des Ornamentfeldes zwischen den Horizontalhenkeln durch einen breiten (von zwei schmalen gerahmten) Streifen nach oben hin sowie durch zwei umlaufende schmale Streifen nach unten. Enge Parallelen zur Erlanger "Efeu-Hydria" bieten zum Beispiel zwei Gefässe dieses Malers in Alexandria<sup>10</sup>. Der "Peintre du Lierre" gehört nach A. Enklaar zu den frühen Zeichnern von Hadra-Hydrien; seine Hauptschaffenszeit dürfte zwischen 250 und 240 v.Chr. gelegen haben<sup>11</sup>.

Die zweite Erlanger Hadra-Hydria (Abb. 9-17) ist völlig intakt erhalten und trägt auf der Vorderseite des Gefässkörpers die Wiedergabe eines Boxkampfes<sup>12</sup>. Der hell-braune bis rötlich-braune Ton, aus dem das Gefäss besteht, ist relativ porös und stark glimmerhaltig, mit zahlreichen Einschlüssen von kleinen Kalkpartikeln. Vor allem am oberen Teil und im Inneren der Mündung sind noch Reste eines kalkweissen Überzuges erhalten; der Firnis wirkt eigentümlich stumpf und ist von schwarz-brauner bis rot-brauner Farbe<sup>13</sup>.

Die Bestimmung auch dieses Gefässes ist auf der Basis der von A. Enklaar erarbeiteten Kriterien ohne weiteres möglich. In ihrer Form entspricht die Erlanger "Boxer-Hydria" (Abb. 10. 11. 14) der Form LsB 3 nach Enklaar<sup>14</sup> und somit einer Gefässform, die unter anderem auch für den sogenannten "Peintre du Laurier sans Branche" charakteristisch ist<sup>15</sup>. Dessen Kennzeichen, ein Lorbeerzweig, von dem nur die Blätter wiedergegeben sind, nicht aber deren Stengel<sup>16</sup>, findet sich auch an unserer Hydria (Abb. 9-12. 16); Entsprechendes gilt für die gegitterten Rechtecke, die die waagerechten Henkel der Hydria auf beiden Seiten rahmen (Abb. 10. 11), sowie für die Form der Henkelpalmette<sup>17</sup> (Abb. 12. 17). Eine enge Entsprechung findet die Erlanger "Boxer-Hydria" in einem weiteren Gefäss desselben Malers in Alexandria, auf dessen Vorderseite allerdings anstelle der Boxerszene lediglich ein Schachbrettmuster wiedergegeben ist<sup>18</sup>. Der "Peintre du Laurier sans Branche" gehört nach A. Enklaar ebenfalls zu den frühen Malern von Hadra-Hydrien; seine Schaffenszeit fällt etwa in der Zeit zwischen 250 und 230 v.Chr.<sup>19</sup>

Zunächst war die Forschung davon ausgegangen, dass sämtliche Hadra-Hydrien Produkte alexandrinischer Werkstätten seien<sup>20</sup>, zumal ein Grossteil dieser Gefässe in den Nekropolen Alexandrias gefunden wurde beziehungsweise noch heute gefunden wird<sup>21</sup>. Allerdings ist immer schon bemerkt worden, dass sich von der überwiegenden Mehrzahl der Gefässe, die aus feinem, im Scherben

hell-orangefarbenem, an der Oberfläche häufig hell-gelbem Ton bestehen, eine kleine Gruppe von Hydrien unterscheidet, deren Ton sehr porös und grobkörnig ist sowie im Scherben orange-rot, wobei die Farbe des Tones an der Oberfläche zwischen rosa, cremefarben und sogar grünlich-beige differieren kann<sup>22</sup>. Selbst A. Enklaar ging in der ersten seiner beiden Studien zu den Hadra-Hydrien zunächst davon aus, dass sämtliche Gefässe "dans une seule et même ville" hergestellt worden seien<sup>23</sup>; der Ton der grösseren Gruppe von Gefässen, der im Umland von Alexandria bisher nicht nachgewiesen werden konnte, wurde seiner Auffassung nach von der Insel Kreta importiert<sup>24</sup>. Mittlerweile hatte jedoch P.J. Callaghan aufgrund von Scherbenfunden in Knossos selbst beziehungsweise im Bereich der Messara – vor allem in Phaistos – auf eine kretische Herkunft eines grossen Teiles der Hadra-Hydrien geschlossen<sup>25</sup>, so dass A.

<sup>9</sup> s. z.B. Enklaar 1985, 123 Abb. 8 b; beim "Peintre de l'Astragale" sowie beim "Peintre des Centaures" dagegen umgibt diesen Kreis zunächst ein Paar kleinerer Blätter (s. z.B. Enklaar 1985, 125 Abb. 10 a oder Enklaar 1985, 126 Abb. 11 b).

<sup>10</sup> Alexandria 9398 (Coulson 1996, 84ff. 138 Nr. 1883 Abb. 50 auf S. 89). – Alexandria 10458 (Enklaar 1985, 123 Nr. 11; Guerrini 1964, 16 Nr. D 29 Taf. 6; E. Breccia, La necropoli di Sciatbi. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes. Musée d'Alexandrie [Kairo 1912] Nr. 56 Taf. 41).

<sup>11</sup> Enklaar 1985, 123f. – Zum Problem der Datierung s. auch A. Enklaar, Ariadne's thread in the chronology of hellenistic pottery: The Hadra vases, in B' Epistimoniki synantisi gia tin ellenistiki keramiki, Rhodos 1989 (Athens, 1990) 167-171.

<sup>12</sup> Inv. Nr. I 1252; Dauerleihgabe seit dem Jahre 1994, ehemals süddeutscher Privatbesitz. – H. 37,15 cm; max. Dm 23,5 cm; Dm der Mündung 13,3 cm; Dm des Fusses 9,6 cm. – In der Forschung wird in der Regel terminologisch zwischen Box- und Faustkampf nicht weiter unterschieden; literarische Quellen zum Boxkampf in der Antike sind bei Dobhofer – Mauritsch 1995 zusammengestellt.

<sup>13</sup> Bereits Guerrini 1964, 13 zu Nr. 1 erkannte in der (wie sie es ausdrückt) dunkelroten Farbe des Firnis ein Charakteristikum dieser Gruppe von Vasen (Guerrini 1964, 12 zu Nr. B 12-22).

<sup>14</sup> s. Enklaar 1986, 61 Abb. 32.

<sup>15</sup> s. Enklaar 1986, 61; z.B. Enklaar 1985, 139 Nr. 6 (Alexandria 7450). Nr. 14 (Kairo 26239). Nr. 20 (Alexandria 16175).

<sup>16</sup> s. Enklaar 1985, 138f Abb. 19 c (hier allerdings mit 'Dreipunkt-Gruppen' zwischen den Blättern).

<sup>17</sup> Enklaar 1985, 139 Abb. 19 f; 19 m.

<sup>18</sup> Alexandria 16179 (Enklaar 1985, 139 Nr. 7; Guerrini 1964, 12 Nr. B 14 Taf. 3).

<sup>19</sup> Enklaar 1985, 139.

<sup>20</sup> So z.B. noch Bayer-Niemeier 1988, 13 mit Anm. 39 und 40. – Zu den hellenistischen Keramikgattungen generell s. jetzt auch Rotroff 1997 passim sowie zu Hadra-Hydrien a.O. 223-225.

<sup>21</sup> s. hierzu Enklaar 1985, 108; ein Pendant zur "Boxer-Hydria" wurde in neuerer Zeit in einer der Nekropolen Alexandrias gefunden (s. weiter unten zu Anm. 31).

<sup>22</sup> s. hierzu Enklaar 1986, 41.

<sup>23</sup> Enklaar 1985, 108f. bes. 109.

<sup>24</sup> Enklaar 1985, 109. 111. 145f.

<sup>25</sup> P.J. Callaghan, BSA 75, 1980, 33-47; ders., BSA 76, 1981, 35-58; ders. und R.E. Jones, BSA 80, 1985, 1-17; vgl. ferner ders. in N. Bonacasa – A. di Vita (Hrsg.), *Alessandria e il mondo*

Enklaar schon ein Jahr später seine ursprüngliche Meinung revidierte und nun davon ausging, dass zumindest die Hydrien seiner Gruppe L – zu der jetzt auch die Erlanger “Efeu-Hydria” zu zählen ist – auf Kreta, wahrscheinlich im Bereich von Phaistos, entstanden sind und von dort aus nach Alexandria exportiert wurden<sup>26</sup>. Allerdings hätten schon wenige Zeit später alexandrinische Werkstätten auf diese kretischen Exporte, an denen neben Werkstätten in Phaistos offensichtlich auch knossische Töpferbetriebe beteiligt waren<sup>27</sup>, mit einer eigenen Produktion von Gefässen aus lokalem, wesentlich größerem Ton reagiert<sup>28</sup>, das heisst, mit den Gefässen der Gruppe LsB, zu denen auch die Erlanger “Boxer-Hydria” gehört; schon vom Produktionsverfahren her werde deutlich, dass diese Hydrien aus völlig anderen Werkstätten stammten<sup>29</sup>. Abgesehen von der Tatsache, dass die Erlanger Antikensammlung demnach mit den beiden neu erworbenen Hadra-Hydrien zugleich auch jeweils einen Vertreter aus den beiden wichtigsten landschaftlichen Gruppen dieser Gattung besitzt – wobei die “Efeu-Hydria” den, wie wir jetzt wissen, ‘kretischen Normaltypus’ vertritt, während die “Boxer-Hydria” für die ‘alexandrinische Antwort’ auf entsprechende kretische Exporte steht –, stellt die Erlanger “Boxer-Hydria” darüber hinaus auch noch in anderer Hinsicht einen beachtlichen Zugewinn dar. Dem freundlichen Hinweis von A. Enklaar<sup>30</sup> verdanke ich die Kenntnis einer weiteren Hadra-Hydria, die von G. Grimm in der Nekropole von Gabbari in Alexandria ausgegraben wurde<sup>31</sup> (Abb. 18). Dieses Gefäss stimmt nicht nur in seiner Form, sondern vor allem auch in der Darstellung im Bildfeld mit der Erlanger “Boxer-Hydria” fast wortwörtlich überein. Die Boxer auf der Hydria aus der Nekropole von Gabbari wirken zwar feingliederiger als die des Erlanger Gefässes, auch befindet sich dort links und rechts neben den beiden Boxern jeweils ein Kampfrichter oder Trainer, der in der einen Hand einen Zweig hält; dennoch handelt es sich ohne Zweifel bei beiden Hydrien um Arbeiten ein und desselben Malers, dem sich im übrigen auch noch die Scherben eines weiteren, bei den polnischen Ausgrabungen in Alexandria gefundenen Gefässes mit der Darstellung eines ‘Hoplitodromos’ zuweisen lassen<sup>32</sup> (Abb. 19-21). Die Figuren dieses Malers, der sich – folgt man der Form der Hydria und der Gestaltung der verwendeten Ornamente – mit dem sogenannten “Peintre du Laurier sans Branche” identifizieren lässt<sup>33</sup>, sind durch eindeutig groteske Züge bestimmt<sup>34</sup>, so etwa durch grosse knollenförmige Nasen und stark ausgeprägte Waden bei verhältnismässig dünnen Beinen. Hin und wieder scheint eine der Gestalten sogar bucklig zu sein; ein grosser Phallos ist ihnen

ohnehin gemeinsam. Der skizzenhafte Zeichenstil verrät eine routinierte Hand; vielfach bleiben die Striche, mit denen die einzelnen Teile der Gliedmassen angegeben sind, unverbunden. Eine Zusammenstellung des Oeuvres dieses offensichtlich zur Darstellung grotesker Gestalten neigenden Malers ist bisher nicht unternommen worden und soll angesichts der immer noch unzureichenden Publikationssituation auch an dieser Stelle nicht versucht werden. Doch seien zumindest einige Bemerkungen zu möglichen Vorbildern für das Bildrepertoire dieses Malers sowie zur Bedeutung derartiger grotesker Darstellungen im sepulkralen Bereich angeschlossen. Neben zahlreichen Gemeinsamkeiten im Dekor, die die Hydrien der alexandrinischen Gruppe LsB – zu denen auch die Erlanger “Boxer-Hydria” zu zählen ist – mit Gefässen der kretischen Gruppe L aufweisen<sup>35</sup>, gibt es nach A. Enklaar darüber hinaus eindeutige Beziehungen zu Hydrien einer weiteren kretischen Gruppe D, die möglicherweise in Knossos zu lokalisieren ist<sup>36</sup>. Einer der wichtigsten Maler dieser Gruppe D ist der sogenannte “Peintre des Coureurs”<sup>37</sup>; auf der namengebenden Hydria dieses Malers im Moskauer Puschkine-Museum<sup>38</sup> ist sogar

ellenistico-romano. Studi in onore di A. Adriani III (Rom 1984) 789-794 sowie L. Forti (ebenda 222-241), B.F. Cook (ebenda 795-803), V. La Rosa (ebenda 804-818) und dies., in B’ Epistimoniki synantisi gia tin ellenistiki keramiki, Rhodos 1989 (Athen 1990) 160-166. – Diese kretische Herkunft eines Grossteiles der Hadra-Hydrien wird auch von M. Dufková, LF 114, 1991, 119ff. und Rotroff 1997, 224 akzeptiert sowie von Ovidi 1994, 4ff., die die motivischen Vorbilder allerdings in Unteritalien gefunden zu haben glaubt; s. hierzu auch weiter unten Anm. 73.

<sup>26</sup> Enklaar 1986, 41ff. bes. 42. 51. 63.

<sup>27</sup> s. hierzu auch weiter unten zu Anm. 36-39.

<sup>28</sup> Enklaar 1986, 43. – Rotroff 1997, 224 allerdings hält offenbar weiterhin an der ausschliesslich kretischen Herkunft der Hadra-Hydrien fest.

<sup>29</sup> Enklaar 1986, 43ff. bes. 46.

<sup>30</sup> Briefliche Mitteilung vom 27.1.1992.

<sup>31</sup> Fundnummer 124, Grab I, westlich von Raum 4. – Die Erlaubnis, die Hydria hier erstmals vorlegen zu dürfen, verdanke ich der Generosität von G. Grimm (Trier); die Hydria, die sich heute im Museum von Alexandria befindet, ist einschliesslich des Leichenbrandes im Inneren erhalten.

<sup>32</sup> Den Hinweis auf diese Scherben sowie die Fotokopie einer Abbildung, nach der die Umzeichnungen Abb. 19-21 ausgeführt wurden, verdanke ich ebenfalls der kollegialen Hilfsbereitschaft von A. Enklaar. – Zu Figurenfriesen in der hellenistischen Keramik s. jetzt auch L. Kahil, *Hesperia* 60, 1991, 511-523.

<sup>33</sup> s. bereits oben zu Anm. 14-17.

<sup>34</sup> Zum Begriff des Grotesken sowie zu den entsprechenden Darstellungen s. jetzt ausführlich Himmelmann 1994, 89-122.

<sup>35</sup> s. hierzu Enklaar 1986, 43f. bes. 46.

<sup>36</sup> s. hierzu Enklaar 1986, 42. 63.

<sup>37</sup> Enklaar 1985, 140ff.

<sup>38</sup> Enklaar 1985, 141 Nr. 8; Guerrini 1964, 10f. Nr. A 7 Taf. 1; R. Pagenstecher, *Die Gefässe in Stein und Ton, Knochenschnitzereien*, in E. v. Sieglin (Hrsg.), *Die griechisch-ägyptische Sammlung Ernst von Sieglin II 3* (Leipzig 1913) 42 Abb. 47.



ebenfalls ein sportlicher Wettkampf, ein 'Hoplitodromos' wiedergegeben<sup>39</sup>.

Man wird damit rechnen dürfen, dass im Rahmen kretischer Exporte unter anderem auch Gefässe mit Darstellungen dieser Thematik nach Alexandria gelangt sind; sie könnten somit durchaus der entsprechenden – allerdings ins Groteske abgewandelten – Szene auf den genannten, aus den polnischen Grabungen in Alexandria stammenden Scherben einer Hydria des "Peintre du Laurier sans Branche" (Abb. 19-20) zum Vorbild gedient haben. Auch die Szenen grotesker Boxer auf den Hydrien in Erlangen (Abb. 9. 13. 15) und aus der Nekropole von Gabbari (Abb. 18), die von der Hand desselben Malers stammen, könnten Ergebnis eines entsprechenden Umsetzungsprozesses gewesen sein. Es erhebt sich somit die Frage, ob derartigen Darstellungen möglicherweise eine besondere Bedeutung zugekommen ist – zumal die Gefässe, auf denen sie sich befinden, nachweislich dem sepulkralen Gebrauch gedient haben und offenbar eigens zu diesem Zweck hergestellt wurden<sup>40</sup>.

Sportliche Wettkämpfe und thematisch verwandte Darstellungen finden sich immer wieder als Dekor kretischer und alexandrinischer Hadra-Hydrien<sup>41</sup>. Man hat unter anderem angenommen, dass solche Gefässe – oder zumindest diejenigen, die Darstellungen von Wettkämpfen aufweisen – ursprünglich als Kampfpreise gedient haben, die später dann den Verstorbenen mit in das Grab gegeben wurden<sup>42</sup>. Anderen Autoren zufolge spiegelt sich in solchen Darstellungen eine entsprechende sportliche Betätigung zu Lebzeiten wider; so erkennt zum Beispiel D.E. Kurtz in der Boxerszene, die auf einer attisch-weissgrundigen Lekythos hochklassischer Zeit<sup>43</sup> im Giebelfeld eines aufwendigen Grabmonuments<sup>44</sup> oder Sarkophags<sup>45</sup> wiedergegeben ist, einen Hinweis auf hervorragende sportliche Leistungen des Verstorbenen<sup>46</sup>.

Überaus zahlreich sind zudem Darstellungen von Boxern in der spätklassischen und frühhellenistischen Grabmalerei Paestums<sup>47</sup>; auch hier wird man sie, ebenso wie andere dort wiedergegebene Szenen sportlicher Betätigung, zunächst als einen Nachweis 'standesgemässer' körperlicher Ertüchtigung des Verstorbenen auffassen dürfen. Allerdings finden sich derartige Darstellungen sportlicher Wettkämpfe sowohl in Gräbern von Männern, wo sie in diesem Sinne durchaus verständlich wären, sondern interessanter Weise auch in solchen von Frauen. A. Pontrandolfo und A. Rouveret haben aus dieser Tatsache daher wohl zu Recht geschlossen, dass es sich hier vielmehr um Wiedergaben von "giochi funebri" handelt, um ein "spettacolo rituale", das zu Ehren von Verstorbenen beiderlei Geschlechts veranstaltet wurde<sup>48</sup>.

Sportliche Wettkämpfe bildeten in der Antike offenbar einen festen Bestandteil der Totenfeiern für angesehene Verstorbene – angefangen mit den Leichenspielen zu Ehren des Patroklos<sup>49</sup> und den Totenspielen, die Aeneas für seinen Vater Anchises durchführen liess<sup>50</sup>. Auch Platon erwähnt sportliche Wettkämpfe im sepulkralen Bereich<sup>51</sup>; und noch in hellenistischer Zeit werden zum Beispiel in Amorgos derartige Spiele zu Ehren eines Verstorbenen veranstaltet<sup>52</sup>. Zahlreich sind in diesem

<sup>39</sup> Ebenfalls der knossischen Gruppe D weist Enklaar brieflich (s. hier Anm. 30) eine Hydria in New York mit der Darstellung eines Waffenlaufes zu (s. z.B. B.F. Cook, *AJA* 70, 1966, 326 Nr. 18 Taf. 79 Abb. 8 rechts).

<sup>40</sup> s. hierzu Enklaar 1985, 109f. – Das Pendant zur Erlanger "Boxer-Hydria" aus Gabbari (hier Anm. 31) war verschlossen und enthielt noch den Leichenbrand; vgl. ebenso die beiden Hydrien Alexandria 9397 und 9388 (Coulson 1986, 85. 137f. Nr. 1882. 1884). – Zur sepulkralen Bestimmung der Hadra-Hydrien s. auch Ovidi 1994, 13f.

<sup>41</sup> s. hierzu Enklaar 1985, 109 mit Anm. 20 und hier vor allem Gefässe der Gruppe D (z.B. *AJA* 70, 1966, 328 Nr. 18 Taf. 79, 8 rechts); vgl. ferner a.O. 328 Nr. 12 Taf. 78,3.

<sup>42</sup> So z.B. Guerrini 1964, 11, die sich auf Pagenstecher a.O. 33 beruft, der seinerseits eine Idee von M. Rostovtzeff wiederaufnimmt; anders Enklaar 1985, 109.

<sup>43</sup> Boston, Museum of Fine Arts Inv. Nr. 01.8080 (freundlicher Hinweis von St. Lehmann, Erlangen). – ARV<sup>2</sup> 1231 (Thanatos-Maler); vgl. ferner A. Fairbanks, *Athenian Lekythoi* (New York 1907) 188f. Taf. 6; W. Riezler, *Weissgrundige attische Lekythen* (München 1914) 42-44 Abb. 25-27; Kurtz 1975, 37. 39. 210 Taf. 31,1; N. Nakayama, *Untersuchungen der auf weissgrundigen Lekythen dargestellten Grabmäler* (Freiburg 1982) 46 Nr. GB-II-3 Taf. 3; D.U. Schilardi, *Representations of Free-Standing Sarcophagi in Attic White-Ground Lekythoi*, in H.A.G. Brijder (Hrsg.), *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery. Proceedings of the International Vase Symposium in Amsterdam 1984* (Amsterdam 1984) 266 Nr. 5.

<sup>44</sup> So z.B. Nakayama a.O.

<sup>45</sup> So z.B. Schilardi a.O.

<sup>46</sup> Kurtz 1975, 210

<sup>47</sup> s. z.B. Pontrandolfo – Rouveret 1992, 54 mit entsprechenden Verweisen; "scene di pugliato" zählen dort sogar zu den "più numerose del corpus pestano" (a.O. 55).

<sup>48</sup> Pontrandolfo – Rouveret 1992, 452; so auch a.O. 458 zur Tomba Spina Gaudio 2/1957 (Abb. 259/60). – Im Falle von Darstellungen sportlicher Wettkämpfe in etruskischen Gräbern ist es nach D. Steuernagel, *Menschenopfer und Mord am Altar. Griechische Mythen in etruskischen Gräbern*. *Palilia* 3 (Wiesbaden 1998) 141 Anm. 839 weiterhin umstritten, ob sich diese auf Leichenspiele beziehen oder "paradigmatische Situationen aus dem diesseitigen Leben des Adels wiedergeben".

<sup>49</sup> *Ilias* XXIII 615-699. – Doblhofer – Mauritsch 1995, 82ff.; Laser 1987, 23f. sowie bereits a.O. 21. – In *Ilias* XXIII 677-681 sind ferner Leichenspiele für Ödipus erwähnt; s. hierzu auch Laser 1987, 39. – Zu solchen Leichenspielen s. auch Peredolskaja 1964, 28.

<sup>50</sup> Vergil, *Aeneis* 5, 391ff. – RE VIII A 2 (1958) 1266ff. s.v. P. Vergilius Maro, speziell 1487-1493 (Anhang: E. Mehl, *Die Leichenspiele in der Aeneis als turngeschichtliche Quelle*); I. Weiler, *Der Sport bei den Völkern der Alten Welt* (Darmstadt 1988) 177.

<sup>51</sup> Menexenos 249 B. – Kurtz – Boardman 1971, 121.

<sup>52</sup> s. z.B. eine entsprechende Inschrift des 2. Jhs.v.Chr. (IG XII 7.515); hierzu auch Kurtz – Boardman 1971, 299.

Zusammenhang auch Erwähnungen von Boxkämpfen<sup>53</sup>; und so heisst es bei D.C. Kurtz und J. Boardman denn auch: "The need for some sort of contest, if only a boxing or wrestling match, which served to avenge or appease the dead, was felt in many ancient societies, and could well have been a regular feature of Greek funerals"<sup>54</sup>.

Befremdlich ist insofern nicht so sehr die Darstellung sportlicher Wettkämpfe auf Hadra-Hydrien, also auf Gefässen, die nachweislich als Aschenurnen dienten – zumal sich auch sonst Wiedergaben sportlicher Thematik auf Objekten des sepulkralen Bereichs häufiger finden<sup>55</sup> –, als vielmehr die Tatsache, dass derartige Szenen auf der Erlanger "Boxer-Hydria" (Abb. 9. 13. 15) und auf dem entsprechenden Exemplar aus der Nekropole von Gabbari (Abb. 18) sowie auf den Scherben aus den polnischen Grabungen in Alexandria (Abb. 19-20) offensichtlich in voller Absicht als Wettkampf grotesker Gestalten gekennzeichnet sind<sup>56</sup>: Einer der Boxer der Erlanger Hydria hat, wie gesagt, einen Buckel, beide Gestalten kennzeichnet zudem eine dicke Nase und vor allem ein langer Phallos – Züge, die sie nicht nur mit den Szenen auf den genannten beiden anderen Vasen dieses Malers gemeinsam haben, sondern vor allem auch mit einer grossen Gruppe ebenfalls grotesker Bronze- und Terrakotta-statuetten hellenistischer Zeit<sup>57</sup>.

Über Aufstellung und Gebrauch solcher grotesker Statuetten lässt sich nur selten aufgrund konkreter Fundumstände Genaueres sagen; fest steht jedenfalls, dass sie nicht nur im häuslichen Bereich sowie im Kult und als Votive in Heiligtümern eine wichtige Rolle gespielt haben<sup>58</sup>, sondern darüber hinaus auch in sepulkraler Funktion nachzuweisen sind<sup>59</sup>. Dies gilt vor allem für die entsprechenden graeco-römischen Terrakotten Alexandrias<sup>60</sup>, mit denen Gefässe wie die Erlanger "Boxer-Hydria" im übrigen auch den groben, rötlich-braunen Ton gemeinsam haben, wie sich im direkten Vergleich mit entsprechenden Statuetten in der Erlanger Antikensammlung feststellen liess. Einige der alexandrinischen Grotesken sind nachweislich in Gräbern gefunden worden<sup>61</sup>, müssen also in ihrer sepulkralen Bedeutung mit den ebenfalls grotesken Darstellungen auf den genannten Hydrien in irgendeiner Weise übereingestimmt haben.

Im Grotesken derartiger alexandrinischer Terrakotten sowie anderer Bronze- und Terrakotta-statuetten hellenistischer Zeit hat die Forschung in letzter Zeit vielfach den Ausdruck einer Art von Gegenwelt erkannt, den Versuch, einer reichen Oberschicht, sich hierdurch von den untersten sozialen Schichten abzusetzen<sup>62</sup>. Ob dies in gleicher Weise auch für groteske Gestalten von Sportlern gegolten hat, ist, wie M. Guggisberger jüngst

gezeigt hat<sup>63</sup>, zumindest fraglich; allenfalls einen Niederschlag "zeitgenössischer Athleten-Kritik" vermag er in derartigen Darstellungen zu erkennen. Es ist seiner Ansicht nach allerdings eher unwahrscheinlich, dass Entsprechendes auch für solche Darstellungen grotesker Sportler gegolten hat, die im sepulkralen Bereich Verwendung gefunden haben; hier sei vielmehr davon auszugehen, dass sich in ihnen "eine tiefere, religiöse Komponente" offenbart, "die nicht nur für das Verständnis der Athletenbilder sondern auch für die Interpretation der antiken Karikatur- und Groteskplastik als ganzes von grosser Bedeutung ist"<sup>64</sup>.

Diese "tiefere, religiöse Komponente" wird man im Anschluss an entsprechende Untersuchungen von N. Himmelmann<sup>65</sup> jetzt am ehesten in eben jener übel-abwehrenden (apotropäischen) und zugleich glück-bringenden Funktion sehen dürfen, die die Forschung schon früher wiederholt derartigen grotesken Darstellungen zuerkannt hatte<sup>66</sup>. Der Buckel zum

<sup>53</sup> s. zuletzt eine entsprechende Liste bei Doblhofer – Mauritsch 1995, 265 sowie ferner Laser 1987, 37-48; Mehl a.O. 1491f.; Weiler a.O. 176-183.

<sup>54</sup> Kurtz – Boardman 1971, 203; ähnlich auch a.O. 331.

<sup>55</sup> s. hierzu jetzt auch Guggisberger 1993, 563 mit Anm. 53 sowie a.O. 558 mit Abb. 12.

<sup>56</sup> Zu ebenfalls grotesken Ringergruppen, die teils aus Gräbern, teils aus Heiligtümern stammen, s. jetzt Guggisberger 1993, 553ff. bes. 563. – Im bekannten Grab von Bolschaja Blisniza in Südrussland fand sich neben einer entsprechenden Ringergruppe (Peredolskaja 1964, 27f. Taf. 13,1-3) ferner auch die hockende Gestalt eines grotesken Faustkämpfers (a.O. 27f. Taf. 13, 4, 5); s. hierzu jetzt auch Himmelmann 1994, 109.

<sup>57</sup> s. zu diesen u.a. Giuliani 1987, 701-721; Himmelmann 1983; Himmelmann 1994, 122; Laubscher 1982, 69ff.; J. Raeder, Priene. Funde aus einer griechischen Stadt im Berliner Antikensmuseum. Bilderhefte der Staatlichen Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz 45/46 (Berlin 1984) 22ff. sowie weiter unten.

<sup>58</sup> s. z.B. Giuliani 1987, 714; Raeder a.O. 22ff. sowie Guggisberger, 1993, 563 mit Anm. 53; W. Hornbostel in Hornbostel 1991, 12.

<sup>59</sup> s. auch hierzu Guggisberger a.O.; Himmelmann 1994, 103ff.

<sup>60</sup> s. zu diesen z.B. F. Dunand, Catalogue des terres cuites gréco-romaines d'Égypte. Musée du Louvre (Paris 1990) sowie ferner Bayer-Niemeier 1988; J. Fischer, Griechisch-römische Terrakotten aus Ägypten. Die Sammlungen Sieglin und Schreiber. Dresden, Leipzig, Stuttgart, Tübingen (Tübingen 1994) 51ff. 70ff.; Hornbostel 1991, 12; Lexikon der Ägyptologie VI (1986) 425-456 s.v. Terrakotten (W. Hornbostel, H.P. Laubscher).

<sup>61</sup> s. z.B. Bayer-Niemeier 1988, 16ff.; G. Nachtergaele in Hornbostel 1991, 19f.

<sup>62</sup> z.B. Giuliani 1987, 712ff. und Laubscher 1982, 69ff. bes. 75; s. hierzu jetzt allerdings auch Guggisberger 1993, 561 und Himmelmann 1994, 122.

<sup>63</sup> Guggisberger 1993, 561f.

<sup>64</sup> Guggisberger 1993, 563.

<sup>65</sup> Himmelmann 1994, 89-122, bes. 114ff.

<sup>66</sup> s. z.B. Giuliani 1987, 712ff.; Himmelmann 1983, 64; Laubscher 1982, 73f. – Vgl. in diesem Zusammenhang auch die grotesk-vulgäre Szene des seine Notdurft verrichtenden Dieners Aranth in der Tomba dei Giocolieri in Tarquinia (St. Steingräber [Hrsg.], Etruskische Wandmalerei [Stuttgart-Zürich 1985] 318f.

Beispiel gilt als glückverheissend, der lange Phallos als übelabwehrend – Eigenschaften, die im Dies- ebenso wie im Jenseits von Nutzen sein konnten<sup>67</sup>. Nur so lassen sich im übrigen auch Beigaben grotesker – mitunter geradezu obszöner – Statuetten klassischer Zeit in Gräbern von Kindern<sup>68</sup> sowie vor allem von jungen Mädchen erklären<sup>69</sup>, zumal diese bekanntlich bis zu ihrer Verheiratung in strikter häuslicher Abgeschlossenheit lebten<sup>70</sup>.

Es waren offenbar Künstler Alexandrias, die seit dem frühen 3. Jahrhundert v.Chr. verstärkt mit Darstellungen grotesker Gestalten in Kleinkunst und Vasenmalerei begonnen hatten<sup>71</sup> – ein Vorgang, der sich recht bald auch auf das übrige hellenistische Griechenland und hier vor allem auf das westliche Kleinasien erstreckt hatte<sup>72</sup>. Eine so weitreichende Verbreitung derartiger Grotesken war allerdings nur deshalb möglich, weil neben dem Absurd-Komischen der Darstellungen und dem Bild einer 'Gegenwelt', das sie hin und wieder vermitteln, stets zugleich auch ihre besondere, entweder übelabwehrende oder glückverheissende Funktion präsent war, die es unter anderem auch erlaubte, solche Grotesken – sei es als Dekor sogenannter Hadra-Hydrien, die in der Regel als Aschenurnen fungierten, sei es in Form von Terrakottastatuetten – den Toten mit in das Grab zu geben. Der Maler der Erlanger "Boxer-Hydria", das heisst also der "Peintre du Laurier sans Branche", wurde offenbar schon frühzeitig von die-

ser Entwicklung erfasst. In der Absicht, der Konkurrenz kretischer Hadra-Hydrien auf dem heimischen Markt durch eine entsprechende eigene Produktion zu begegnen<sup>73</sup>, versuchte er offensichtlich, deren Bilder zusätzlich mit einer besonderen, apotropäischen beziehungsweise glückverheissenden Komponente zu versehen, indem er die jeweiligen Bildvorlagen ins Groteske abwandelte. Schon A. Pontrandolfo und A. Rouveret hatten im übrigen in den spätklassischen und frühhellenistischen Grabmalereien Paestums – vor allem in den dortigen Darstellungen sportlicher Wettkämpfe – hin und wieder einen "aspetto derisorio e burlesco" erkannt, der sie unter anderem an Bilder auf den sogenannten Phlyaken-Vasen erinnerte<sup>74</sup>. Ob es sich hier bereits um einen ähnlichen Vorgang handelt, wie er auf den zuletzt besprochenen Hadra-Hydrien zu beobachten war, ist allerdings eine Frage, die sich nur in einem grösseren Zusammenhang erörtern lässt<sup>75</sup> und deren Beantwortung den Rahmen des vorliegenden Beitrages sprengen würde.

zu Nr. 70 Taf. 92), der nach Steingräber a.O. eine apotropäische Geste zugrunde liegen könnte.

<sup>67</sup> s. hierzu Bayer-Niemeier 1988, 51; W. Hornbostel in Hornbostel 1991, 12; Nachtergaele a.O. 19f. 33. – Zu derartigen Grotesken oder Karikaturen bzw. Parodien in der Vasenmalerei s. z.B. auch Ph. Bruneau, *Ganymede et l'aigle: Images, caricatures et parodies animales du rapt*. BCH 86, 1962, 193–228; F. Causey Frel, *Prometheus Parodied: A Gnathia Hilarotragedy*, in A. Houghton u.a. (Hrsg.), *Festschrift für Leo Mildenberg* (Wetteren 1984) 51–55 Taf. 7 sowie E.C. Keuls, *The Social Position of Attic Vase Painters and the Birth of Caricature*, in J. Christiansen, T. Melander (Hrsg.), *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery*, Copenhagen 1987 (Kopenhagen 1988) 300–313.

<sup>68</sup> s. hierzu Himmelmann 1994, 103. 106 sowie z.B. entsprechende Kindergräber im Kerameikos von Athen (K. Kübler, *Kerameikos VII 1* [Berlin 1976] 50 Nr. 161; Himmelmann 1994, 103 Abb. 45; 114 [mit Verweis auf ein weiteres Kindergrab]), in Argos (S. Papaspyridi-Karusu, *ADelt 15*, 1933–35, 37 Abb. 19 unten) und in Rhodos (CIRh IV [1931] 211f.).

<sup>69</sup> s. hierzu zuletzt Himmelmann 1994, 111–119 sowie vor allem das Grab von Bolschaja Blisniza in Südrussland (Peredolskaja 1964, bes. Taf. 5,3. 4; 12, 4; 13,1–3; 13,4. 5; Himmelmann 1994, 100. 107ff. 111f. Abb. 51) und ein entsprechendes Grab in Delphi (M.P. Perdizet, *Monuments figurés. FdD V 1* [Paris 1906] 163ff.; Himmelmann 1994, 106f. Abb. 49).

<sup>70</sup> Xenophon, *oecon.* VII 4. – Himmelmann 1994, 107. 113f.; C. Reinsberg, *Ehe, Hetärentum und Knabenliebe im antiken Griechenland* (München 1989) 41. – Allerdings ist mittlerweile eine umfangreiche Diskussion über die Position der Frau im klassischen Griechenland, besonders zu deren von der älteren Forschung postulierter 'orientalischen Abgeschlossenheit' in Gang

gekommen; s. hierzu die bei A. Scholl, *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen des 4. Jhs.v.Chr.* AM Beih. 17 (Berlin 1996) 96 Anm. 639 zusammengestellte Literatur sowie vor allem Chr. Schnurr-Redford, *Frauen im klassischen Athen. Sozialer Raum und reale Bewegungsfreiheit* (Berlin 1996) und hier speziell zu den jungen Mädchen (a.O. 160–184). – Ein Bild wesentlich grösserer Freiheit für die Frau bes. im Bereich der Erziehung junger Mädchen entwirft z.B. auch E. Specht, *Schön zu sein und gut zu sein. Mädchenbildung und Frauensozialisation im antiken Griechenland*. Reihe Frauenforschung 9 (Wien 1989); vgl. hierzu die Rez. von G. Wickert-Micknat, *Gymnasium* 98, 1991, 343–351.

<sup>71</sup> s. hierzu ausführlich Himmelmann 1983. – Man sagte den Bewohnern Alexandrias im übrigen in der Antike vielfach Spottlust nach (s. hierzu W. Hornbostel in Hornbostel 1991, 11).

<sup>72</sup> s. z.B. Bayer-Niemeier 1988, 51; Himmelmann 1983, 61f.

<sup>73</sup> Ovidi 1994, 13 möchte allerdings als Ergebnis ihrer Vergleiche vor allem mit unteritalischer Keramik dieses Verhältnis offenbar umkehren; demnach wäre die Gruppe LsB, der unsere "Boxer-Hydria" zugehört, den entsprechenden kretischen Produkten (Gruppe L und D) vorausgegangen. Die Forschung ist Ovidi hierin, soweit ich sehe, wohl zu Recht nicht gefolgt.

<sup>74</sup> Pontrandolfo – Rouveret 1992, 55. – Vgl. in diesem Zusammenhang auch die "grotesk, humoristische Wirkung", die nach St. Steingräber (St. Steingräber [Hrsg.], *Etruskische Wandmalerei* [Stuttgart-Zürich 1985] 305 zu Nr. 53 mit Abb. 106) von der Wiedergabe der Boxer an der Eingangswand der Tomba Cardarelli in Tarquinia ausgeht.

<sup>75</sup> Als ein wichtiger Schritt in Richtung auf die von Guggisberger 1993, 563 geforderte "umfassende Studie zur griechischen Karikatur, insbesondere derjenigen der klassischen Epoche", kann jetzt die entsprechende Untersuchung von Himmelmann 1994, 89–122 gelten.



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## TAFEL- UND ABBILDUNGSNACHWEISE

- Abb. 1-4. Fotos Georg Pöhlein (Erlangen)
- Abb. 5-8. Zeichnungen Robert Schwab (Erlangen)
- Abb. 9-13. Fotos Georg Pöhlein (Erlangen)
- Abb. 14-17. Zeichnungen Robert Schwab (Erlangen)
- Abb. 18. Foto Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo, Neg. Nr. F 18806
- Abb. 19-21. Zeichnungen Robert Schwab (Erlangen)

## NACHTRAG

Zu den Scherben einer Hadra-Hydria aus den polnischen Grabungen in Alexandria (Abb. 19-21) s. jetzt J.-Y. Empereur (Hrsg.), *Commerce et artisanat dans l'Alexandrie hellénistique et romaine*. Actes du Colloque Athenes 1988 (Athen 1998) 258f. Abb. 23 (aus sogenannten mareotischem Ton). – Das der Erlanger “Boxer-Hydria” in der Form entsprechende Gefäß Alexandria 16179 (hier Anm. 18) ist a.O. 264 Abb. 1 wiedergegeben und wird dort auf S. 262 ebenfalls als Imitation von Hydrien der kretischen Gruppe L und D (nach Enklaar) bezeichnet. – Hydrien der “Gruppe du Laurier” mit datierenden Inschriften s. a.O. 18 Abb. 10-11 (ca. 230-210 v. Chr.); 20 Abb. 13-14 (ca. 240-220 v. Chr.); 21 Abb. 15-17 (ca. 238-222 v. Chr.).



Abb. 1-4. Erlangen, Antikensammlung der Universität. Inv. Nr. I 1257. Hadra-Hydria mit Efeudekor ("Efeu-Hydria")

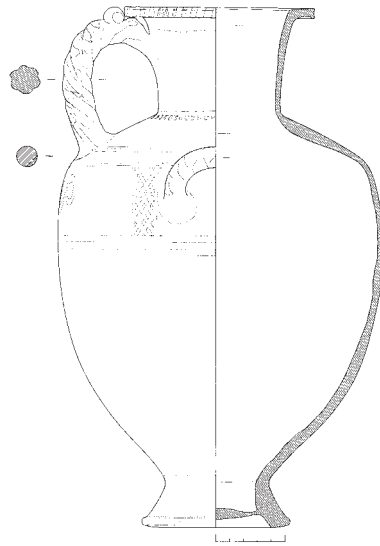


Abb. 5. Erlangen, Antikensammlung der Universität. "Efeu-Hydria"

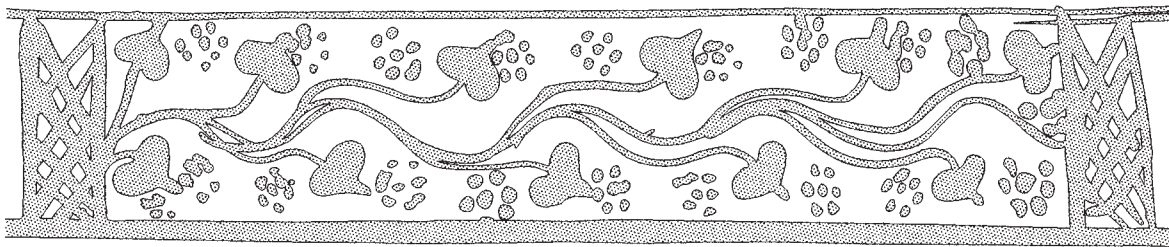


Abb. 6. Erlangen, Antikensammlung der Universität. "Efeu-Hydria", Efeuranke am Gefässkörper

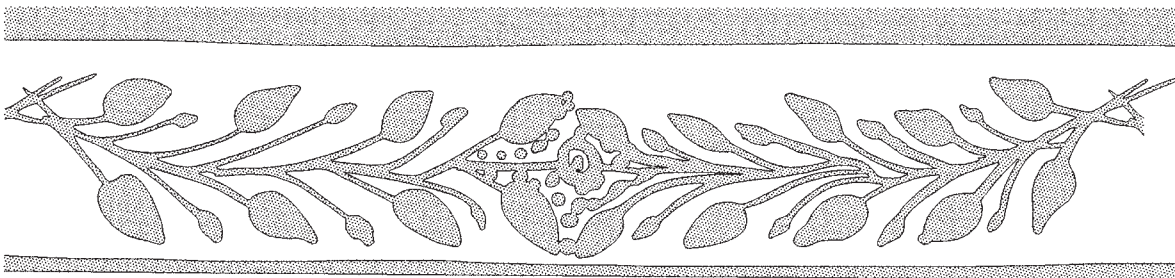


Abb. 7. Erlangen, Antikensammlung der Universität. "Efeu-Hydria", Lorbeerzweig am Hals des Gefässes

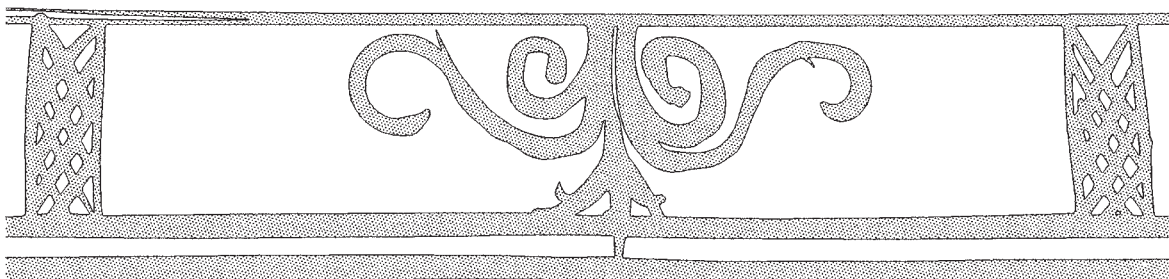


Abb. 8. Erlangen, Antikensammlung der Universität. "Efeu-Hydria", Palmette unter dem Vertikalhenkel



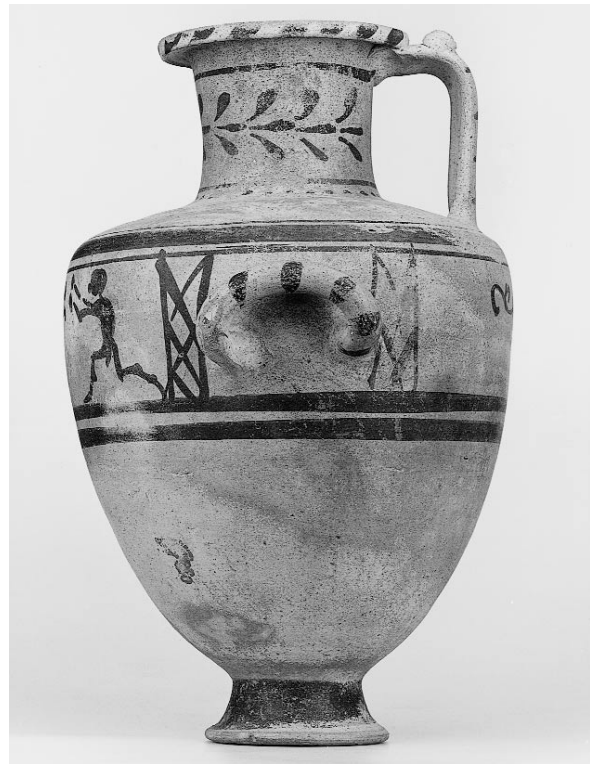


Abb. 9-12. Erlangen, Antikensammlung der Universität. Inv. Nr. I 1252. Hadra-Hydria mit Boxerszene ("Boxer-Hydria")



Abb. 13. Erlangen, Antikensammlung der Universität. "Boxer-Hydria", Boxerszene

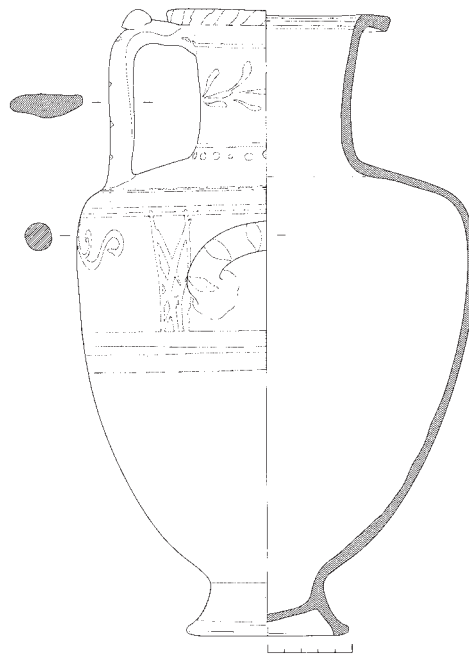


Abb. 14. Erlangen, Antikensammlung der Universität. "Boxer-Hydria"



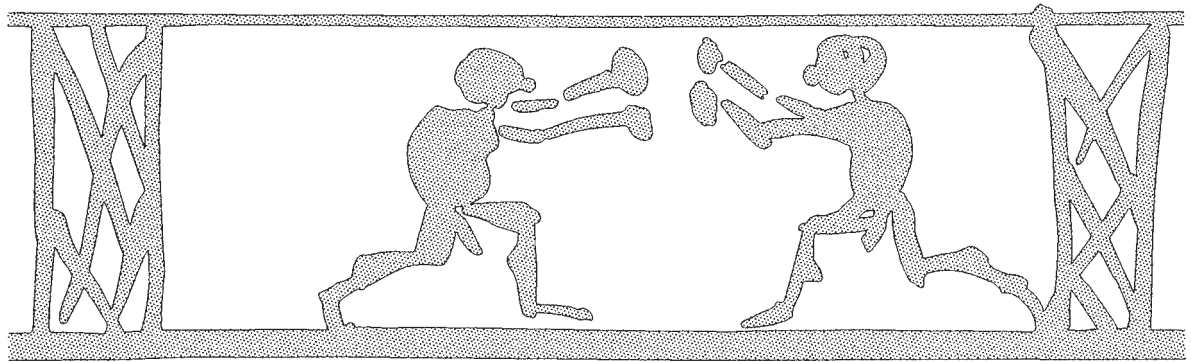


Abb. 15. Erlangen, Antikensammlung der Universität. "Boxer-Hydria", Boxerszene

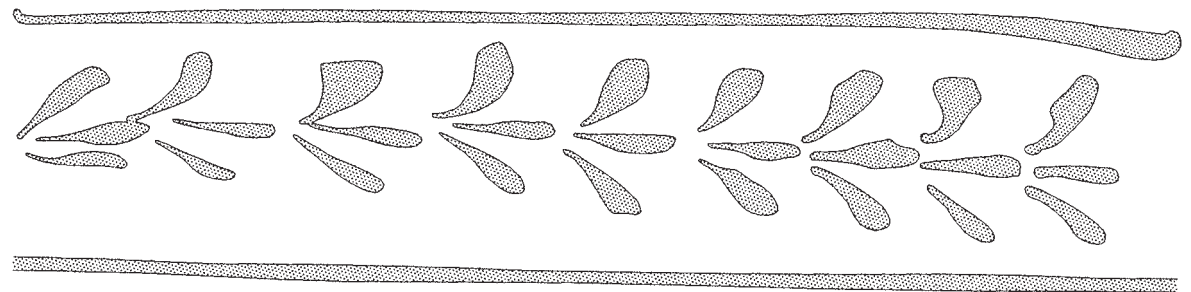


Abb. 16. Erlangen, Antikensammlung der Universität. "Boxer-Hydria", Lorbeerzweig am Hals des Gefässes

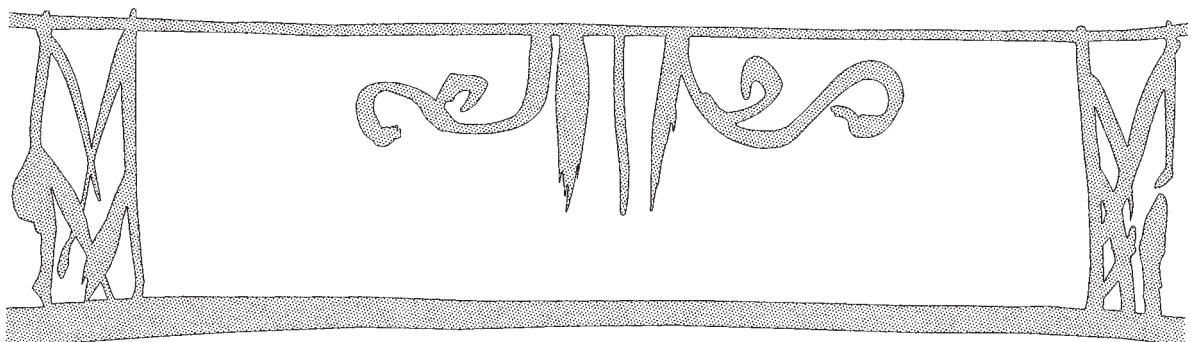


Abb. 17. Erlangen, Antikensammlung der Universität. "Boxer-Hydria", Palmette unter dem Vertikalhenkel





Abb. 18. Alexandria, Archäologisches Museum. Hadra-Hydria aus der Nekropole von Gabbari

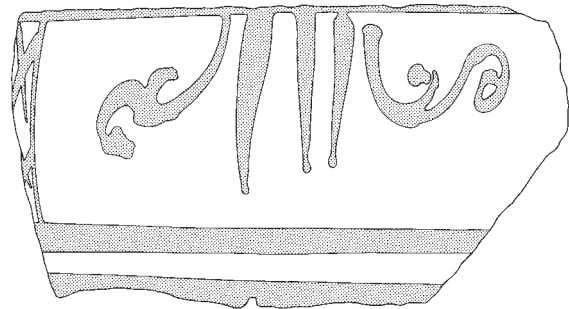
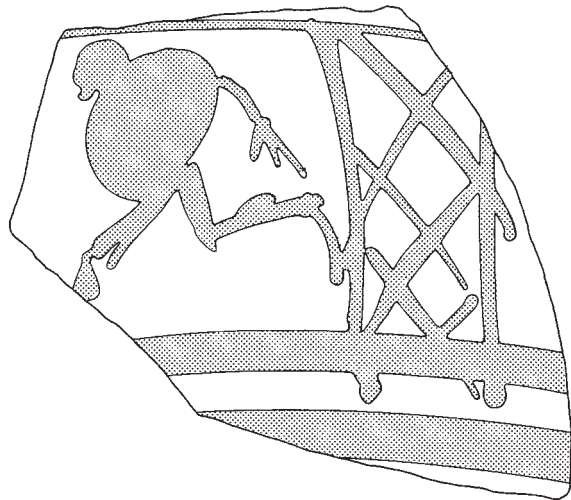
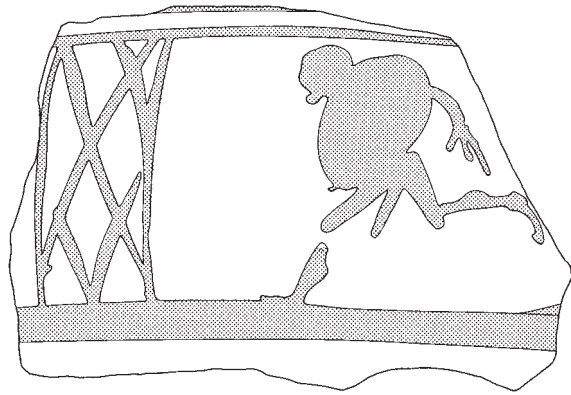


Abb. 19-21. Alexandria, Archäologisches Museum. Fragmente einer Hadra-Hydria aus den polnischen Grabungen

# Les trottoirs de Pompéi: une première approche

Catherine Saliou

Afin de mieux comprendre le développement urbain de Pompéi, et plus précisément les modalités de mise en place et de découpage des îlots, le Professeur H. Geertman a engagé avec une équipe de l'Université de Leyde un programme d'étude de la topographie du site et de l'organisation des îlots<sup>1</sup>. Ces recherches, mettant en évidence le rôle essentiel des rues dans l'organisation de l'espace urbain, ont aussi fourni, de façon plus inattendue, l'occasion de s'interroger sur la diversité d'aspect des trottoirs, et de constater la complexité de leurs fonctions et des phénomènes dont ils étaient le lieu. Il a donc paru nécessaire qu'une étude spécifique leur soit consacrée<sup>2</sup>. En effet un observateur attentif ne manquera pas de repérer, au long des kilomètres de trottoirs que Pompéi (fig. 1) offre au regard, des traces de décor de sol, des discontinuités, des surélévations, des emmarchements, des aménagements divers qui contribuent à donner au site son caractère à la fois familier et pittoresque, mais incitent aussi à la réflexion. C'est ainsi que, comme dans nos villes contemporaines, le trottoir s'abaisse face aux portes charretières, de façon à faciliter l'accès des véhicules (fig. 2), et qu'en cas d'irrégularité dans l'alignement des édifices, l'uniformité de la largeur de la chaussée est souvent assurée par une modification de celle du trottoir. Par exemple, devant la maison I, 6, 15 (fig. 3), pour compenser la divergence d'orientation entre la façade de l'immeuble et l'axe de la voie, le trottoir subit un élargissement de 25 cm de l'ouest vers l'est. Cette tendance est particulièrement nette dans la *regio* VI, où ce procédé est presque systématiquement employé. En revanche, le débordement de la façade de la maison de Cérès (I, 9, 13), sur la *via di Castricio* s'accompagne d'une avancée du trottoir impliquant un rétrécissement de la chaussée. Qu'il compense les irrégularités d'alignement des édifices, ou qu'il les répercute au contraire sur la voie, le trottoir joue un rôle non négligeable dans l'articulation, constitutive du paysage urbain, des constructions et des espaces libres, des édifices privés et de l'espace public. La reconnaissance de cette fonction incite à s'interroger sur le statut juridique du trottoir. On s'attachera ici à le reconstituer à travers l'étude des modalités concrètes de l'aménagement, de l'entretien et de l'usage des trottoirs visibles. L'enquête s'appuiera sur l'observation de leurs caractéristiques physiques

apparentes, et tout particulièrement de celles qui, par leur récurrence et leur régularité, ont paru se prêter à la typologie, la sériation et l'analyse spatiale, et permettre ainsi la constitution d'outils de recherche. L'entreprise, fondée sur l'examen des vestiges visibles, n'a pas pour objet de déterminer la date d'apparition des trottoirs et les étapes de leur diffusion dans la ville: si les éléments de chronologie relative fournis par la simple observation sont loin d'être négligeables, ils ne sauraient nous renseigner que sur les modalités d'élaboration progressive et de réfection des trottoirs, dont la datation elle-même dépend, sauf exception, de données que seule une fouille stratigraphique saurait fournir. Ces données sont encore trop rares<sup>3</sup>, et la publication des travaux extensifs effectués par S. C. Nappo<sup>4</sup> renouvellera cet aspect de la question. Nous nous contenterons donc ici d'inventorier les principaux éléments constitutifs des trottoirs, puis d'élaborer une typologie permettant aussi bien une étude statistique qu'une analyse spatiale, afin de mettre en évidence des phénomènes qui constituent autant d'indices pour une reconstruction des procédures de décision et d'exécution mises en jeu dans l'aménagement, l'entretien et l'usage des trottoirs. Tout au long de cette étude, l'unité adoptée pour les dénombrements et les manipulations statistiques est celle de la façade d'îlot: le

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Geertman 1998.

<sup>2</sup> Le rapport de recherches qui suit a été mis au point à la suite de quatre séjours effectués à Pompéi en août 1994, juin 1995, juin 1996 et juin 1997, au sein de la mission archéologique de l'Université de Leyde dirigée par le professeur Geertman, que je remercie vivement de m'avoir confié cette étude et de m'avoir aidée de ses conseils et suggestions, tant sur le terrain que lors de la rédaction de cet article. Les abréviations utilisées sont celles de l'*Archäologische Bibliographie* et du *Guide de l'Épigraphiste* (2<sup>e</sup> éd., Paris, 1989). Les photographies ont été prises par H. Knikman. Les figures au trait tirées de Eschbach 1970 et du *Corpus topographicum pompeianum* ont été complétées, sur mes indications, par F. Bodet.

<sup>3</sup> Voir notamment Maiuri 1930, 381-395 (=1973, 1-13) et Eschbach 1995, 113 et 116.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Nappo 1996, 37-38. B. Gesemann, dans le cadre d'une étude globale des rues de Pompéi, propose, en se fondant essentiellement sur les travaux de H. Eschbach, de dater de la "période du tuf", entre 150 et 70 av. J.-C., la diffusion des trottoirs (cf. Gesemann 1996, 206; voir aussi Eschbach 1995, 112-116, dont la synthèse, fondée sur des données archéologiques très dispersées et des textes d'interprétation délicate, nous paraît prématurée).



Fig. 1. Pompéi: plan d'ensemble. D'après H. Eschebach, Die städtebauliche Entwicklung des antiken Pompeji, Heidelberg, 1970. Réalisation H. Knikman.





*Fig. 2. Un exemple de porte cochère: IX, 2, N.*



*Fig. 3. I, 6, 15.*



mot “trottoir”, dès lors qu’il accompagne une indication numérique, désigne un trottoir longeant une façade d’îlot<sup>5</sup>.

# I. LIMITES ET REPÈRES: LES ÉLÉMENTS CONSTITUTIFS DES TROTTOIRS

Les phénomènes signalant la présence d’une limite entre la chaussée et le trottoir ou entre deux tronçons de ce dernier constituent pour le chercheur autant de points de repère. Les remarques qui vont suivre ne portent pas sur l’ensemble des rues de Pompéi, mais seulement sur celles qui ont fait l’objet de fouilles suffisamment approfondies et de nettoyages récents, et dont il est possible d’observer les trottoirs (cf. tableau 1 et fig. 1). Si la totalité du secteur occidental du site, correspondant aux régions VI, VII, VIII, a été fouillée, et si pour ces régions nos observations peuvent prétendre à l’exhaustivité, il n’en est pas de même des autres quartiers: le quart du territoire de la région I n’a pas été fouillé; de plus les trottoirs situés au sud du *vico di Castricio*, dans un secteur qui n’a fait l’objet que de fouilles superficielles, ne sont en général pas visibles. 65 % de la surface de la région IX et 60 % de celle de la région V n’ont pas été fouillés. Enfin, à l’exception de ceux qui s’étendent le long de la *via di Nola*, de la *via dell’Abbondanza* et de la *via di Nocera*, les trottoirs des régions II, III et IV sont invisibles. De plus, sur l’ensemble du site, vingt et une façades d’îlots ne sont pas, en raison de leur état de fouille ou de conservation, actuellement susceptibles d’être décrites sur toute leur longueur avec suffisamment de précision pour notre étude.

Dans la grande majorité des cas observables, les rues de Pompéi sont dotées de trottoirs plus ou moins larges, surélevés par rapport à la chaussée, soit que cette dernière ait été creusée à partir d’un niveau originel représenté par le trottoir, soit, plus rarement semble-t-il, que le trottoir ait été remblayé, voire construit en maçonnerie au-dessus de la chaussée<sup>6</sup>. Si cette dernière est le plus souvent dallée, il n’y a pas nécessairement de concomitance entre la présence d’un dallage et celle d’un trottoir: sur le *vicolo del Citarista*, devant la façade est de l’îlot I, 3 (fig. 4), la rue, apparemment non dallée, comporte un trottoir calcaire. Délimités par une bordure faite de blocs oblongs de tuf, de calcaire ou de lave posés parallèlement à l’axe de circulation de la chaussée, qui s’achève presque systématiquement par un grand bloc de lave à l’angle de l’îlot, les trottoirs sont parfois recouverts d’une mosaïque. Dans quelques cas le trottoir paraît absent, soit qu’il n’ait jamais existé, soit qu’il ait fait l’objet d’un empiètement<sup>7</sup>. On remarque alors souvent un petit glacis

taluté, qui recouvre parfois un trottoir antérieur<sup>8</sup>. Le trottoir peut aussi ne couvrir que le long d’une partie de la façade de l’îlot: on parlera alors de “trottoir partiel” (fig. 5).

## A. Bornillons

De petits blocs de lave<sup>9</sup>, de forme grossièrement conique, sont parfois placés immédiatement à l’avant du trottoir sur la chaussée. On les voit le long de tous les types de bordure<sup>10</sup>. Ils peuvent se trouver – en particulier le long de l’axe formé par la *via delle Terme*, la *via della Fortuna* et la *via di Nola* – répartis sur toute la longueur d’un îlot (fig. 6), ou sur une bonne partie de sa façade, à des intervalles variables (de 130 à 690 cm), mais n’apparaissent souvent qu’à un, deux ou trois exemplaires (cf. tableau 2). Il s’agit peut-être alors de résidus de séries plus importantes. Il n’est pas toujours aisé de déterminer les rapports chronologiques existant entre la pose du dallage de la chaussée et celle des bornillons. La définition de leur fonction en est d’autant plus difficile. Elle peut avoir été de délimiter la largeur de la chaussée dans le cadre d’une procédure de bornage ou *terminatio*<sup>11</sup>, ou de contribuer à la

<sup>5</sup> Les trottoirs étudiés sont localisés, facultativement par le nom de la rue, toujours par l’indication de la région, de l’îlot, et de la façade concernée (N: nord; E: est; W: ouest; S: sud), et le cas échéant par l’indication d’un ou de plusieurs accès.

<sup>6</sup> Pour une description d’ensemble des rues de Pompéi, voir Nissen 1877, 516-572; Tsujimura 1991, 60-61, 71 fig. 7, 73; fig. 9, 75; fig. 10, 76; fig. 11, 80; fig. 12, 81, fig. 13 (plans et coupes de tronçons de rues avec leurs trottoirs), et en dernier lieu la synthèse de B. Gesemann (Gesemann 1996, 57-61 pour les trottoirs). Les travaux à paraître de S. C. Nappo nous éclaireront également sur la structure interne des trottoirs.

<sup>7</sup> Ex.: *via Marina*, le long du sanctuaire de Vénus, qui a empiété sur la voie.

<sup>8</sup> Ex.: *vico del Farmacista*, rive est; *vico di Mercurio*, VI, 5, S.

<sup>9</sup> Exemples de dimensions: 25x20x20 cm; 25x32x12 cm; 30x25x25 cm. Cf. Tsujimura 1991, 60-61. Le mot français “bornillon”, diminutif de “borne”, désigne dans les règlements de voirie du XIX<sup>e</sup> s. des éléments placés à l’avant du trottoir, qui semblent identiques à ceux que nous venons de décrire (cf. Bodet 1998, 403-404).

<sup>10</sup> Exemples: calcaire, *via di Nola*, V, 2, S; calcaire et lave, *via Stabiana*, VII, 2, E; lave, *via della Fortuna*, VII, 14, N; tuf, *via di Nola*, V, I, S. Voir aussi Kockel 1983, 10, pour le prolongement de la *via Consolare* au-delà de la Porte d’Herculanum.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Gesemann 1996, 58 n. 46. Pour une étude de la *terminatio* des rives du Tibre à Rome (ILS 59229-59334), voir Robinson 1992, 26, 90-91. Pour d’autres exemples de *terminatio*, voir notamment ILS 248, 311, 5937, 5938, 5943, 5982, 8208. À Pompéi, deux inscriptions osques mentionnant des travaux de voirie comportent les formes verbales *teremnaten* et *teremnast* qui correspondent d’après les éditeurs aux mots latins *terminaverunt* et *terminata est* (Vetter 1953, n° 8, cf. Morandi 1992, 124-125 n° 28: aménagement par des magistrats des rues “Pūmpīiana, Iūvīia, Dekkviarīm”; Vetter 1953, n° 9-10, cf. Rix 1979: aménagement de la rue “Sarinū”). L’interprétation exacte de ces formes verbales a suscité des difficultés: si pour Nissen (1877, 531-533), l’expression fait référence à la construction

cohésion et à la solidité du dallage et des bordures<sup>12</sup>, mais il peut aussi s'agir de chasse-roues, ou blocs de garantie, protégeant les bordures des trottoirs de chocs éventuels, ou, selon une hypothèse déjà ancienne, de montoirs<sup>13</sup>. Nos observations ne nous permettent actuellement de proposer aucune réponse tranchée. Cet aménagement est parfois soigné au point de sembler avoir pu jouer aussi un rôle esthétique: le long de la façade sud de la Maison du Labyrinthe (*vico di Mercurio*, VI, 11, S) se trouvent disposés quinze de ces blocs, placés, à de très courts intervalles, dans des encoches aménagées pour les recevoir dans la bordure du trottoir<sup>14</sup>.

### B. Blocs de bordure

La diversité d'aspect des trottoirs est due en partie à la diversité des matériaux employés dans leur aménagement. Les blocs bordant les trottoirs sont en tuf (tuf brun très tendre, ou tuf gris-bleu plus dur<sup>15</sup>), en lave (blocs oblongs réguliers, ou blocs cubiques irréguliers et usés), ou en calcaire. Sur l'ensemble du site, ces matériaux sont utilisés dans des proportions équivalentes (cf. tableau 3). Il arrive fréquemment que plusieurs matériaux différents apparaissent le long d'une même façade d'îlot. Cette diversité est parfois utilisée dans un but esthétique ou pour mettre en valeur un accès: par exemple, devant l'accès IX, 3, 15, deux blocs de calcaire, correspondant à la largeur de l'entrée, sont flanqués de deux blocs de lave. Des blocs de lave sont parfois intercalés, selon un rythme plus ou moins régulier, aux blocs de calcaire, sans qu'il s'agisse de réfection: l'association du calcaire et de la lave définit un type particulier de bordure. Les blocs de lave ainsi associés au calcaire peuvent être soit oblongs, comme le sont généralement les blocs de trottoir, soit plus trapus, d'une forme comparable à celle des bornillons. L'appartenance d'un segment de bordure à ce type est parfois douteuse en raison de sa faible longueur ou de son état de dégradation. Un cas particulier est fourni par la *via Consolare* qui présente sur ses deux rives, entre les îlots VI, 3 et VI, 4, des trottoirs formés de blocs de tuf avec de petits blocs de lave intercalaires. Les bordures incluent parfois des éléments en remploi (fig. 7). C'est ainsi que sur la rive ouest du *vico di Eumachia* (VII, 9, E) sont remployés, parmi des blocs de calcaire, des blocs de dallage formant un aménagement très grossier. Dans quelques rares cas, la bordure est constituée par un massif de maçonnerie de moellons liés au mortier. Les blocs de bordure peuvent être enfoncés dans le sol, à un niveau égal ou inférieur à celui des blocs de dallage de la rue, ou au contraire posés sur ces derniers; dans le premier cas ils ont été posés en même temps que le dallage ou avant lui, dans le second, leur pose est postérieure à celle du dallage:

il est donc possible d'établir la position stratigraphique du trottoir par rapport au dallage (cf. tableau 4). Le long de l'îlot I, 2 (fig. 4), la pose des blocs de tuf entre les accès 6 et 13 est contemporaine de celle du dallage; en revanche les blocs de calcaire et de lave plus au sud ont été posés au-dessus des blocs de dallage de la voie. Le long de l'îlot I, 10, devant la maison de Minucius (8), et l'échoppe 9, le trottoir actuel est en lave, mais au pied des blocs de lave affleurent les blocs d'un trottoir antérieur en calcaire (fig. 8). Ce cas est exceptionnel. D'autres indices chronologiques sont fournis par les réfections. L'usure des trottoirs rendait souvent nécessaire la substitution au bloc usé d'un autre, dont le matériau n'était pas toujours identique. Ainsi la bordure du trottoir s'étendant devant l'îlot I, 4 (fig. 4) était-elle à l'origine formée de blocs de calcaire de l'accès 12 à l'alignement du mur de séparation entre la boutique 8 et la *fulonica* de Passaratus et Maenianus (accès 7)<sup>16</sup>: les blocs de lave et de tuf visibles correspondent tous à des réfections. Ces réfections rendent parfois impossible, ou du moins très difficile, la reconstitution de l'état originel du trottoir: c'est ainsi que la partie nord du trottoir s'étendant devant ce même îlot I, 4 a fait l'objet de tant de restaurations, y compris très récemment, que son état originel, de l'angle nord-ouest de l'îlot jusqu'à l'accès 12, n'est plus perceptible. La réfection du trottoir pouvait aussi donner lieu – rarement – au doublement de la bordure par la juxtaposition au trottoir d'une nouvelle rangée de blocs (fig. 9), ou encore – plus souvent – à sa surélévation<sup>17</sup>, effectuée en superposant aux blocs préexistants une nouvelle série de blocs, en les enrobant de maçonnerie, ou en les reposant sur un lit maçonné. L'interprétation des massifs de maçonnerie qui

même des trottoirs, il s'agirait plutôt, pour les chercheurs ultérieurs, de délimiter la chaussée en largeur, en la séparant des futurs trottoirs (Antonini 1977, 324), ou en longueur, d'un point à un autre (Gulino 1986, à propos de la première de ces inscriptions). Ces deux dernières interprétations correspondent mieux en effet que celle de Nissen aux emplois habituels des mots latins *terminare*, *terminatio*.

<sup>12</sup> Nos bornillons auraient ainsi assumé la fonction des *gomphi* du texte de Stace décrivant la construction de la *Via Domitiana* (Silves, IV, 3, 48; cf. Duval 1959, 181-182, Chevallier 1998, 108-109).

<sup>13</sup> François de Paule Latapie, *Description des fouilles de Pompéi*, 1776, cité dans Grell 1982, 114.

<sup>14</sup> Le *vico di Mercurio* présente deux autres exemples d'aménagements atypiques du bord du trottoir: présence de 8 blocs de lave, d'une dimension supérieure à la moyenne générale des blocs de protection (VI, 15, S); présence d'un aménagement peut-être comparable à celui de VI, 11, S, mais concernant seulement deux blocs (VI, 12, N).

<sup>15</sup> Adam 1983, 18; Kawamoto, Tatsumi 1992, 93.

<sup>16</sup> Sur cette *fulonica*, cf. Eschebach 1970, 118; Uscatescu 1994, 62.

<sup>17</sup> Ex.: Laurence 1994, 136 pl. 9.1.



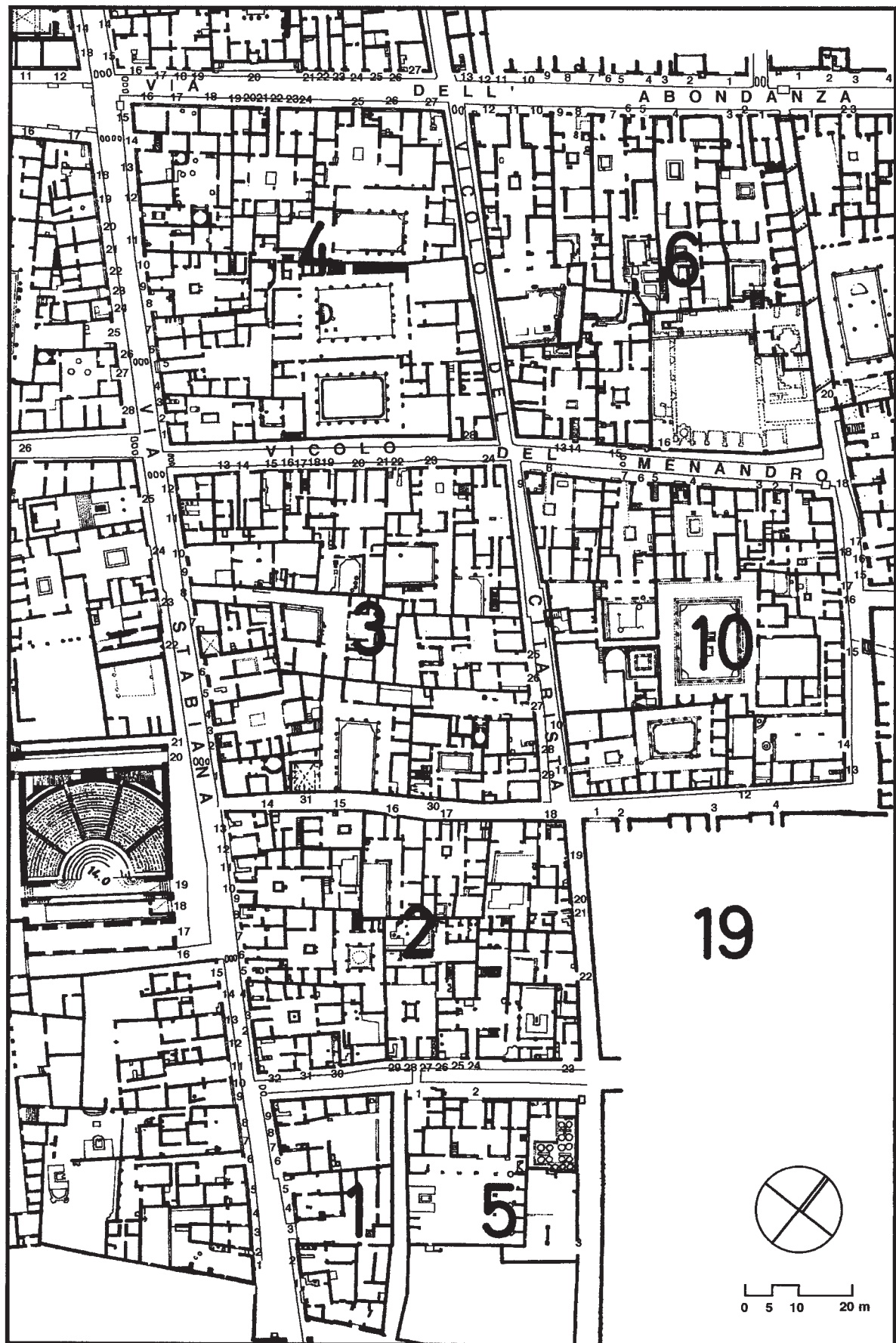


Fig. 4. Via Stabiana et vicolo del Citarista. D'après H. Eschebach, Die städtebauliche Entwicklung des antiken Pompeji, Heidelberg, 1970.





*Fig. 5. VI, 5, 22: un exemple de trottoir partiel.*



*Fig. 6. V, 1: bornillons.*





*Fig. 7. IX, 6, W: un exemple de remploi.*



*Fig. 8. I, 10, W: les blocs de bordure d'un trottoir antérieur affleurent sous le trottoir du dernier état.*



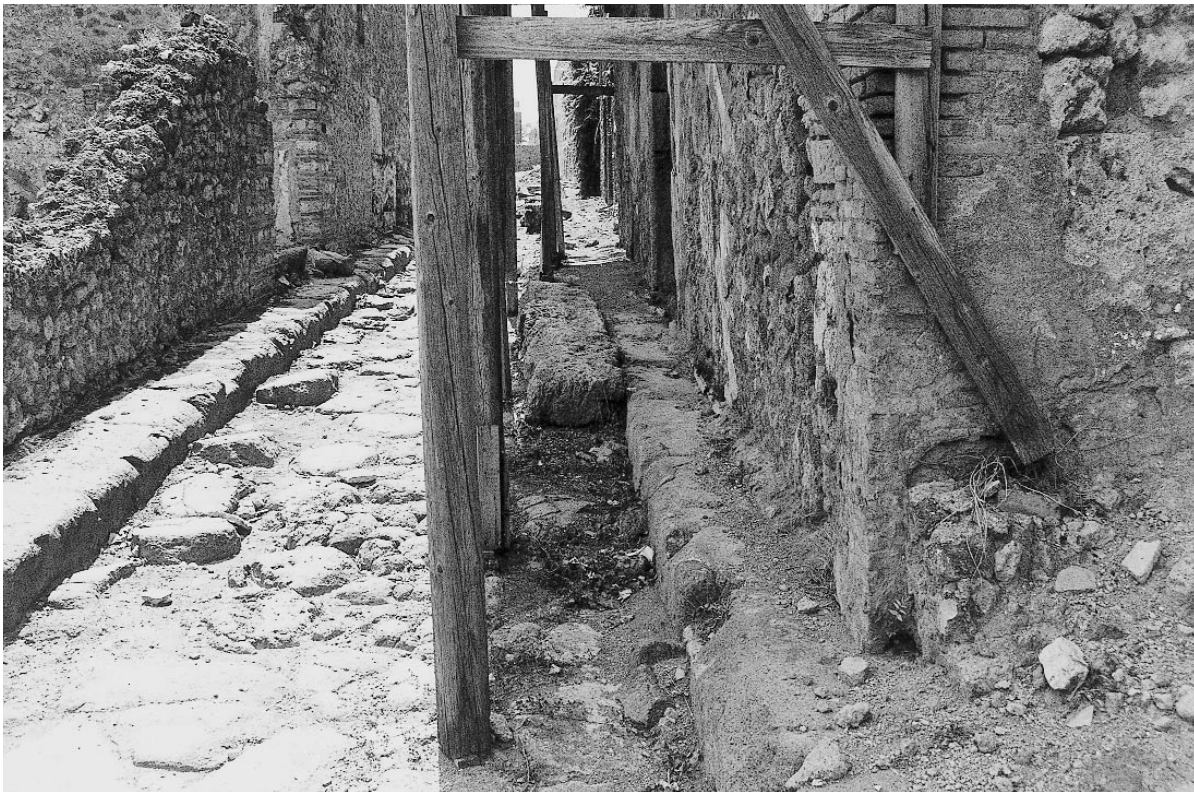


Fig. 9. *Vico del Balcone pensile*: un exemple de doublement du trottoir par juxtaposition d'une nouvelle rangée de blocs aux blocs originels.

remplacent parfois les blocs de bordure<sup>18</sup> est cependant délicate: ils semblent en effet dans certains cas correspondre à un état premier, et non à une réfection, en particulier lorsqu'ils permettent une surélévation du trottoir rendue nécessaire moins par une usure de ce dernier que par la déclivité du terrain, par une volonté de prestige, ou par l'existence, entre la maison et la rue, d'un dénivelé important<sup>19</sup>, qui peut lui-même être dû soit au relief soit à une réfection de la maison. Certains des glacis talutés déjà signalés recouvrent des trottoirs qui leur sont donc antérieurs. L'association étroite des trottoirs avec certains des édifices qu'ils longent constitue un autre critère de datation. Par exemple, l'extrémité nord du *vico di Tesmo*, entre les îlots IX, 4 et IX, 5 (fig. 10), a été fermée à la circulation des véhicules et rétrécie lors de l'aménagement des *Terme Centrali*: sur la rive ouest de la rue, le trottoir longeant les *Terme Centrali*, et dont l'angle originel est encore visible *via di Nola*, a été déplacé vers l'est et surhaussé<sup>20</sup>. Ce réaménagement ne peut qu'être contemporain de la construction des thermes.

Dans le cadre de ce premier travail, ces remarques concernant la chronologie ne seront exploitées que

dans l'élaboration de la typologie des trottoirs, à laquelle elles fourniront des bases plus assurées. Lors de recherches ultérieures, elles pourront contribuer à retracer l'évolution des trottoirs d'un îlot, d'un quartier, voire de l'ensemble de la ville.

### C. Blocs de séparation

Sur le trottoir, perpendiculairement à l'axe de la voie, est parfois visible un bloc – ou un alignement de deux ou trois blocs –, de lave ou de calcaire, parfois de tuf, occupant tout ou partie de la largeur du trottoir, et qui s'intègre dans quelques cas à sa bordure. La facture de ces blocs peut être plus ou moins soignée. Les plus luxueux se trouvent le long des voies les plus importantes: l'un d'eux, visible *via di Mercurio*, entre les accès 23 et 24 de l'îlot VI, 8, est en marbre (fig. 11). Ces blocs correspondent souvent

<sup>18</sup> Ex.: I, 4, E, sur un tronçon; *vico del Farmacista*, VII, 6, W; *vico di Narcisso*, VI, 1, E (par endroits).

<sup>19</sup> C'est le cas surtout à l'extrémité ouest de la ville (VII, 15; VII, 7, *Insula occidentalis*).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Tsujimura 1991, 78-80.

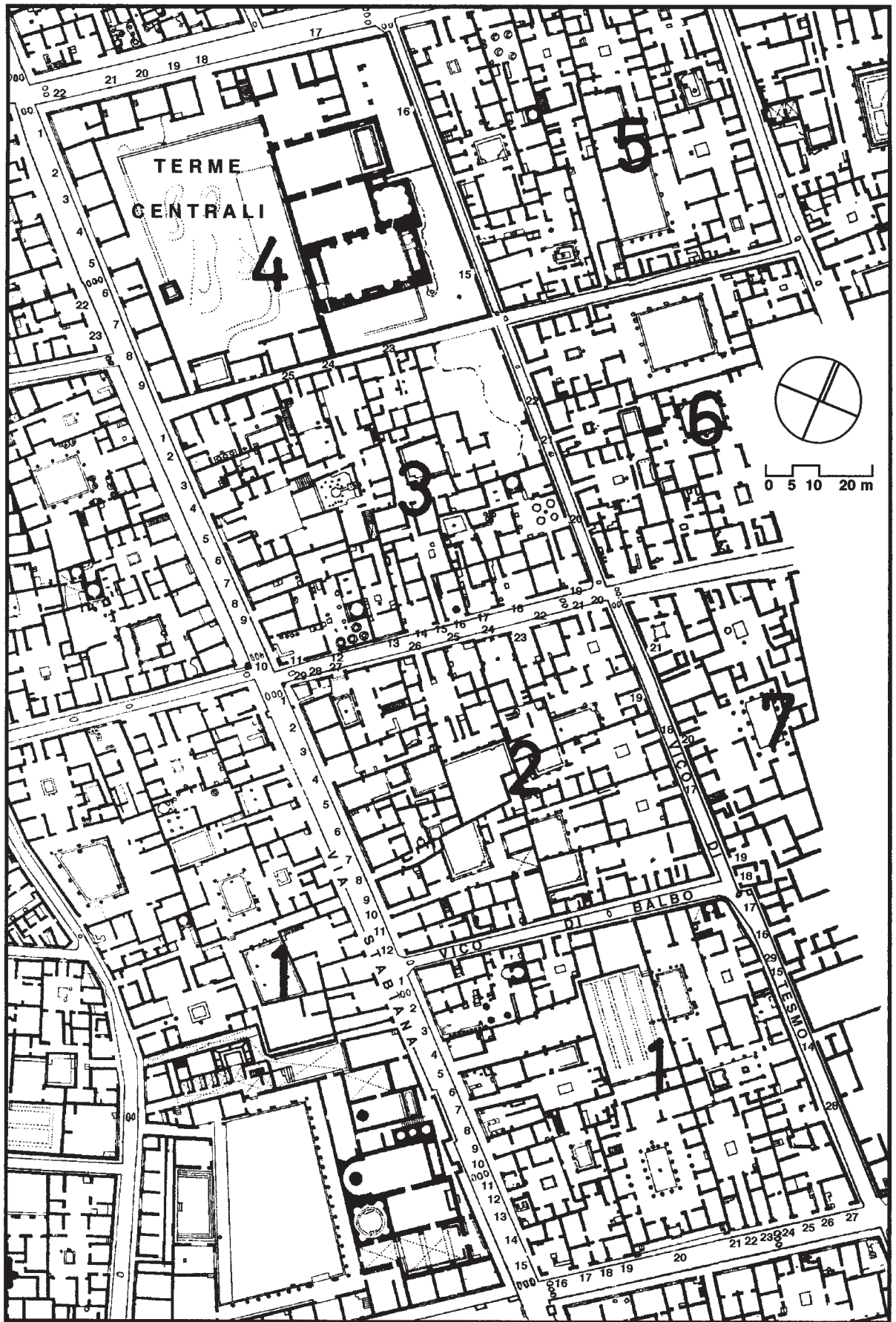


Fig. 10. Via Stabiana et vico di Tesmo. D'après H. Eschebach, Die städtebauliche Entwicklung des antiken Pompeji, Heidelberg, 1970.



à une limite entre deux ensembles architecturaux : *via delle Scuole*, l'un de blocs prolonge la ligne de rencontre, visible en façade, d'un mur en *opus incertum* et d'un autre en *opus reticulatum*, appartenant respectivement aux unités correspondant aux accès 13 et 14 de l'îlot VIII, 2 (fig. 12); *via degli Augustali*, le long de la façade sud de l'îlot VII, 4, un tel bloc se trouve dans l'alignement de l'axe médian du mur de séparation entre la *casa del Mercante di Vino* (21-22) et l'édifice correspondant à l'accès 23. Ces blocs peuvent soit avoir l'une de leurs faces située ou bien dans le prolongement de l'un des parements du mur séparant les deux ensembles, ou bien dans le prolongement de l'axe médian de ce mur, soit, plus rarement apparemment, avoir leur axe médian aligné avec le parement ou l'axe médian du mur de séparation (tableau 5a).

Trois types de blocs se dégagent (tableau 5b). Les uns (type I) isolent un segment de trottoir, sans correspondre à une modification de facture de la bordure : leur fonction semble être de manifester au public la singularité et le prestige de la maison dont ils marquent ainsi les limites. Ces marqueurs sont présents en particulier le long de la *via dell'Abbondanza* : le trottoir longeant l'accès, rendu monumental par son perron surélevé, de la maison IX, 1, 20, est isolé par deux de ces blocs (fig. 13); le long de l'îlot VIII, 5, deux blocs, situés entre les accès 23 et 24 d'une part, 26 et 27 d'autre part, signalent la porte et une boutique de la *casa del Medico*, deux autres, situés entre les accès 7 et 8 d'une part, 9 et 10 d'autre part, jouent le même rôle pour la *casa del Giudizio di Salomone*. On rapprochera de ces blocs, dont la fonction peut être qualifiée d'ostentatoire, ceux qui signalent, *via degli Augustali*, l'entrée du Macellum. D'autres (type II) correspondent à un changement de facture du trottoir : c'est le cas du bloc de séparation visible le long de la façade ouest de l'îlot VI, 9 (fig. 14), qui se situe à la jonction d'une bordure en calcaire et d'une bordure en tuf; *via dell'Abbondanza*, le long de la façade sud de l'îlot IX, 7, un bloc visible entre les accès 2 et 3 se situe à la jonction d'une bordure en tuf et d'une bordure en calcaire; recouvert par la mosaïque qui orne le sol du trottoir, il n'assume donc aucune fonction ostentatoire, dans le dernier état de la ville au moins. De tels blocs sont souvent intégrés à la bordure du trottoir. Il arrive enfin qu'un bloc se distinguant par son matériau apparaisse au sein d'une bordure par ailleurs uniforme, en correspondance avec la limite entre deux propriétés riveraines, et sans fonction ostentatoire évidente : le long de la façade occidentale de l'îlot IX, 7, dans l'axe médian d'un mur situé entre les accès 15 et 14, un bloc de calcaire est inséré parmi les blocs de tuf. De tels blocs ont été

répertoriés, dans le cadre de la présente étude, comme des blocs de séparation (type III). Les blocs de séparation dépourvus de valeur ostentatoire devaient assumer une fonction technique dans le cadre du processus d'aménagement et d'entretien des trottoirs : assurer la cohésion d'un segment achevé avant les autres, ou constituer un point de repère pour l'organisation ou le financement des travaux. Divers facteurs, tels que la pose d'un revêtement mosaïqué, l'usure ou des travaux de réfection, antiques ou récents, peuvent avoir fait disparaître certains d'entre eux<sup>21</sup>, et nos observations ne peuvent en rien prétendre à l'exhaustivité.

#### D. Revêtements de sol

Des revêtements de sol, de types divers (mosaïque de galets, *opus signinum* simple, à plaquettes ou à tesselles, *lavapesto* simple ou à plaquettes...), et souvent mal conservés<sup>22</sup>, sont parfois visibles : certains ont été repérés et étudiés<sup>23</sup>, mais les autres semblent avoir échappé à l'attention des chercheurs<sup>24</sup>. La relative fragilité de ces revêtements, exposés au passage de millions de touristes, fait penser qu'un grand nombre d'entre eux ont été détruits. Ils semblent souvent individualiser un segment de trottoir s'étendant devant la façade ou l'entrée d'une maison : plusieurs types de revêtement se succèdent parfois le long d'un même îlot, la jonction entre deux revêtements correspondant à la limite entre deux édifices<sup>25</sup>. La dépendance de certains au moins de ces décors de sol par rapport aux propriétés riveraines est parfois indiquée par leur continuité typologique avec le revêtement de sol de certaines des pièces de la maison qu'ils longent<sup>26</sup>, et se trouve même hautement proclamée dans le cas, notamment, de l'inscription *Have* devant l'entrée de la maison du Faune (fig. 15)<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> S. C. Nappo a eu la gentillesse de nous signaler la découverte, lors de sondages effectués le long des trottoirs, de plusieurs de ces blocs.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Adam 1983, 27; Eschebach 1995, 117.

<sup>23</sup> V, I, S: *Pompei, Pitture e Mosaici*, III, Roma, 1991, 483 fig. 1; VI, 6, S: Pernice 1938, 47; VI, 12, S (*Casa del Fauno*): Pernice 1938, 90, pl. 42, 1, Pesando 1996, 199-200, Zevi 1998, 24-26; VI, 15, E: Pernice 1938, 103, pl. 47, 1, *Pompei, Pitture e Mosaici*, V, Roma, 1994, 589, fig. 18; VI, 16, E: Seiler 1992, 20, Stemmer 1992, 16; VIII, 2, N: Pernice 1938, 97, pl. 44, 2; VIII, 5, N: Pernice 1938, 46, pl. 14, 5.

<sup>24</sup> I, 4, S; I, 8, E; I, 8, W; I, 15, N; II, 8, W; V, 3, E; V, 4, W; VI, 17, VI, 1, W; VI, 2, W; VI, 5, E; VI, 7, W; VI, 8, S; VI, 8, W; VI, 14, E; VII, 16, E; VII, 16, S; VIII, 2, E; VIII, 3, N; IX, 1, S; IX, 3, S; IX, 5, S; IX, 5, W; IX, 7, S; IX, 9, W.

<sup>25</sup> Ex.: V, 3, E; IX, 7, S.

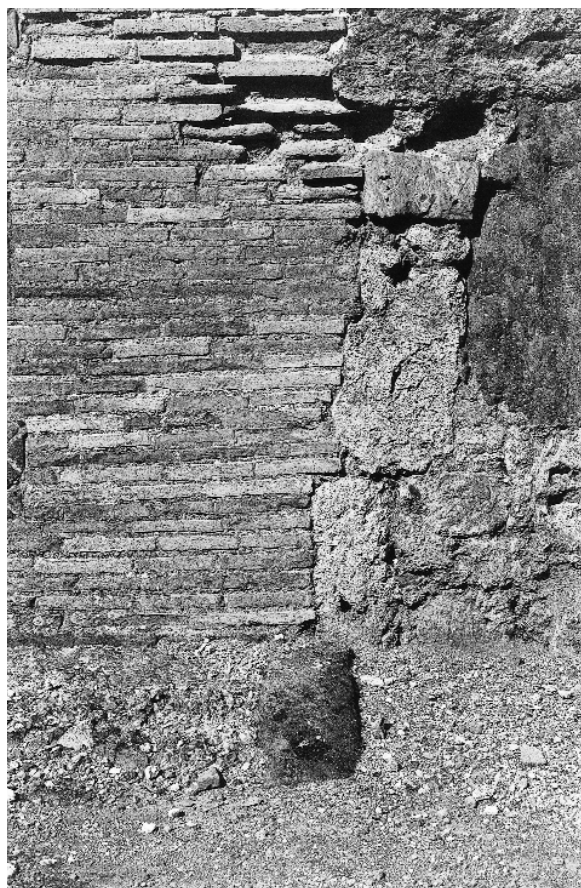
<sup>26</sup> VI, 6, S; VI, 15, E (cf. *supra*, note 23).

<sup>27</sup> Sur cette inscription et les discussions qu'elle suscite, voir en dernier lieu Pesando 1996, 199-200, et Zevi 1998, 24-26.





*Fig. 11. Via di Mercurio: bloc de séparation entre VI, 8, 24 et VI, 8, 23.*



*Fig. 12. Via delle Scuole: bloc de séparation entre VIII, 2, 14 et VIII, 2, 13.*



*Fig. 13. Via dell'Abbondanza, IX, 1, 20.*





*Fig. 14. Via di Mercurio, casa di Meleagro, VI, 9, 2: bloc de séparation.*



*Fig. 15. VI, 12, S.*

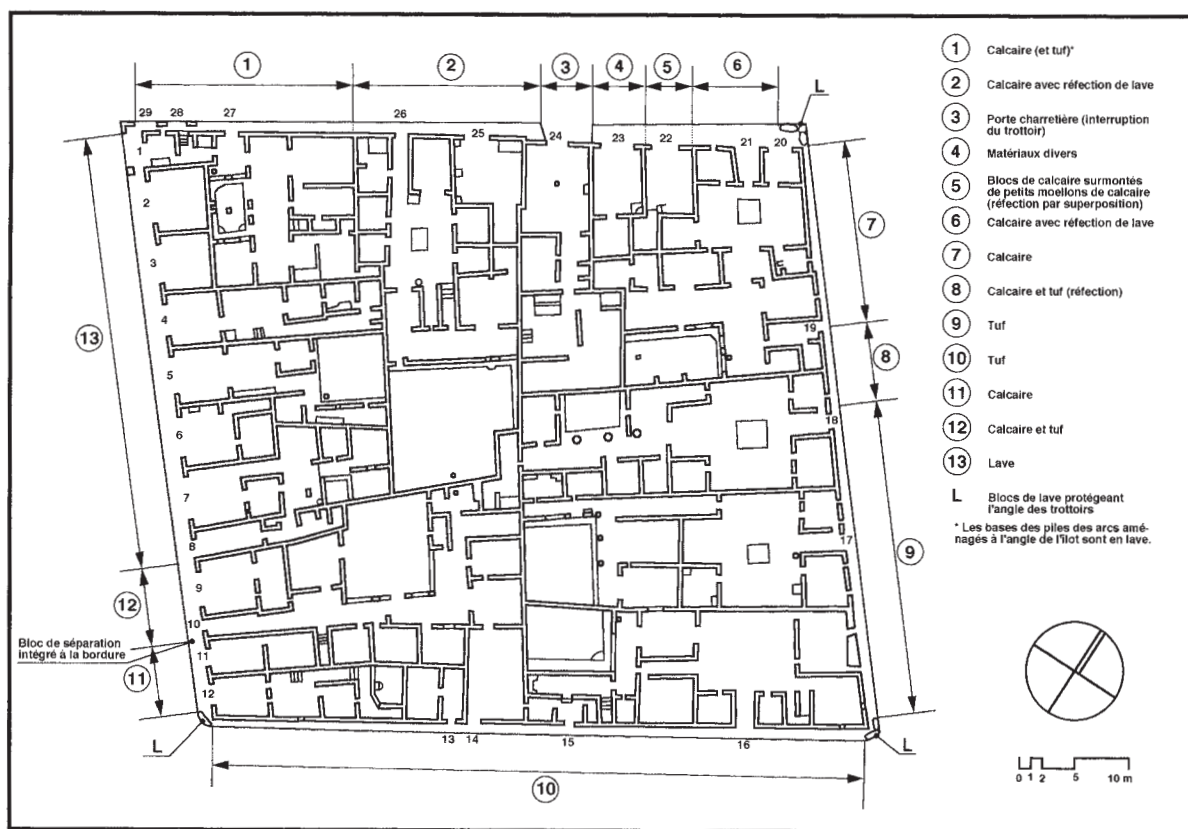


Fig. 16. IX, 2. D'après le plan du *Corpus topographicum pompeianum*, sous la dir. de H. B. Van der Poel (digitalisé par Studio di Architettura, Roma).

## II. DE L'ORGANISATION DES TROTTOIRS AUX PROCES-SUS D'AMÉNAGEMENT

Les éléments constitutifs qui viennent d'être répertoriés (cf. tableau 6) sont autant de points de repère organisant notre perception des trottoirs: si les bornillons soulignent la démarcation entre le trottoir et la chaussée, les changements de matériau ou de mise en œuvre de la bordure, ainsi que les blocs de séparation et le chatoiemment des revêtements de sol, définissent, le long d'un même îlot, une segmentation plus ou moins accentuée du trottoir. Enquêtant, dans cette première étape, sur les processus d'établissement des trottoirs, à l'échelle de l'ensemble du site, nous ne tiendrons compte ni des blocs de séparation ostentatoires, ni des revêtements, qui constituent des aménagements secondaires, mais uniquement de la bordure et des blocs de séparation à fonction technique.

### A. L'organisation des trottoirs

Le long d'une même face d'îlot, les variations de

matériau ou de facture de la bordure, ou encore les blocs de séparation, articulent en tronçons distincts le trottoir qui sera qualifié ici de "segmenté". Lorsque le trottoir s'interrompt sur une partie de la façade de l'îlot, il est alors "partiel". Les trottoirs partiels, considérés comme des variantes de trottoirs segmentés, leur sont associés dans les décomptes qui vont suivre. 67,2 % des trottoirs étudiables sont segmentés ou partiels (cf. tableau 12), articulés en tronçons dont le nombre varie de deux à douze, les trottoirs divisés en plus de quatre segments étant toutefois assez rares (cf. tableau 7). Cette segmentation, qui peut être le résultat de réfections (ex: rive nord de l'îlot IX, 2, fig. 16), semble souvent aussi remonter à l'aménagement originel du trottoir. Ces deux modalités de segmentation se conjuguent souvent le long de la façade d'un même îlot.

### 1. Segmentation et limites de propriété

La segmentation des trottoirs, qu'elle soit originelle ou secondaire, correspond souvent à des limites de



propriété. Sur la *via Consolare*, le long de la façade ouest de l'îlot VI, 1 (fig. 17), se succèdent la lave, le calcaire, puis, après la porte cochère 4, à nouveau la lave, la maçonnerie devant la maison de P. Varenus Zethus (6-8), le calcaire devant la maison du Chirurgien et les boutiques qui la flanquent (9-12), la lave devant la *statio Salininiensium* (13), le tuf devant les *horrea salis* (14-16), la lave devant la *taberna* 17, le tuf devant la *taberna* 18. Le long de la rive est de la *via Stabiana* (fig. 10), la *fullonica* IX, 3, 1-2<sup>28</sup> est longée par un trottoir de tuf; aux deux boutiques qui lui succèdent correspond un tronçon calcaire; le reste de l'îlot est longé par un trottoir associant calcaire et lave; cette partie de l'îlot comporte la grande demeure de Marcus Lucretius (accès 5-24)<sup>29</sup> et des boutiques et ateliers<sup>30</sup>. Cette segmentation s'opère en fonction du prolongement sur le trottoir des limites entre les constructions telles qu'elles se présentent en façade d'îlot, les contours d'un fonds, à l'intérieur de l'îlot, pouvant être très irréguliers. Le caractère rigoureux de la correspondance entre la segmentation du trottoir et celle de la propriété est particulièrement bien perceptible lorsque l'orientation des divisions internes de l'îlot n'est pas perpendiculaire à celle des voies, mais oblique par rapport à celles-ci, et que la limite entre deux segments du trottoir se situe dans le prolongement exact d'un mur de séparation (cf. fig. 18: IX, 1, W).

L'extrême précision de la correspondance entre les limites des constructions et la segmentation du trottoir permet parfois – lorsque tous les indices concordent – de mettre en évidence l'existence ou l'absence d'un rapport de mitoyenneté entre deux maisons. Le droit distingue en effet deux régimes distincts pour un mur séparant deux biens-fonds voisins: lorsque la limite entre deux parcelles passe par l'axe médian du mur qui les sépare, ce dernier constitue alors un mur mitoyen; en revanche, lorsque la limite de propriété correspond à l'un des parements du mur séparatif, ce dernier appartient alors entièrement et exclusivement à celui des propriétaires sur le fonds duquel il est construit, et se trouve éventuellement grevé de servitudes au profit du fonds voisin<sup>31</sup>. Dans une ville comme Pompéi, où les édifices construits à l'intérieur d'un même îlot sont régulièrement séparés par un mur unique, et non par deux murs périphériques qui seraient accolés ou séparés par un *ambitus*, lorsque deux parcelles voisines sont construites en même temps, les deux voisins peuvent décider de construire à frais communs un mur mitoyen à cheval sur la limite de propriété, mais peuvent également opter pour un régime de servitudes: l'un des propriétaires construit alors le mur sur sa parcelle, et l'autre l'utilise grâce à une servitude d'appui ou de support; lorsque l'une

des constructions est antérieure à l'autre en revanche, la seconde est nécessairement appuyée sur la première, dont le mur périphérique doit être grevé d'une servitude, à moins que le constructeur ne décide de racheter la moitié du mur, qui devient dès lors mitoyen, car c'est son statut juridique, et non sa nature physique, qui définit le mur mitoyen. Si la démonstration de l'existence d'un rapport de mitoyenneté entre deux fonds n'a pas en elle-même d'implication chronologique, elle n'en contribue pas moins à enrichir l'histoire de ces édifices, et permet de mieux apprécier la nature des obligations réciproques entre les deux voisins. À Pompéi, cette démonstration peut parfois – lorsque tous les indices concordent – être effectuée au moyen de l'étude attentive de la jonction entre deux segments de trottoir, et de la localisation d'un éventuel "bloc de séparation"<sup>32</sup>. Par exemple, le long de la façade orientale de l'îlot V, 1, se succèdent un trottoir en lave et un trottoir en tuf; la jonction entre ces deux trottoirs se situe dans l'alignement de l'axe médian du mur de séparation entre la maison du *Torello di Bronzo* (accès 7 sur la façade sud de l'îlot, 9 sur la façade est) et la maison de C. Iucundus (accès 23-26 sur la façade ouest de l'îlot, 10 sur la façade est): ce mur, à cheval sur la limite entre les deux parcelles, est donc un mur mitoyen (cf. fig. 19-20). En revanche, *Via di Nola*, sur le trottoir de l'îlot V, 2, le parement ouest du bloc de séparation placé entre l'accès 8 et l'accès 9 se trouve aligné avec le parement ouest du mur de séparation entre les deux édifices correspondants à chacun de ces accès: ce mur de séparation se trouve entièrement sur la parcelle de l'édifice correspondant aux accès 9-12. Si l'édifice correspondant aux accès 6-8 est appuyé sur ce mur, c'est vraisemblablement grâce à l'existence, à son profit, d'une servitude grevant ce mur<sup>33</sup>. Mitoyenneté et non-mitoyenneté coexistent donc sur le site de Pompéi.

## 2. Pour une typologie de la segmentation

L'observation de la segmentation des trottoirs telle qu'elle nous apparaît aujourd'hui, et la mise en rapport de cette segmentation avec les limites actuelles

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Eschebach 1970, 148; Uscatescu 1994, 142.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Eschebach 1970, 149.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Tsujimura 1991, 81 fig. 13.

<sup>31</sup> Rainer 1988; Saliou 1994, 39-71.

<sup>32</sup> L'examen des façades peut également fournir d'autres indices: en cas de mitoyenneté, si l'un des voisins décide d'orner d'un enduit sa façade, la limite de l'enduit correspondra à la ligne médiane de la tête du mur de séparation.

<sup>33</sup> Autre exemple: *via di Nola*, IX, 5, N, entre les accès 7 et 8 (la jonction entre la bordure de tuf et la bordure de calcaire se situe dans l'alignement du parement ouest du mur de séparation).



Fig. 17. Via Consolare. D'après H. Eschbach, *Die städtebauliche Entwicklung des antiken Pompeji*, Heidelberg, 1970.

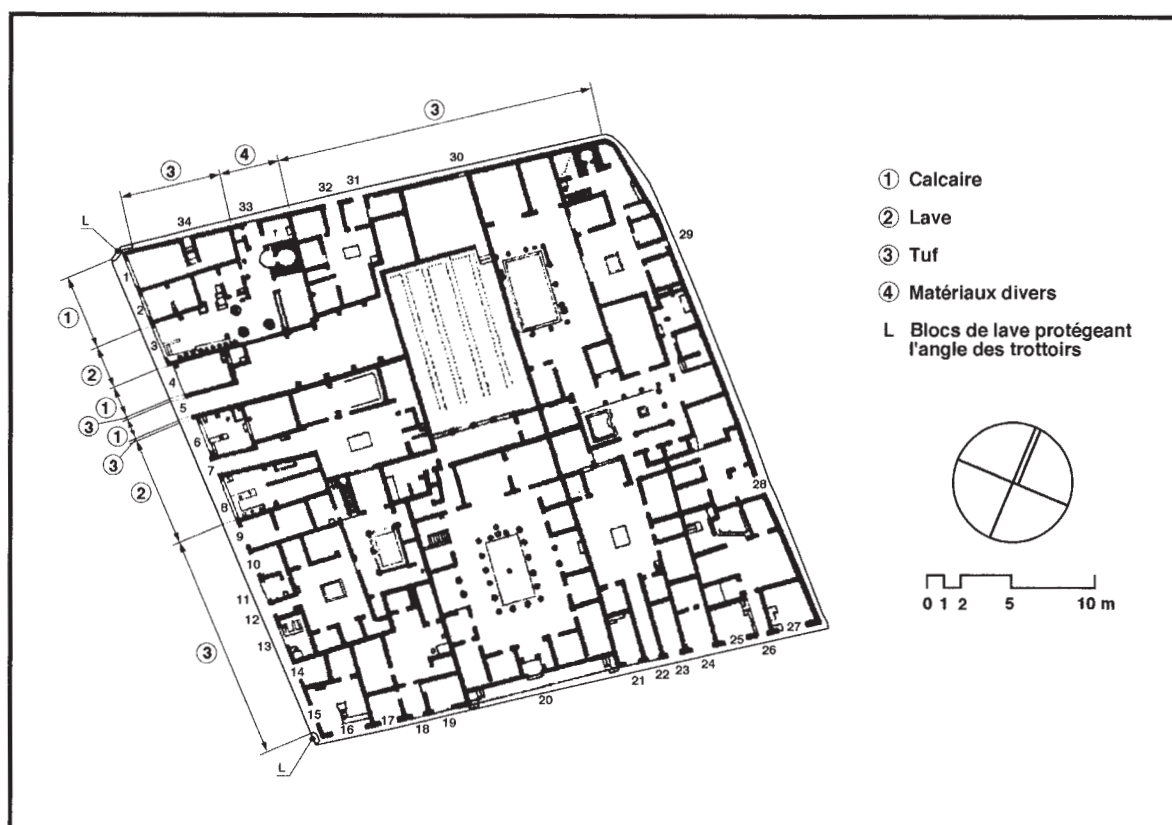


Fig. 18. IX, I, W et N. D'après H. Eschbach, *Die städtebauliche Entwicklung des antiken Pompeji*, Heidelberg, 1970.

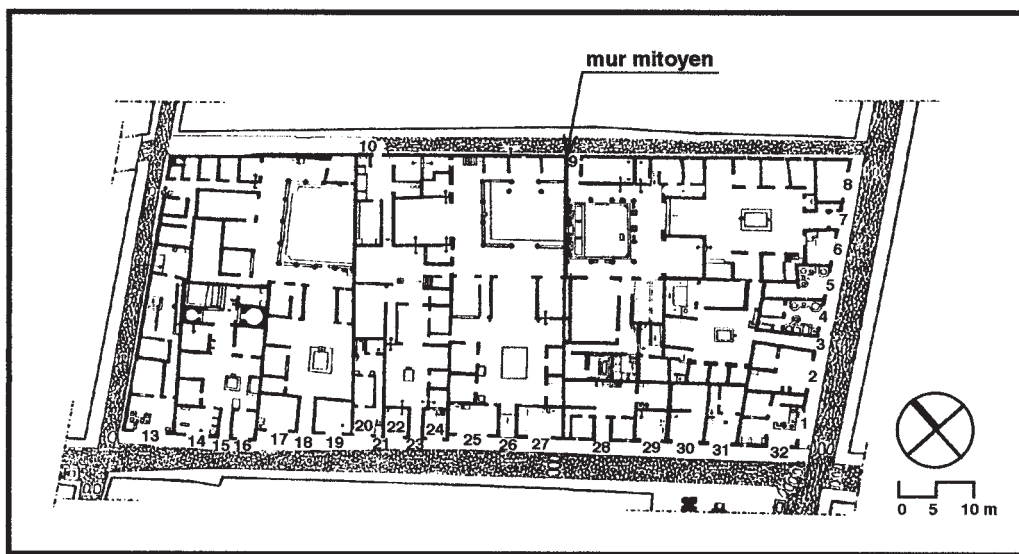


Fig. 19. V, 1, 9 et V, 1, 10. D'après *Corpus topographicum pompeianum. IIIA: The insulae of regions I-V*, sous la dir. de H. B. Van der Poel, Roma, 1986.

des différentes unités architecturales de chaque îlot, permet, sans préjuger de leur genèse, de répartir les trottoirs en trois groupes et de bâtir ainsi une typologie (cf. tableau 8). Au fil de cette étude, on distinguera unité de construction (ensemble de murs d'appareil sensiblement homogène et correspondant vraisemblablement à une même séquence de construction), unité architecturale (ensemble de pièces accessibles de la rue par la même entrée), et unité de propriété (ensemble d'unités architecturales appartenant à un même propriétaire).

Dans certains cas (type A1), à chaque unité architecturale (ensemble de pièces accessibles de la rue par la même entrée), correspond un segment de trottoir: le trottoir longeant la *via Stabiana* devant l'îlot I, 1 (fig. 21) par exemple, est caractérisé par la plus extrême segmentation. Chacun des établissements qui se succèdent le long de l'îlot comporte son propre trottoir: un trottoir en tuf est visible devant la taverne 1, un trottoir en calcaire devant la taverne 2 jusqu'au piédroit de la porte charretière (3); après cette porte, l'*hospitium* correspondant aux accès 5 à 3<sup>34</sup> est longé par un trottoir en matériaux divers, très dégradé; l'*hospitium Hermetis*<sup>35</sup> (accès 9-6) est bordé par un trottoir associant tuf et calcaire, lui aussi interrompu par une porte charretière (8).

Plus souvent cependant, le trottoir s'organise en segments s'étendant le long de plusieurs unités architecturales. Il peut s'agir alors soit d'une maison flanquée de locaux commerciaux et artisanaux qui en constituent vraisemblablement des dépendances,

formant avec la résidence une seule unité de propriété (type A2a), soit de deux ou plusieurs maisons apparemment indépendantes (type A2b). Il arrive au reste que les deux phénomènes se conjuguent au long d'une même façade d'îlot, ou qu'il soit difficile de trancher entre dépendance et association (type A2c). Un exemple du type A2a est fourni par le trottoir qui s'étend le long de la *via Stabiana* devant l'îlot IX, 1 (fig. 18): les boutiques 1 et 2 sont dotées d'un trottoir calcaire; à l'échoppe 3 correspond un tronçon de lave; devant les accès 4 et 5, la bordure est en calcaire, agrémentée de deux blocs de tuf, disposés dans le prolongement exact de chacun des murs périphériques de l'accès 5; une bordure en lave est à nouveau visible devant les accès 6-7-8, qui correspondent à une maison flanquée de deux tavernes<sup>36</sup>; le reste du trottoir, qui s'étend devant une maison privée entourée de boutiques, est en tuf, avec trois blocs de calcaire qui semblent correspondre à des réfections. La façade est de l'îlot I, 3 (fig. 4) est longée par un trottoir calcaire. Malgré l'unité de matériau, le trottoir est segmenté et constitue un exemple du type A2b: un bloc de séparation sépare le segment longeant les trois échoppes correspondant respectivement aux accès 27, 28, 29, de celui qui borde la maison 25-26, et qui se distingue

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Kleberg 1957, 33.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Kleberg 1957, 34-35.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Kleberg 1957, 42.





Fig. 20. Rapport de mitoyenneté entre V, 1, 9 et V, 1, 10: la jonction entre les deux segments (tuf et lave) du trottoir se fait dans l'alignement de l'axe médian du mur de séparation.

de celui qui longe la maison voisine par une rupture d'alignement. Le tronçon médian a fait l'objet d'une réfection<sup>37</sup> qui empêche d'établir la chronologie relative des différents tronçons.

Une catégorie particulière est constituée par les trottoirs globalement homogènes, mais dont un segment, face à l'une des constructions riveraines, se distingue de l'ensemble par son matériau ou sa facture (type A3): c'est ainsi que le long de la façade orientale de l'îlot IX, 2 (fig. 16), dotée d'un trottoir homogène en tuf, la maison correspondant aux accès 19-21 est dotée de son propre trottoir calcaire. La jonction entre les deux bordures a été brouillée par une réfection, probablement consécutive à l'aménagement d'une conduite passant sous la maison 18 et sous la rue.

La correspondance entre la segmentation du trottoir et les limites des constructions riveraines peut n'être que partielle (type B). La désobéissance du trottoir

à l'organisation du bâti de l'îlot s'explique souvent par des impératifs techniques (type B1): les réfections en particulier semblent souvent n'avoir concerné que la partie du trottoir effectivement endommagée, et ce sont souvent ces opérations qui brouillent la correspondance entre les segments du trottoir et les unités architecturales (cf. *supra*, IX, 2, E). Dans la plupart des cas, les trottoirs de type B se laissent interpréter comme des trottoirs de type A2 dont l'ordonnance aurait été brouillée par une ou des réfections (ex.: VI, 16, W; VII, 13, N): le type A2 pourrait bien être, parmi les trottoirs segmentés, le type dominant. Il arrive aussi que ces désobéissances puissent être interprétées comme le symptôme de l'autonomie ou de la spécificité d'une partie d'un édifice (type B2): l'îlot IX, 4, entièrement occupé par les *Terme Centrali* et les boutiques qui les flanquent (cf. fig. 10) est longé par un trottoir bordé de façon continue de blocs oblongs de lave, à l'exception d'un tronçon refait entre 2 et 3 (deux blocs de calcaire, un bloc de lave sur maçonnerie) et du tronçon qui s'étend devant la boutique 9, constitué de six blocs de calcaire suivis de cinq blocs de lave sur maçonnerie, correspondant à une réfection. Ce tronçon, à l'origine entièrement bordé de calcaire, échappe donc au processus de construction du trottoir de lave. Les cabarets et restaurants sont fréquemment dotés, quel que soit leur rapport avec les édifices voisins, d'un trottoir spécifique. Beaucoup plus rarement, il s'agit de mettre en valeur un segment limité du trottoir, devant une entrée par exemple: l'objectif n'est plus technique, mais ostentatoire (type B3).

Dans quelques cas, la segmentation du trottoir ne s'explique pas dans le cadre de la segmentation actuelle de la propriété, mais doit être mise en rapport avec un état antérieur de cette dernière (type B4): conjointement avec l'analyse archéologique des façades, l'étude des trottoirs devient un outil de reconstitution de l'évolution du parcellaire urbain de Pompéi. Par exemple, le bloc de séparation visible entre I, 7, 10 et I, 7, 11 (cf. fig. 22-23) est un héritage d'une situation ancienne: dans leur état actuel, les deux unités d'habitation ont été réunies dans la *casa dell'Efebo*. Un cas identique est présenté par le bloc de séparation visible *via di Mercurio*, entre les accès VI, 8, 23 et VI, 8, 24 (fig. 11 et 24): les deux maisons correspondant à ces accès forment maintenant la *casa della Fontana Piccola*. Toujours dans la *via di Mercurio*, un bloc de séparation se situe dans le prolongement de la limite entre le mur en *opus quadratum* de l'atrium de la *casa di Meleagro* (VI, 9, 2) et le mur en *opus incertum* limitant son

<sup>37</sup> Plusieurs blocs ont visiblement été enlevés, puis retournés et remis en place.

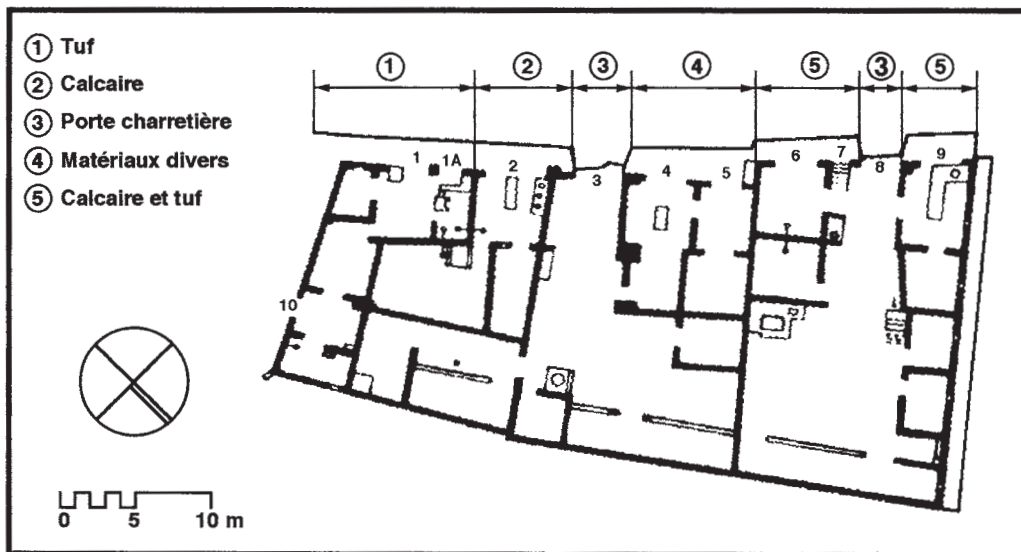


Fig. 21. I, I, W. D'après *Corpus topographicum pompeianum*. IIIA: The insulae of regions I-V, sous la dir. de H. B. Van der Poel, Roma, 1986.

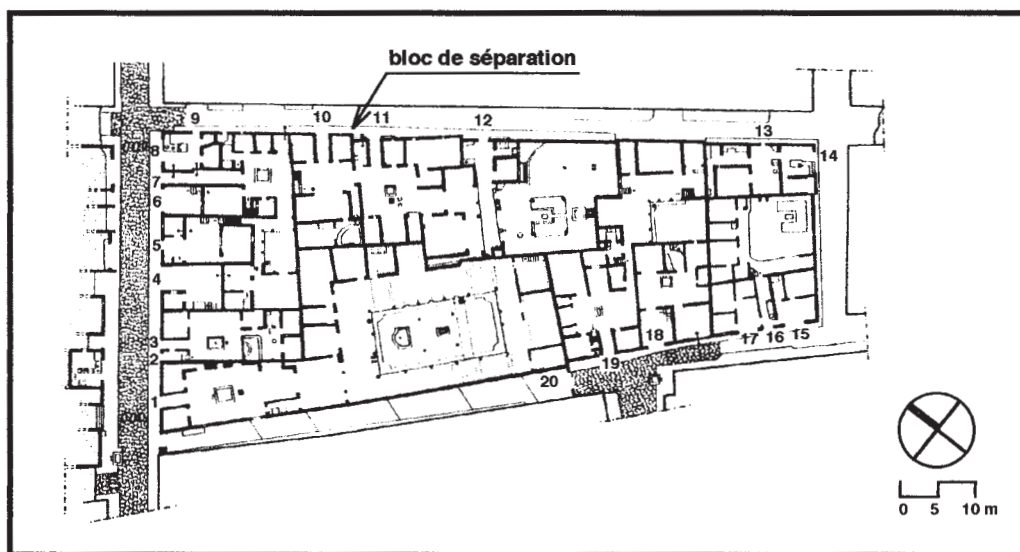


Fig. 22. Bloc de séparation entre I, 7, 10 et I, 7, 11. D'après *Corpus topographicum pompeianum*. IIIA: The insulae of regions I-V, sous la dir. de H. B. Van der Poel, Roma, 1986.

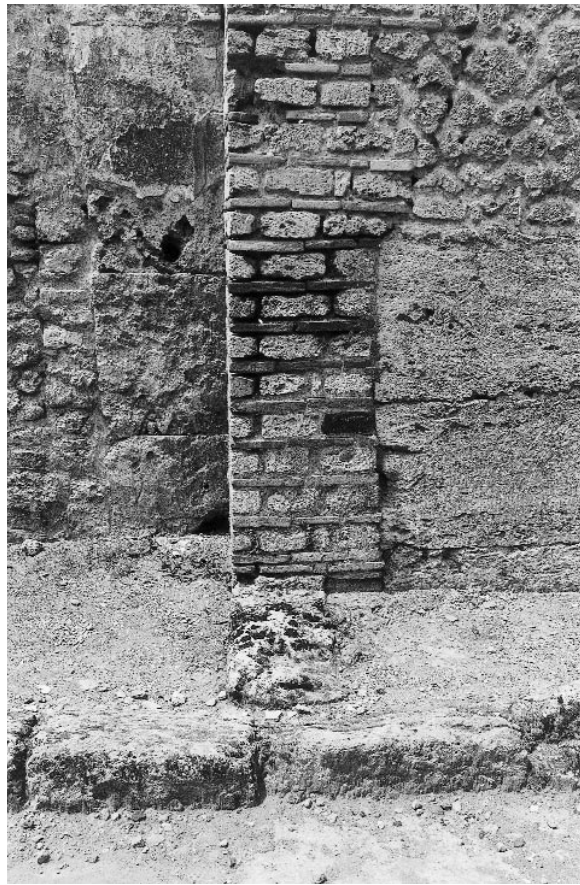


Fig. 23. Bloc de séparation entre I, 7, 10 et I, 7, 11.

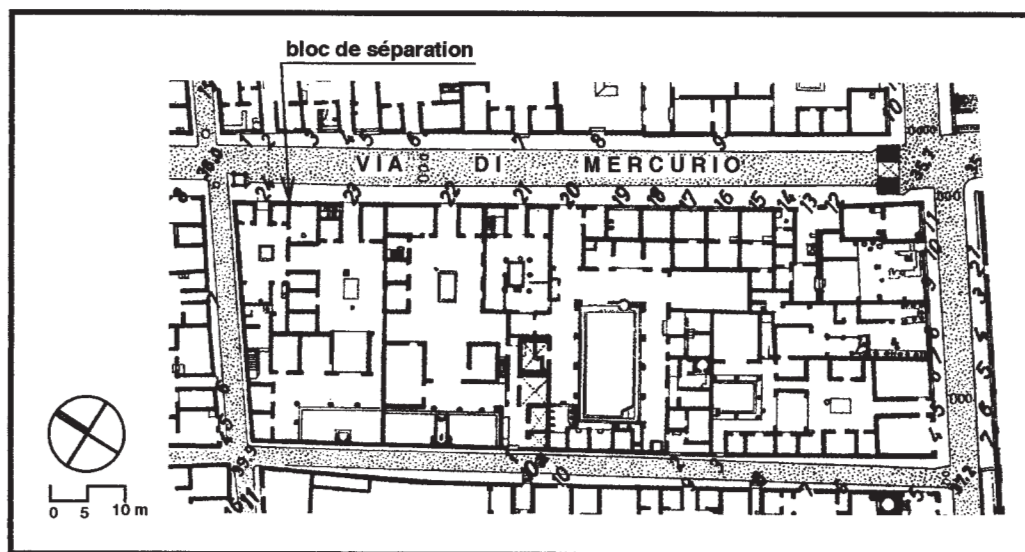


Fig. 24. Bloc de séparation entre VI, 8, 24 et VI, 8, 23. D'après H. Eschbach, *Die städtebauliche Entwicklung des antiken Pompeji*, Heidelberg, 1970.



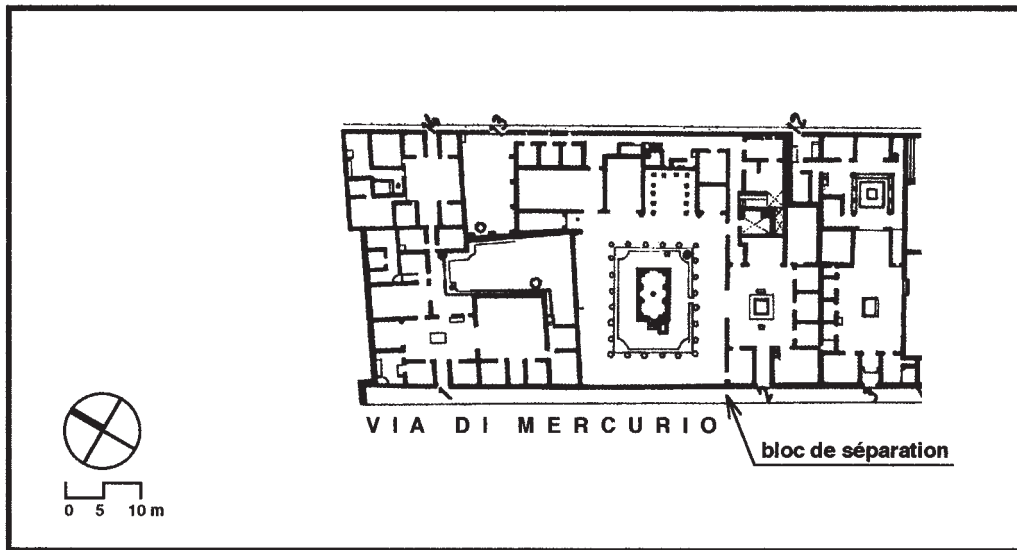


Fig. 25. Casa di Meleagro. D'après H. Eschebach, *Die städtebauliche Entwicklung des antiken Pompeji*, Heidelberg, 1970.

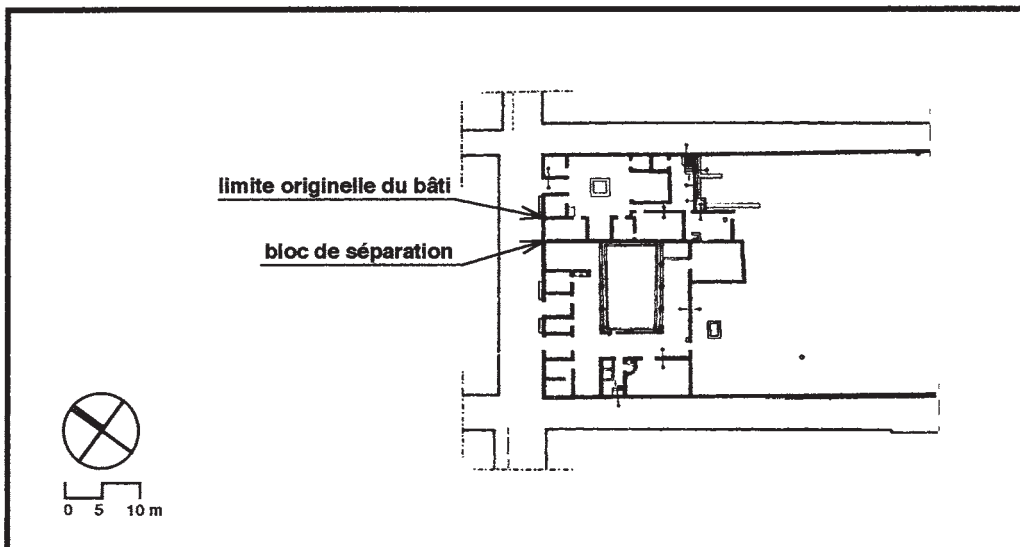


Fig. 26. Via di Castricio, I, 15, N. D'après *Corpus topographicum pompeianum. IIIA: The insulae of regions I-V*, sous la dir. de H. B. Van der Poel, Roma, 1986.



Fig. 27. *Via di Castricio, I, 15, N.*

péristyle actuel, qui constitue apparemment une addition secondaire au noyau initial de la maison (fig. 14 et 25). Plus complexe est le cas de la façade nord de l'îlot I, 15 (fig. 26-27): sur les trois éléments d'analyse du parcellaire – étude du trottoir, étude du plan de l'îlot, examen de la façade –, l'observation du trottoir et l'analyse du plan de l'îlot fournissent des indications concordantes entre elles, mais contredites par l'étude de la façade. En effet, la limite marquée à la fois par un bloc de séparation et par une modification de la largeur et de la facture du trottoir ne correspond à rien dans l'état actuel de l'îlot, où une seule grande propriété occupe la totalité de la façade, mais signale l'existence antérieure de deux édifices distincts dont les éléments constitutifs sont en effet repérables sur le plan actuel. Toutefois la limite indiquée par le trottoir ne correspond pas à l'ancienne limite du bâti, toujours signalée dans la façade par la tête du mur sur lequel s'est appuyée l'extension ultérieure de l'édifice: il s'agit vraisemblablement de la limite d'une parcelle comportant à l'origine une partie construite et un passage latéral. Le trottoir dans son état actuel aurait été construit au moment de l'agrandissement de la maison, ou de sa

réunion avec la maison voisine, par l'aménagement de pièces dans le passage entraînant la condamnation de l'ouverture elle-même au moyen d'un mur, qui techniquement se distingue à peine de celui de l'ensemble voisin. Le trottoir constitue donc une source sur l'évolution de la morphologie du tissu urbain.

S'il arrive qu'il ne semble pas possible de mettre en relation la segmentation du trottoir et celle de l'îlot riverain (type C), il s'agit souvent de façades d'îlots occupés par une unique unité architecturale (type C1), ou encore de trottoirs ayant subi des réfections si importantes qu'ils en sont devenus illisibles (type C2).

### 3. De la segmentation à l'homogénéité

La fréquence de la coïncidence entre segmentation du trottoir et organisation de la propriété confirme l'hypothèse déjà exprimée<sup>38</sup> selon laquelle l'aménagement comme l'entretien des trottoirs s'opèrent en fonction des limites de propriété. L'obéissance de la

<sup>38</sup> Gesemann 1996, 60.



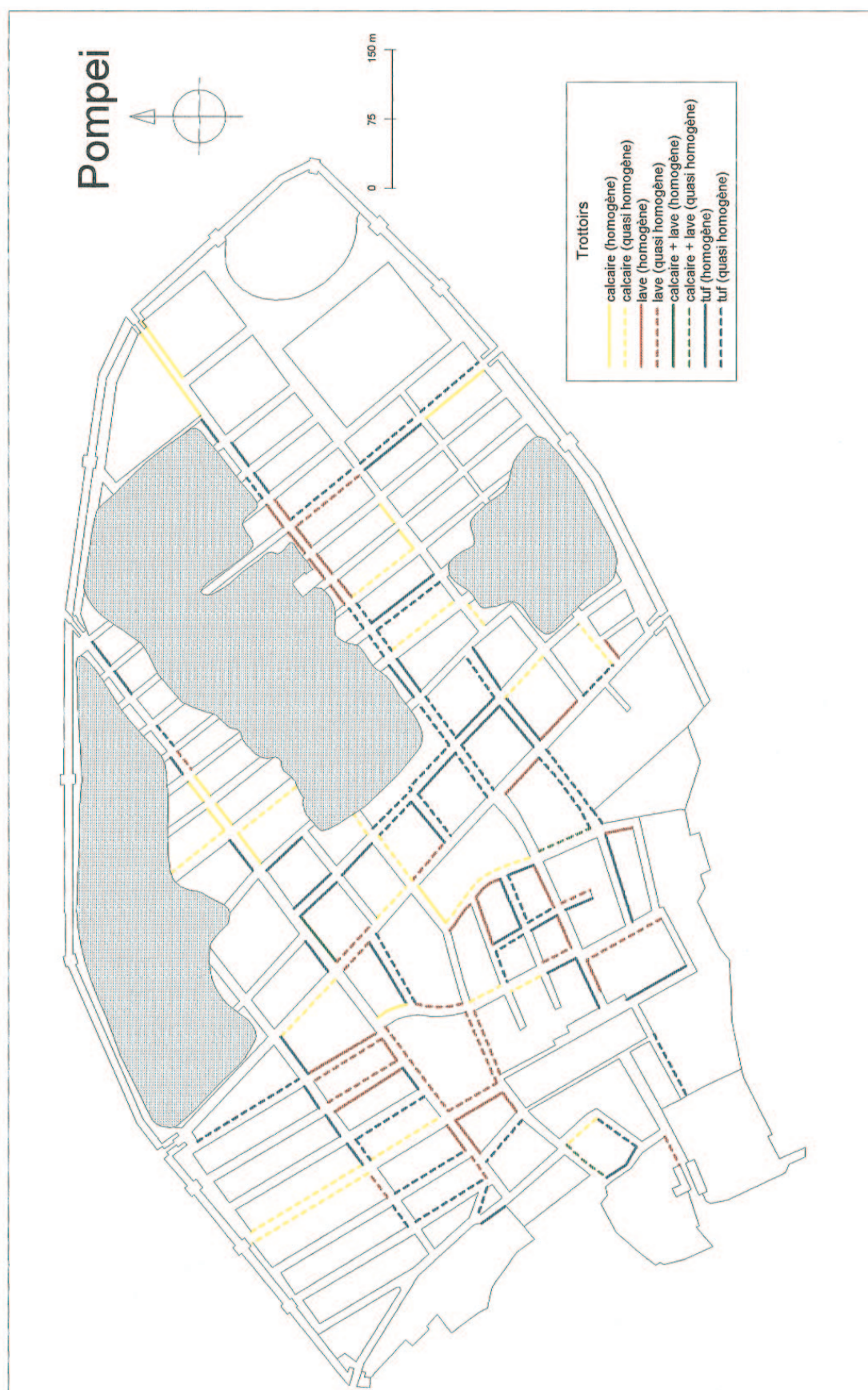


Fig. 28. Pompéi: trottoirs homogènes et quasi homogènes. Fond de plan: H. Eschebach, Die Städtebauliche Entwicklung des antiken Pompeji, Heidelberg, 1970, Réalisation H. Knikman. Voir aussi fig. 1.



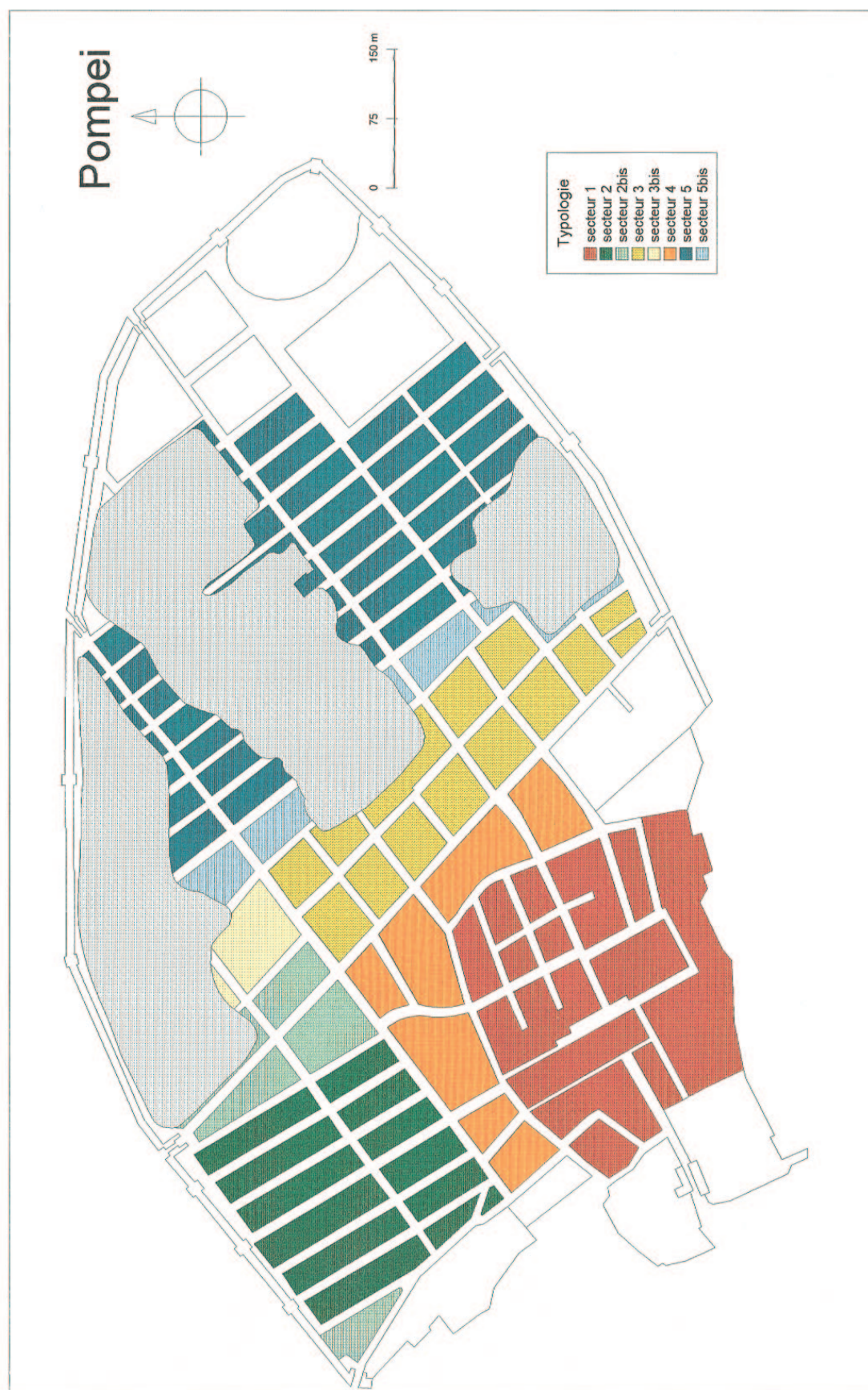


Fig. 29. Pompéi: les secteurs de développement de la ville. D'après H. Geertman, dans Sotto i lapilli, sous la dir. de J. Berry, Milano 1998, 18-19, fig. 13-16. Réalisation H. Knikman.

segmentation du trottoir par rapport à la segmentation de la propriété n'implique cependant pas que le trottoir soit une simple projection sur la rue de l'espace privé, et que son aménagement dépende de la seule volonté individuelle de chaque propriétaire riverain, puisqu'un même trottoir peut border plusieurs maisons accompagnées de leurs dépendances: sauf à considérer que toute la série d'édifices appartient à un même propriétaire, il faut poser l'hypothèse de procédures de décision et d'exécution mettant en cause une instance collective, association de riverains ou autorité publique. Cette hypothèse trouve une confirmation dans l'existence de trottoirs homogènes (cf. tableaux 14-15): dans un tiers des cas, le matériau constituant la bordure du trottoir est identique tout au long de la façade d'un même îlot<sup>39</sup>. Cette homogénéité s'étend parfois aux deux rives d'une même rue, ou à plusieurs îlots successifs. À ces trottoirs homogènes il convient d'ajouter les trottoirs quasi homogènes, c'est-à-dire les trottoirs de type A3, et ceux qui, tout en étant segmentés, sont caractérisés par la présence d'un matériau dominant. Les trottoirs de type A3 en effet sont somme toute des trottoirs uniformes à l'exception d'un unique segment correspondant à un édifice, et dont la genèse peut correspondre à une régularisation n'ayant pas affecté un segment préexistant, à une réfection localisée ou à une manifestation d'individualité d'un riverain. Quant aux trottoirs segmentés, mais caractérisés par la présence d'un matériau dominant, il s'agit de trottoirs initialement homogènes, mais dont l'unité a été altérée par des réfections opérées avec des matériaux différents, et qui ne peuvent être identifiés comme tels que dans le cadre d'analyses détaillées, ou de trottoirs dont la segmentation est signalée par la présence d'un bloc de séparation de type III, mais dont la bordure a été réalisée à l'aide de blocs de même matériau, mis en œuvre de façon identique. L'homogénéité n'est donc pas exclusive de la segmentation, puisque des trottoirs segmentés peuvent manifester une nette tendance à l'homogénéité, et que des trottoirs aménagés de façon globale font l'objet d'une réfection segmentée.

Le tuf, légèrement moins utilisé que les autres matériaux sur l'ensemble du site, est en revanche majoritairement employé pour les trottoirs homogènes (cf. tableaux 3 et 9). Le calcaire en revanche est sous-utilisé pour la réalisation de trottoirs homogènes: tout se passe comme si le calcaire était utilisé de façon préférentielle lors de travaux individuels, le tuf étant, lui, employé de préférence dans le cadre de réalisations collectives. L'association du calcaire et de la lave n'apparaît qu'à deux reprises. La lave occupe une position intermédiaire.

## B. Voies et quartiers: éléments d'analyse spatiale

Trottoirs homogènes et trottoirs segmentés ne se distribuent pas de façon uniforme à travers la ville (fig. 28). L'espace urbain de Pompéi s'organise en plusieurs sous-ensembles que différencient aussi bien leur organisation interne que leurs fonctions ou la chronologie de leur implantation. L'étude de la morphologie des îlots en particulier a permis à l'équipe du Professeur Geertman<sup>40</sup> de distinguer cinq grands secteurs (1, 2, 3, 4, 5), entre lesquels sont intercalés des îlots de transition (2 bis, 3 bis, 5 bis), et qui appartiennent vraisemblablement à des phases distinctes de l'aménagement urbain. La division traditionnelle de Pompéi en neuf régions date de 1858<sup>41</sup> et ne correspond ni à l'organisation antique en *uici*<sup>42</sup>, ni à une analyse du développement urbain de la ville. Tout au contraire, la région I par exemple, comme l'ont montré les travaux de l'équipe de l'Université de Leyde, regroupe en réalité les fragments de deux secteurs urbains distincts (cf. fig. 29). Dans les pages suivantes et les tableaux qui les accompagnent, nous ferons fréquemment référence, pour des raisons de commodité, aux régions définies au dix-neuvième siècle, mais nous essaierons aussi de mettre nos observations en rapport avec les conclusions de l'équipe de Leyde.

### 1. Répartition de l'homogénéité

La figure 28 et le tableau 10 rendent manifeste une concentration préférentielle de l'homogénéité et de la quasi-homogénéité le long de certaines rues. Le long de l'axe *via Vesuvio/via Stabiana*, le taux d'homogénéité est faible. Cet axe traverse la ville du Sud au Nord, d'une porte à l'autre, en longeant notamment le noyau ancien de la ville. L'éventuelle présence, antérieurement à la densification des constructions sur cette ancienne route, de trottoirs discontinus bordant des édifices isolés pourrait expliquer ce phénomène. En revanche, sur les axes est/ouest (*via dell'Abbondanza*; *via di Nola/via della Fortuna/via delle Terme*), le taux d'homogénéité est très supérieur à la moyenne, comme si ces axes avaient fait, de façon préférentielle, l'objet

<sup>39</sup> Un cas particulier est présenté par le trottoir longeant l'îlot IX, 2 (fig. 16) qui se divise en deux parties: il est en lave au nord de l'accès 8, en calcaire au sud de ce dernier. L'accès 8 est en effet en réalité un ancien passage, comme le montrent son plan actuel et la présence de deux blocs de lave semblables aux blocs qui se trouvent à l'angle des rues; à l'origine, deux demi-îlots séparés par ce passage, ultérieurement fermé à la circulation par deux blocs de calcaire, étaient chacun dotés d'un trottoir distinct, homogène pour chaque demi-îlot.

<sup>40</sup> Geertman 1998.

<sup>41</sup> Geertman 1998, 17.

<sup>42</sup> Sur cette organisation, voir notamment Castrén 1975, 79-82, et Eschbach 1995, 117-121.





*Fig. 30. Vico di Tesmo, vue d'ensemble vers le Sud.*



*Fig. 31. Rue entre I, 3 et I, 4.*



d'opérations d'ensemble. D'autres voies présentent une homogénéité remarquable: c'est le cas en particulier de la *via di Nocera*, de la *via di Mercurio*, artère principale de la région VI, qui présente un taux d'homogénéité supérieur au taux moyen de ce quartier, et de l'axe nord-sud constitué par le *vico di Tesmo* (cf. fig. 30) et le *vicolo del Citarista*, parallèles à la *via Stabiana*. Les trottoirs de cet axe semblent avoir été aménagés ou régularisés par une opération d'ensemble lors de l'urbanisation du secteur 3, soit dans le cadre de l'aménagement des circulations internes de ce secteur, soit pour doubler la *via Stabiana*. Son statut originel est d'autant plus difficile à préciser que des réaménagements ont considérablement diminué son importance: lors de la construction des *Terme centrali*, la largeur du *vico di Tesmo* entre les îlots IX, 4 et IX, 5 a été considérablement diminuée (cf. *supra* et fig. 4); c'est probablement à la même époque qu'a été installé au carrefour du *vico di Balbo* et du *vico di Tesmo* le bloc, toujours visible, limitant la circulation des véhicules.

Les données collectées dans la partie orientale de la ville (secteurs 3, 3bis, 5 et 5bis; cf. fig. 29 et tableau 11) ne permettent guère de conclusions, non seulement parce que cette zone n'est que partiellement fouillée et présente de plus relativement peu de trottoirs étudiables par rapport au nombre total de trottoirs visibles (57, 8 %), mais aussi parce que l'échantillon de trottoirs fourni privilégie les grands axes. L'importance de l'homogénéité dans les secteurs 3 et 5 s'explique ainsi en partie par la présence dans ces régions de cinq voies ayant fait l'objet d'opérations d'ensemble: *via dell'Abbondanza*, *via di Nola*, *via di Nocera*, *vico di Tesmo* et *vicolo del Citarista*.

Les différents secteurs de la partie occidentale de la ville, où la quasi-totalité des trottoirs sont étudiables, prêtent un fondement plus solide à une étude comparative. La segmentation est extrêmement importante dans les secteurs 2 et 2 bis, correspondant à peu près à la région VI (cf. tableaux 12-13 et tableau 15). L'étude des trottoirs permet ainsi de souligner la singularité de ce quartier résidentiel, dont R. Laurence<sup>43</sup> a montré qu'il s'agissait d'une zone à faible circulation où les rues n'ont qu'une fonction distributive mineure: le lien qui se dégage entre la tendance à l'homogénéité et une hiérarchie des voies – même si cette hiérarchie paraît parfois paradoxale, comme dans le cas de la *via Stabiana* et du *vico di Tesmo* – est ainsi confirmé par cet exemple *a contrario*. Un net contraste apparaît entre le secteur 4, qui présente un taux de segmentation très élevé, supérieur à celui de l'ensemble du site, et le secteur 1, caractérisé par une segmentation particulièrement faible, associée à une homogénéité remarquable

(cf. tableaux 13 et 15). Cette opposition se serait trouvée noyée dans le cadre d'une étude par régions: les régions VII et VIII, entre lesquels sont répartis les différents îlots des secteurs 1 et 4, présentent des taux de segmentation similaires, et assez semblables à ceux qui concernent l'ensemble du site (cf. tableau 12). Le secteur 1 constitue, à l'emplacement présumé du noyau urbain primitif, le centre administratif et politique de la ville.

## 2. Trottoirs homogènes et quasi homogènes: répartition des matériaux

Les trottoirs homogènes se répartissent en plusieurs groupes selon les matériaux utilisés (cf. fig. 28). Les trottoirs homogènes en calcaire apparaissent surtout dans le secteur oriental de la ville, le long de la *via dell'Abbondanza* et de la *via di Nola*, ainsi que le long de la *via di Castricio*, où les trottoirs sont cependant souvent trop mal visibles pour que l'on puisse en tirer des conclusions définitives. La lave est plus présente sur les axes est/ouest que sur les axes nord/sud: les trottoirs homogènes en lave apparaissent en particulier d'une part *via dell'Abbondanza* près du Forum, d'autre part dans l'ensemble constitué par les faces nord des îlots I, 11 à II, 1 et les faces sud des îlots III, 1 à III, 4, qui ont à l'évidence fait l'objet d'une opération d'ensemble. Les trottoirs homogènes et quasi homogènes en tuf sont surtout visibles d'une part sur les axes est/ouest (*via dell'Abbondanza*, *vico di Mercurio*), d'autre part dans le secteur situé immédiatement à l'est du Forum (quartier du *vico dei Scheletri*), dont la place très particulière qu'il occupe dans l'espace urbain, où il joue le rôle d'un noyau de connexions ("*integrating core*") a été soulignée par une étude récente<sup>44</sup>, et enfin le long du *vico di Tesmo* et du tronçon nord du *vicolo del Citarista*, ainsi que de plusieurs rues transversales (*vicolo del Menandro*; *via dell'Abbondanza* déjà citée entre I, 4 et IX, 1; *vico di Balbo*). L'unité d'aspect de cette zone, très frappante (fig. 30-31), suggère une opération d'ensemble et incite à s'interroger non seulement, comme nous l'avons fait plus haut, sur le rôle et le statut de l'axe nord-sud<sup>45</sup>, mais plus largement sur la spécificité de ce quartier au sein de l'espace urbain.

## 3. Les trottoirs homogènes en tuf: répartition des marques lapidaires

Des marques lapidaires sont parfois visibles sur les blocs de bordure du trottoir, ainsi que sur l'enceinte

<sup>43</sup> Laurence 1995, 73.

<sup>44</sup> Laurence 1995, 73.

<sup>45</sup> Sur les ornières du *vico di Tesmo* entre les îlots IX, 1-2 et IX, 7, cf. Tsujimura 1991, 75-78.

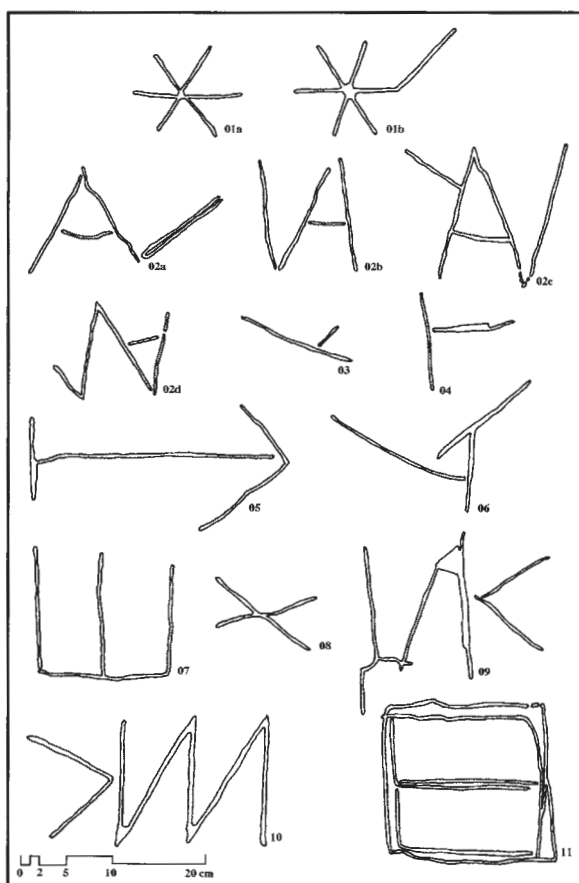


Fig. 32. Les principales marques lapidaires. Relevé C. Saliou (à l'exception de 01b et 10, tirés du CIL), mise au net F. Bodet.

01a: vico dei Scheletri, VII, 14; 01b: via di Nola, V, 3 (CIL IV, 5509, 13); 02a: vico delle Pareti rosse, VIII, 5; 02b: via del Tempio d'Iside, VIII, 7; 02c: vico della Maschera, VII, 11; 02d: vico della Maschera, VII, 14; 03: vico di Eumachia, VII, 9; 04: via del Tempio d'Iside, VIII, 7; 05: via delle Scuole, VIII, 3; 06: vico della Maschera, VII, 10; 07: vico del Labirinto, VI, 11; 08: via di Mercurio, VI, 9; 09: vico del Labirinto, VI, 11; 10: vicolo Championnet, VIII, 2 (CIL IV, 5509, 24); 11: vico del Labirinto, VI, 15.

et sur certains édifices. Un bon nombre d'entre elles ont été publiées<sup>46</sup>, mais elles n'ont pas encore fait l'objet d'une étude d'ensemble. Une étude systématique des marques visibles sur l'enceinte et les édifices, permettant d'élaborer une chronologie, serait indispensable: en l'absence d'une telle synthèse, les observations qui vont être formulées à propos des marques portées sur les blocs de trottoirs ne sont que préliminaires. Si les marques du rempart ont été tracées aussi bien sur des blocs de calcaire que sur des blocs de tuf, le long des trottoirs, les

blocs portant de telles marques sont tous en tuf<sup>47</sup>. Ces marques sont d'après G. Lugli<sup>48</sup> d'un usage fréquent en Italie, en particulier en Campanie, en Grande-Grèce et en Sicile. La combinaison de nos propres observations et des données publiées permet de dresser un inventaire des marques visibles le long des trottoirs comprenant au total 290 occurrences, dont 221 effectivement vues par nous<sup>49</sup>. Cet inventaire, s'il ne correspond qu'à un stade encore préliminaire de la recherche, permet cependant déjà quelques observations. Les marques pompéiennes (cf. fig. 32 et tableau 16) possèdent les caractères généralement attestés pour les marques lapidaires<sup>50</sup>: souvent inspirées de signes alphabétiques, constituées de lignes brisées, elles sont gravées le plus fréquemment sur le milieu des faces des blocs; la diversité de leurs orientations indique qu'elles ont été faites avant pose. Certains blocs portent deux marques, qu'il s'agisse d'une même marque répétée, éventuellement sur deux faces, ou de marques différentes. Les deux signes de loin les plus fréquents sont une croix à 6 branches (type 01), et un signe évoquant un A, ou plus exactement la ligature d'un A avec par exemple un V qui le précéderait ou le suivrait (type 02). Le type 01 apparaît également sur des blocs de l'enceinte et sur divers édifices<sup>51</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> Un inventaire systématique a été effectué par A. Mau (CIL IV, suppl., 5507-5509; voir aussi 10260) vérifiant et complétant les travaux de ses prédécesseurs. Certaines marques, parfois non repérées par Mau, ont aussi été publiées par divers savants, dans le cadre de l'étude spécifique de tel ou tel édifice ou quartier. Pour les marques de la Porta di Nola par exemple, on se reportera à Maiuri 1930-1931, fig. 28, col. 215-216. En ce qui concerne les marques visibles sur les blocs de trottoir, Noack et Lehmann-Hartleben (1936, 6; 8, fig. 2; 12-13; 168-170) fournissent des indications complémentaires pour les rues bordant l'îlot VIII, 2; des observations ponctuelles ont également été faites par Eschebach, 1982, 243, fig. 9, et Carocci et alii 1990, 27, pl. 2.2. R. Antonini annonce une publication de l'ensemble des marques de tâcherons (Antonini 1977, 318).

<sup>47</sup> Toutefois, une marque repérée par Mau, mais dont l'authenticité semble douteuse à ce savant, se trouve sur un bloc de lave (CIL IV, 5509, 40).

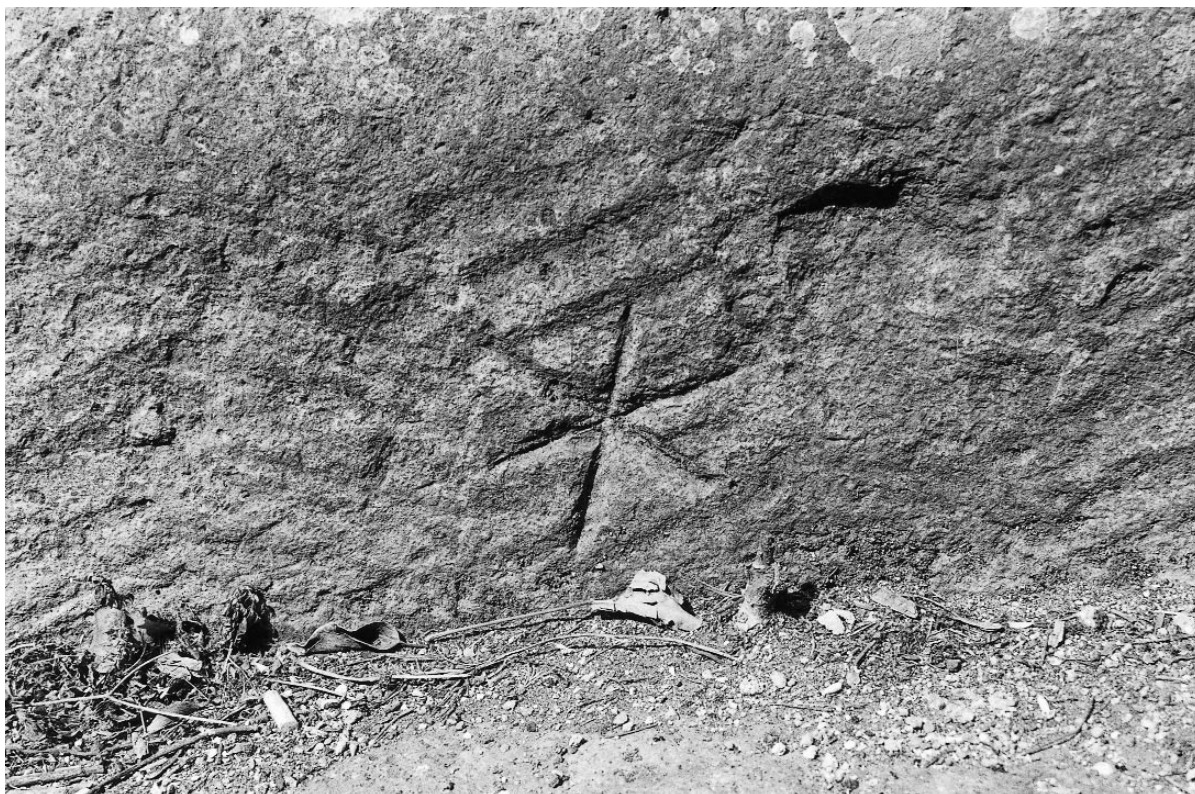
<sup>48</sup> Lugli 1957, 199.

<sup>49</sup> 199 occurrences avaient été repérées par les éditeurs du CIL, auxquelles s'ajoutent 3 occurrences signalées exclusivement par Noack et Lehmann-Hartleben. Nous avons retrouvé 136 de ces marques: 85 entrées de notre catalogue semblent donc inédites. La mauvaise visibilité de ces marques explique que certaines d'entre elles aient échappé à Mau, ou au contraire n'aient pas pu être retrouvées par nous, d'autant plus que quelques erreurs de localisation sont manifestes dans le CIL. Compte tenu de ces difficultés, il n'est pas douteux que notre propre catalogue ne puisse encore être étoffé et précisé. Tous nos dénombrements, puis nos calculs, ont été faits deux fois, à partir de l'ensemble des données collectées, et à partir des seules données vérifiées par nous sur le terrain: comme on le verra, les résultats relatifs, exprimés en pourcentage, sont toujours identiques ou quasi identiques.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Bessac 1989, 39-41.

<sup>51</sup> CIL IV, 5507, 37, 75, 89, 90-92; CIL IV, 5508, 20 a et b.





*Fig. 33. Marque de type 01.*

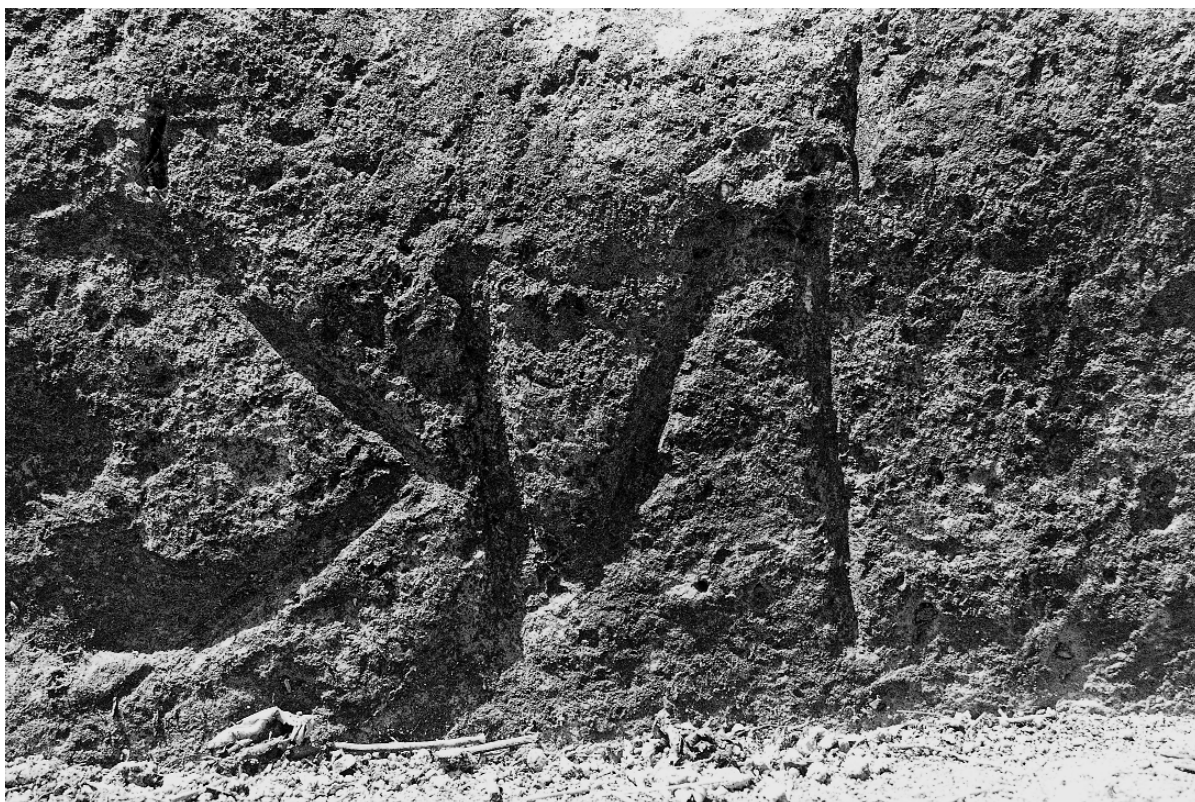


*Fig. 34. Marque de type 02.*





*Fig. 35. Marque de type 06.*



*Fig. 36. Marque de type 09.*





*Fig. 37. Marque de type 10.*



*Fig. 38. Marque de type 11.*





Fig. 39. Les marques de type 11 sur la Porta di Nocera.

Le type 02 en revanche n'a pas été repéré sur l'enceinte, mais apparaît sur quelques édifices<sup>52</sup>. Les autres marques sont beaucoup moins fréquentes. 23 d'entre elles n'ont même été repérées qu'une fois. Certaines de ces marques se rattachant à l'alphabet osque, on a voulu y voir un argument en faveur d'une datation préromaine des trottoirs<sup>53</sup>, mais cet argument semble sans grande valeur, dans la mesure où la transmission de ces signes fixés par la tradition au sein du milieu artisanal est très probablement indépendante des aléas de l'histoire politique, et où certains d'entre eux au moins étaient très largement diffusés : ils apparaissent par exemple sur les blocs de la "muraille servienne" à Rome<sup>54</sup>.

Certains blocs porteurs de marques, réemployés, ne se trouvent visiblement plus à leur emplacement d'origine. Nonobstant un léger brouillage résultant de ces déplacements, la répartition dans l'espace de ces marques est loin d'être aléatoire (cf. tableau 17). 84 % des marques inventoriées sont localisées dans la partie occidentale de la ville (*regiones* VI, VII, VIII), où se trouvent 54 % des trottoirs (faces d'îlots) visibles<sup>55</sup>. Elles s'y groupent généralement de façon significative, alors que dans la partie

orientale de la ville (*regiones* I à V et *regio* IX) les marques, à l'exception de celles du type 01, sont beaucoup plus dispersées (cf. fig. 40 et tableaux 18-19). Une très forte concentration caractérise le quartier situé immédiatement à l'est du Forum (*via della Maschera, vico dei Scheletri, vico del Balcone pensile, vico di Eumachia*), où se trouvent 40 % des marques<sup>56</sup>.

La répartition des types de marques n'est pas non plus aléatoire. Les marques de type 01 et 02 en particulier peuvent soit apparaître de façon conjointe, soit s'exclure mutuellement. Les marques de type 01 sont absentes du quartier défini par la *via di Tempio d'Iside* et la *via delle Scuole*, caractérisé par l'association de marques 02 et de marques plus rares

<sup>52</sup> CIL IV, 5508, 6a et b; cf. CIL IV, 1110.

<sup>53</sup> De Vos 1982, 315-353; 351-352; Gesemann 1996, 56 n. 34.

<sup>54</sup> Ex.: types 02, 03, 04, 05, 07 (cf. Lugli 1957, 201 fig. 22).

<sup>55</sup> Cf. tableau 1 : 268 trottoirs sont visibles ("étudiables" + "mal visibles") sur l'ensemble du site; 144 d'entre eux se trouvent dans la partie occidentale de la ville (régions VI, VII, VIII).

<sup>56</sup> 114 soit 39,7 % des marques inventoriées; 88 soit 40,3 % des marques effectivement repérées.





Fig. 40. Distribution des marques lapidaires effectivement repérées sur le terrain. Fond de plan: H. Eschebach, Die städtebauliche Entwicklung des antiken Pompeji, Heidelberg, 1970. Réalisation H. Knikman. Voir aussi fig. 1.

(ex.: types 03, 04, 05; cf. fig. 40: I). En revanche les marques de type 01 et 02 apparaissent conjointement, sans exclure des marques d'autres types, dans le quartier situé immédiatement à l'est du Forum (cf. fig. 40: IIa). Un assemblage des marques comparable à celui de ce secteur, avec une concentration bien moindre, et une prépondérance marquée du type 02, se retrouve le long de certaines rues de la région VI ainsi que sur le *vicolo delle Terme* et sur la rive est de la *via Vesuvio* (cf. fig. 40: IIb). Les marques de type 01 se regroupent aussi le long de certaines rues comportant un trottoir continu en tuf, et où n'apparaissent généralement pas de marques d'un autre type<sup>57</sup>: *vico del Panettiere*, *vico di Tesmo* (IX, 4, E), *vicolo del Citarista* (I, 4, E), *vico di Balbo*, rue entre I, 8, et I, 9 (cf. fig. 40: III). Les marques de type 01 comme de type 02 sont absentes du *vico del Labirinto*, caractérisé par la présence abondante de marques des types 09 et 11 (cf. fig. 40: IV), et du *vicolo Championnet* qui quant à lui se distingue par la présence, à côté notamment de marques de type 11 qui l'associent au *vico del Labirinto*, de marques de type 10 (fig. 40: V).

La diversité des assemblages de marques qui se dégage ainsi peut correspondre en synchronie à une différenciation de processus, de normes ou de choix d'aménagement, mais peut aussi avoir une valeur chronologique, en particulier en ce qui concerne les groupes I, II, et III. La répartition des marques lapidaires souligne à nouveau, parmi les trottoirs homogènes ou quasi homogènes en tuf, l'originalité de ceux du quartier immédiatement à l'est du Forum (cf. fig. 40), dont la spécificité a déjà été soulignée<sup>58</sup>, et signale une parenté entre les différents trottoirs, disjoints dans l'espace, du groupe III. L'analyse qui vient d'être esquissée devrait bien sûr être reprise dans le cadre d'une étude globale des marques lapidaires: nous espérons seulement avoir montré qu'une telle entreprise devait être tentée.

L'étude de la répartition spatiale des types de trottoirs et des matériaux constitue non seulement une étape nécessaire de la description des trottoirs et de la reconstitution des modalités de leur aménagement, mais aussi une contribution à une analyse de l'espace urbain de Pompéi. L'existence d'une répartition spatiale spécifique des trottoirs homogènes et quasi homogènes, des matériaux utilisés pour leur aménagement, et des marques lapidaires, peut indiquer la succession dans le temps de plusieurs moments de construction des trottoirs, ou la mise en application de normes différenciées en fonction des quartiers, des types de rues, des programmes, ou des instances de décision concernées, sans bien sûr que ces principes d'explication soient exclusifs les uns des autres. La répartition de l'homogénéité et de la segmentation (fig. 28) montre une différenciation

des types de voies et des quartiers: les grands axes, le secteur 1 et le secteur 3 sont caractérisés par une homogénéité importante; à l'intérieur même du secteur 2, globalement caractérisé par un fort taux de segmentation, l'homogénéité est cependant plus importante dans les rues situées au sud du *vico di Mercurio*. Par opposition aux trottoirs segmentés, les trottoirs homogènes impliquent l'existence de programmes d'ensemble. La distribution des matériaux choisis pour la réalisation des bordures de ces trottoirs et des marques lapidaires dans le cas du tuf suggère l'exécution de plusieurs campagnes d'aménagement, d'importance variable. Il semble d'ores et déjà possible d'isoler au moins trois opérations, concernant respectivement d'une part, dans le secteur 1, le quartier immédiatement à l'est du Forum (cf. fig. 40: IIa), d'autre part, dans le secteur 3, l'ensemble constitué par le tronçon nord du *vicolo del Citarista*, le *vico du Tesmo*, le tronçon central de la *via dell'Abbondanza* et les rues voisines, caractérisé par une forte tendance à l'homogénéité, l'importance de l'emploi du tuf et parfois la présence de marques lapidaires du type 01 (cf. fig. 28-40), et enfin, dans le secteur 5, le long de la *via dell'Abbondanza*, les trottoirs de lave s'étendant devant les îlots III, 1 à III, 4 et I, 11 à II, 1 (cf. fig. 28).

### C. Les processus d'aménagement

#### 1. Les scénarios pompéiens: tentative de reconstruction

La diversité d'aspect des trottoirs reflète la complexité de leurs modalités d'aménagement: la segmentation des trottoirs en fonction de limites parcellaires implique une prise en charge par les riverains de leur aménagement et de leur entretien; la recherche d'homogénéité que l'on perçoit souvent suggère en revanche une intervention de la collectivité, par l'intermédiaire par exemple de la prise en charge ou du contrôle de l'aménagement du trottoir par une autorité publique (magistrats municipaux ou magistrats de quartiers par exemple). Deux inscriptions en osque, dont l'interprétation de détail soulève des difficultés, témoignent d'interventions de la puissance publique sur certaines rues de la ville, mais ne mentionnent pas clairement l'aménagement de trottoirs<sup>59</sup>. L'une de ces inscriptions<sup>60</sup> concerne l'aménagement des rues "Pūmpiiana, Iūvīia, Dekkviarīm"; leur identification fait l'objet d'hypothèses diverses;

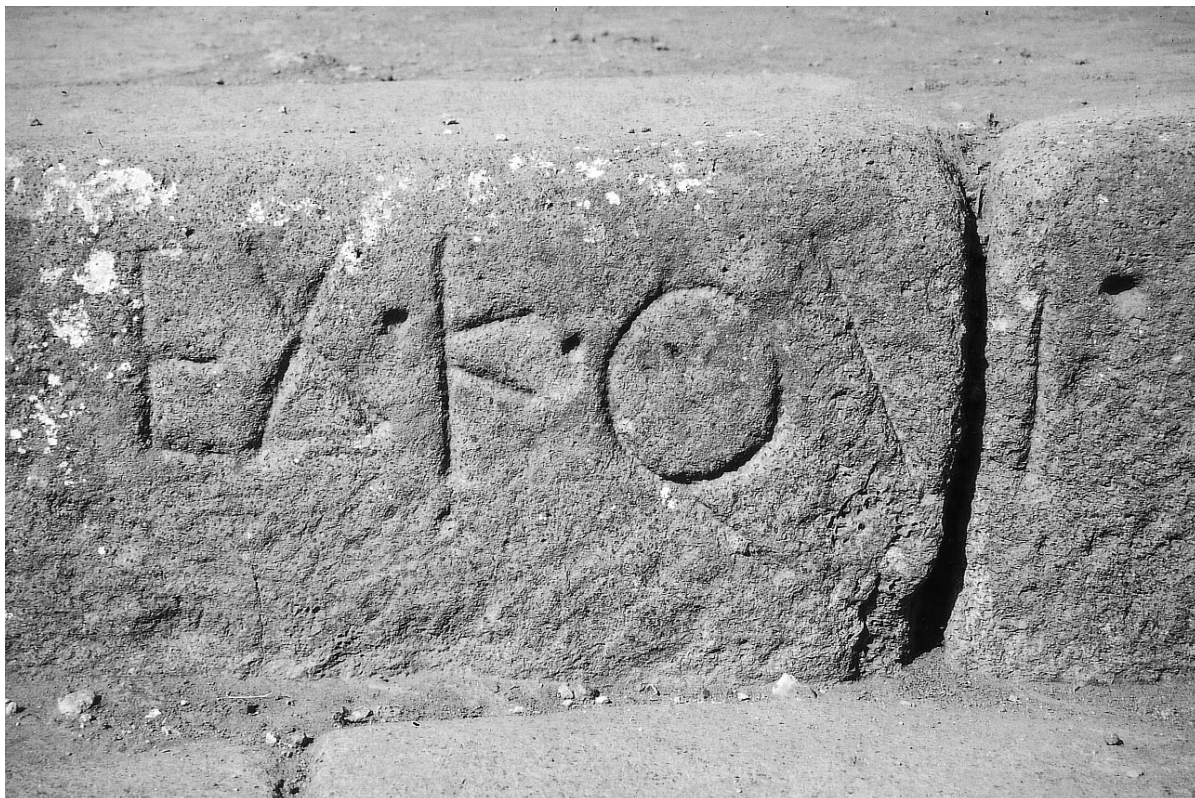
<sup>57</sup> Toutefois, une marque de type 02 est présente le long du *vico du Tesmo* (IX, 6, W); une marque, peut-être accidentelle est visible *vico di Balbo* (CIL IV, 5509, 39).

<sup>58</sup> Laurence 1995, 73.

<sup>59</sup> Voir *supra*, note 11.

<sup>60</sup> Vetter 1953, n° 8, cf. Morandi 1992, 124-125 n° 28.





*Fig. 41. Via Stabiana, inscription sur les blocs de trottoir à la hauteur de IX, 4, 1.*



*Fig. 42. Vico Storto, inscription sur le dallage de la rue.*





Fig. 43. Blocs de trottoir avec œillets: VI, 14, N.

il s'agirait d'après G. O. Onorato<sup>61</sup>, selon qui l'intervention remonterait au milieu du deuxième siècle avant notre ère, d'une partie de la *via Stabiana*, de la *via del Tempio d'Iside* et de la *via dei Teatri*. Cette hypothèse repose sur l'identification du temple situé à l'angle de la *via Stabiana* et de la *via dei Teatri* au temple de Zeus Meilichios, qui a été récemment contestée<sup>62</sup>. L'autre inscription<sup>63</sup> commémore l'aménagement de la rue "Sarínu", qui pourrait être l'actuelle *via Consolare*<sup>64</sup>.

Plus décisif est le témoignage de deux blocs de trottoir en lave de la *via Stabiana*, à la hauteur de IX, 4, 1 (fig. 41)<sup>65</sup> portant l'inscription:

EX·K·QVI·

La même inscription est portée par un bloc de trottoir en lave à la hauteur du piedroit est de IX, 2, 25<sup>66</sup>. Les deux blocs de trottoir de la *via Stabiana* portant l'inscription se situent au début d'un trottoir en lave, continu à l'exception d'un segment en calcaire devant IX, 4, 9. L'inscription de l'îlot IX, 2 en revanche se situe au début d'une brève série de blocs de lave, dans un trottoir caractérisé par une

assez forte segmentation et ayant fait l'objet de nombreuses réfections (fig. 16): le bloc portant l'inscription peut se trouver en remploi.

Un bloc du dallage de lave du *vico Storto*<sup>67</sup> porte quant à lui l'inscription (fig. 42):

K·Q

Le *vico Storto* est bordé de part et d'autre d'un trottoir de lave continu, à l'exception de quatre blocs de calcaire sur la rive ouest de la rue, constituant une réfection.

Il s'agit d'inscriptions latines, qui ne sont donc sûrement pas antérieures à la période syllanienne.

<sup>61</sup> Onorato 1951.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. De Caro 1992, 37; Zevi 1996, 130.

<sup>63</sup> Vetter 1953 n° 9-10, cf. Rix, 1979, repris dans Antonini 1981.

<sup>64</sup> Rix 1979, 227

<sup>65</sup> *CIL* IV, 2307 = *CIL* X, 870b.

<sup>66</sup> *CIL* X, 870a. H. Nissen (1877, 529) localise cette inscription à la hauteur de IX, 2, 28. Je ne l'y ai pas retrouvée. Toujours d'après H. Nissen (*ibid.*), ces inscriptions se seraient trouvées sur des blocs de tuf (même celle du *vico Storto*!).

<sup>67</sup> *CIL* IV, 1622.

Les éditeurs du *CIL* IV ont voulu voir dans la première d'entre elles l'abréviation d'une date antérieure à 44 avant notre ère: *ex k (alendis) Qui (nctilibus)*<sup>68</sup>. Les difficultés de cette hypothèse sont nombreuses: ce type d'abréviation n'est pas attestée par ailleurs et la date ainsi indiquée, incomplète, désignerait seulement le jour du début des travaux. Ces quelques lettres attendent donc encore d'être interprétées. D'ores et déjà toutefois, par leur récurrence et leur localisation, elles attestent l'existence à la période romaine d'un projet d'ensemble concernant à la fois le dallage de certaines rues et l'aménagement de bordures en lave.

S'il était possible de les opposer, il serait tentant de faire correspondre les trottoirs homogènes d'une part et les trottoirs segmentés d'autre part à deux types de processus de construction, global ou constitué d'une juxtaposition d'efforts particuliers. Chacun de ces processus de construction pourrait à son tour correspondre à un statut juridique différent du trottoir: le trottoir segmenté en fonction des limites des propriétés riveraines relèverait de la sphère privée, le trottoir homogène, aménagé, par les autorités ou par un évergète, au nom de la collectivité, relevant quant à lui de la sphère publique. La conjugaison étroite à Pompéi de l'homogénéité et de la segmentation, dont nous avons vu qu'elles ne s'excluaient nullement l'une l'autre, incite cependant à ne pas les opposer, mais à attribuer au trottoir le statut intermédiaire d'un espace public, placé sous le contrôle plus ou moins actif de la collectivité à laquelle revient probablement la définition de sa largeur et de son tracé, mais confié à la responsabilité des propriétaires riverains. La part que ces derniers doivent prendre aux travaux n'est pas proportionnelle à la surface réelle de leur bien, mais dépend de la longueur de leur façade sur la rue.

L'intervention de la collectivité peut prendre plusieurs aspects. Dans certains cas, elle est très limitée puisque la bigarrure du trottoir suggère que les travaux concrets d'exécution de la bordure et du revêtement de sol ont été effectués par les riverains en toute liberté. L'existence de trottoirs quasi homogènes implique l'existence de consignes de réalisation imposées aux riverains, ou encore l'intervention d'entrepreneurs, obéissant éventuellement eux aussi à des consignes, prenant en charge plusieurs tronçons, la participation des riverains aux travaux étant alors seulement financière. La présence de blocs de séparation dépourvus de fonction ostentatoire s'explique dans ce cadre, même lorsqu'ils se trouvent insérés dans une bordure apparemment continue, par la nécessité de différencier, malgré l'unité d'exécution, les segments du trottoir confiés

à la responsabilité de propriétaires distincts, chargés notamment des travaux de réfection.

Ce schéma général autorise le déroulement de plusieurs scénarios. Les trottoirs de type A1 (cf. tableau 8; ex.: I, 1, W, fig. 21) auraient été entièrement pris en charge par les riverains, de façon éventuellement échelonnée dans le temps, comme le suggèrent quelques exemples de trottoirs partiels dans la région VI<sup>69</sup>, et sans obéissance à des consignes particulières. Le type A2 (cf. tableau 8; ex.: IX, 1, W, fig. 18) regroupe les trottoirs dont les différents segments correspondent à des groupes d'édifices. Si ces édifices sont intégrés à un unique ensemble appartenant à un seul propriétaire, le trottoir a été réalisé selon les mêmes modalités que les trottoirs de type A1. Si en revanche ces édifices sont indépendants, appartenant à des propriétaires différents, il faut supposer la constitution de différents groupes de propriétaires effectuant les travaux de concert ou confiant leur exécution à l'un des leurs ou à un entrepreneur. Le type A3 (ex. IX, 1, N, fig. 18) correspond à la désobéissance d'un segment au sein d'un ensemble homogène: cette désobéissance peut correspondre à une réfection effectuée individuellement par un riverain, à l'antériorité, au contraire, de ce segment par rapport au reste du trottoir, ou enfin à la décision délibérée d'un propriétaire de ne pas se conformer par exemple au choix des autres riverains, dans le cadre d'un processus d'association entre les voisins rattachant le trottoir au type A2. L'intervention, rare, mais possible, d'acteurs qui semblent être non les propriétaires, mais de simples occupants de locaux dépendants d'édifices plus importants (cf. tableau 8: type B2), vient encore enrichir cette diversité. Cette rapide esquisse montre à quel point notre typologie, qui nous a pourtant été utile pour mettre en évidence aussi bien la segmentation que la tendance à l'homogénéité, demande à être dépassée. Les trottoirs les plus homogènes

<sup>68</sup> Cf. *CIL* IV, 2484: A·D·IX·K·QVI, graffiti de l'amphithéâtre.

<sup>69</sup> La signification des trottoirs partiels ne doit cependant pas être surestimée: certains d'entre eux, dans le quartier de la Porta Marina en particulier (*via Marina, vicolo del Gallo, vicolo dei Soprastanti*), correspondent à des états récents du tissu urbain, postérieurs à l'aménagement d'une part du périmètre du sanctuaire d'Apollon, d'autre part du temple de Vénus, qui a empiété sur un trottoir préexistant; la façade est de l'îlot VII, 10 montre l'arrachement, qui peut être très récent, d'une partie du trottoir; dans d'autres exemples, l'interruption du trottoir est associée à une modification de l'aménagement de la chaussée et peut correspondre à une volonté publique (VI, 10, E; VIII, 6, W); parmi les quatre cas, tous regroupés dans la partie nord de la région VI, où la seule explication possible de l'existence d'un trottoir partiel semble être l'initiative individuelle des riverains (VI, 5, E; VI, 11, W; VI, 7, W; VI, 9, E), une correspondance exacte entre segment de trottoir et unité architecturale, susceptible de démontrer la véracité d'une telle hypothèse, n'apparaît, à première vue du moins, que le long de VI, 7, W et VI, 9, E.



témoignent quant à eux d'une vigilance particulière de la collectivité, allant jusqu'à l'élaboration de programmes unitaires réalisés soit par la définition de consignes précises imposées aux riverains, soit par le choix d'un unique entrepreneur. Nous avons pu distinguer trois de ces programmes (cf. *supra*). Certains de ces trottoirs homogènes peuvent être le résultat d'actes d'évergétisme. Les scénarios possibles sont donc multiples, et s'ils ont pu se succéder dans le temps, peuvent fort bien aussi s'être déroulés simultanément en divers points de la ville.

## 2. Comparaisons

L'extension de l'enquête à d'autres sites et aux sources écrites peut nous permettre de préciser et de vérifier l'hypothèse selon laquelle la complexité des phénomènes que nous observons reflète l'ambiguïté de la définition du trottoir, portion d'espace public étroitement liée aux propriétés riveraines. La recherche d'éléments de comparaison est rendue difficile par la rareté des données archéologiques publiées concernant les trottoirs, ou du moins le manque de synthèses rendant ces données accessibles<sup>70</sup>. La documentation littéraire et épigraphique est plus circonstanciée<sup>71</sup>, en particulier en ce qui concerne Rome. D'après Tite-Live, en 296, les édiles curules aménagèrent, à l'extérieur de la Ville, une voie piétonne le long de la *via Appia*, de la porte Capène au temple de Mars<sup>72</sup>; ce n'est que plus d'un siècle plus tard, en 189-188, que la chaussée utilisée par les véhicules fut dallée par les censeurs sur le même trajet<sup>73</sup>. Les censeurs de 174 furent les premiers à organiser par adjudication l'aménagement d'accotements le long des routes, à l'extérieur de la ville<sup>74</sup>, ainsi qu'à adjuger le pavage des rues de la ville, dont certaines avaient déjà été aménagées (le verbe employé par notre source est *aedificare*) par des édiles ou des *Viocuri*<sup>75</sup>. Les censeurs de 174 firent également eux-mêmes paver le *clivus Capitolinus*<sup>76</sup>. Rien ne nous est dit concernant les trottoirs de ces rues. Pourtant les exemples de Plaute étudiés par J. André attestent l'existence à Rome de trottoirs dès les années 210-180 avant Jésus-Christ<sup>77</sup>, même si historiens et antiquaires ne nous disent rien sur eux pour cette période<sup>78</sup>. Un processus de construction proche de celui qu'impliquent les trottoirs segmentés à Pompéi, et relevant autant ou plus de l'activité des riverains que de celle des magistrats, pourrait expliquer le paradoxe de leur présence chez Plaute et de leur absence des sources plus officielles. En outre, comme les exemples de la *via Appia* et de Paestum, où des trottoirs bordent des rues non dallées<sup>79</sup>, en démontrant la possibilité, certains trottoirs

le reste de l'Italie, de tels aménagements sont signalés sur le site étrusque de Marzabotto, dès ses origines (cf. Gros, Torelli 1988, 44), à Métaponte au moins à partir du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle (Mertens 1983, 97-141, en particulier 195), ainsi qu'à Paestum (Lemaire dans *Poseidonia-Paestum*, 596-605, particulièrement 599). Hors d'Italie, B. Gesemann (1996, 207) mentionne l'exemple de la Koilé d'Athènes, dotée de trottoirs dès la fin du V<sup>e</sup> ou le IV<sup>e</sup> s. Des trottoirs ou des segments de trottoirs ont été étudiés à Volubilis (Étienne 1960), ainsi qu'à Laodicée du Lykos et à Soloi (Ginouès 1969, 1989), dans une perspective très différente de celle qui est ici adoptée.

<sup>71</sup> L'étude de cette documentation est toutefois gênée par l'absence en latin d'un terme univoque désignant le trottoir. Trois mots (*semita*, *crepido*, *margo*) peuvent être utilisés pour désigner, entre autres, ce que nous appellerions un trottoir (cf. André, 1950, 104-134, spécialement 121-122). Le terme *semita* s'applique à toute voie étroite exclusivement piétonne (cf. Varron, *L.L.* V, 35; Isidore, *Or.* XV, 16), en contexte rural (cf. César, *B.G.* VII, 8, 3; Tite-Live, IX, 24, 7, XLII, 15, 10; Horace, *Ep.* I, 18, 103; Sénèque, *Ben.* VI, 31, 6; Suétone, *Nero* XLVIII, 3; Frontin, *Str.* III, 9, 3; Ammien Marcellin, XIV, 2, 9, XV, 4, 8, XVI, 12, 15, XVII, 1, 9, XXXI, 10, 16) aussi bien qu'urbain: il s'oppose alors souvent à *Via*, soit qu'il s'applique au passage piéton longeant la chaussée, c'est-à-dire au trottoir (Plaute, *Curc.* 287, *Merc.* 115-116; le témoignage de *Trin.* 481 est plus ambigu: le mot *semita* n'y désigne pas nécessairement un trottoir; Sén., *Ep.* LXIV, 10, XCIV, 60; Pétrone, IX, 1; même emploi probablement chez Alfénus unie 9.2.52.1), soit aussi qu'il désigne une voie particulièrement étroite (Cicéron, *Verr.* II, 57; *Leg. Agr.* II, 9; Martial, VII, 61, 4). Un exemple d'emploi métaphorique est également donné par Cicéron (*Prov. cons.*, 33). Le terme semble aussi pouvoir désigner, de façon peut-être métonymique, la rue en général: cf. Tite-Live VI, 25, 9; Sénèque, *Ira* III 35, 5; Catulle parle de "*semitarii moechi*" (XXXVII, 16); voir aussi l'inscription d'Ostie (Calza et alii 1953, 120; Pavolini 1996, 200). Sous la plume de Martial, l'expression *alta semita clivi Suburani* (V, 22, 5), qui alterne avec *altus trames Suburae peractae* (X, 20, 5), désigne la montée finale du *clivus Suburanus* (*Lexicon Topographicum urbis Romae*, Roma, 1993, 30; Rodriguez-Almeida 1991, 537-544). Les confusions métonymiques entre rue et trottoir sont fréquentes également en français. M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni a récemment souligné l'ambiguïté du mot dans une inscription d'Aletrium (*CIL* X, 5807; cf. Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1998, 111-112). Le mot *crepido*, parmi d'autres emplois ("quai", "mou-lure"...), peut servir à désigner un trottoir (*CIL* V, 2116; Sénèque, *Contr.* I, 1, 3; Valère-Maxime, IV, 3 ext 4.). Le souci de précision d'un Pétrone l'amène à parler sans pléonasmе de *crepido semitae* (Pétrone, IX, 1). Le terme *margo* enfin est utilisé dans deux inscriptions au sens de "trottoir" (*CIL* XIV, 4012, Ficulea: *clivus cum marginibus*; *CIL* III, 14120, Gortyne, 169 apr. J.-C.: trottoirs – *marginēs* – d'un carrefour). Pour désigner le promenoir d'une palestine, Vitruve utilise dans le même passage (V, 11, 3), pour insister sur sa fonction le terme *semita* et, pour décrire son aspect concret, le terme *margo*. Ce substantif a fourni le verbe *marginare*, utilisé par Tite-Live (XLI, 27). Trois désignations s'appliquent donc au trottoir, tirées soit de sa fonction (*semita*), soit de sa forme (*crepido*), soit de sa position annexe par rapport à la chaussée (*margo*).

<sup>72</sup> Tite-Live, X, 23, 11-12.

<sup>73</sup> Tite-Live, XXXVIII, 28.

<sup>74</sup> Tite-Live, XLI, 27, 5.

<sup>75</sup> Varron, *L.L.* V, 158: *clivus Publicius* aménagé par les frères Publicii, édiles, actifs vers 240-238 (cf. *RE* IX, A, 1, 1961, col. 156); *clivi* aménagés par les *viocuri* Pullius et Cosconius, inconnus par ailleurs.

<sup>76</sup> Tite-Live, XLI, 27, 7.

<sup>77</sup> Plaute, *Curc.*, 287; *Merc.* 115-116. Cf. André 1950.

<sup>78</sup> Les témoignages sur les rues elles-mêmes (*clivi*, *viae*), sont rassemblés dans Robinson 1992, 62.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Lemaire dans *Poseidonia-Paestum*, 599.

<sup>70</sup> Les trottoirs d'Herculanum ont été assez précisément décrits par A. Maiuri (Maiuri 1958, 34-40, 199 fig. 155, 225 fig. 176, 228, 261, 283, 445, et pl. VIII, XXIII, XXVII, XXXVIII). Dans



existaient peut-être déjà au moins le long de certaines rues avant qu'elles ne soient dallées. De fait, c'est bien lorsque la chaussée n'est pas dallée qu'un trottoir est le plus nécessaire aux passants.

Hors de Rome, quelques inscriptions mentionnent des trottoirs<sup>80</sup>, associés à des emplacements tels que forum ou carrefour, ou à des rues. L'aménagement conjoint d'une chaussée pour les véhicules et de trottoirs pour les piétons constitue donc une possibilité bien attestée. Cet aménagement est le fait, soit d'évergètes agissant à titre privé, soit de magistrats dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions, soit d'une intervention impériale. Ces inscriptions mentionnent l'aménagement de trottoirs homogènes, ce qui n'exclut pas l'existence sur les sites concernés de trottoirs segmentés: les modalités mêmes de leur aménagement rendent improbable la commémoration de leur construction. La date de ces inscriptions, lorsqu'il est possible de la déterminer, varie entre le dernier quart du deuxième siècle avant notre ère<sup>81</sup> et le troisième quart du deuxième siècle de notre ère<sup>82</sup>.

L'une des dispositions de la *Tabula Heracleensis*<sup>83</sup> concerne peut-être les trottoirs:

(l. 53-55): *quouis ante aedificium semita in loco <publico> erit, is eam semitam eo aedificio perpetuo lapidibus perpetueis/integram continentem constratam recte habeto arbitrato eius aed (ilis), quouis in ea parte h(ac) l(ege) viarum/procuratio erit.*

“Tout propriétaire d'un bâtiment devant lequel existera un trottoir (*semita*) sur un lieu public devra tenir ce trottoir<sup>84</sup>, sur toute la longueur de ce bâtiment et jusqu'au pied des murs, bien pavé en dalles sans fissures, conformément aux instructions de l'édile à qui reviendra en exécution de la présente loi le soin de la voirie dans ce quartier<sup>85</sup>.”

L'articulation de ce passage avec son contexte et son sens exact sont difficiles à déterminer. La *Tabula Heracleensis* confie l'entretien (*tueri*) des *viae* aux riverains sous le contrôle des édiles (ll. 20-23), avec possibilité d'adjudication des travaux à un entrepreneur aux frais des riverains (ll. 31-50)<sup>86</sup>; l'exécution des travaux plus importants, tels que la réfection ou le dallage (*reficere, sternere*), sera directement à la charge des édiles (ll. 25-27). L'interprétation de ces lignes est délicate. D'après C. Saumagne<sup>87</sup> et O. F. Robinson<sup>88</sup>, les dispositions de la *Tabula Heracleensis* opposent non pas différents types de travaux, mais différents types de voies: *viae ante aedificia* et *viae publicae*. Cette opposition serait cependant, d'après C. Saumagne, en quelque sorte privée d'actualité au moment de la rédaction de la loi: il s'agirait d'un héritage d'une époque où existaient en milieu urbain comme en

milieu rural des voies privées<sup>89</sup>. Les lignes 29-31 prévoient explicitement le cas où un édifice cultuel ou public longe la voie: les édiles en adjudgeront alors l'entretien (*tueri*). La logique du texte et le parallélisme entre les lignes 20-23 d'une part et les lignes 29-31 d'autre part, suggèrent que l'ensemble du développement concerne bien un type unique de voie. La loi distingue donc bien deux types de travaux: simple entretien d'une part, réfection et dallage d'autre part. L'entretien ne doit pas être confondu avec le nettoyage, confié aux *quattuorviri viis purgandis* (ll. 50-51). Il s'agit, dans le cas de voies non dallées, de petits travaux ponctuels comme le comblement d'une ornière, ou, comme l'indique explicitement le texte, l'évacuation des eaux stagnantes, et dans le cas de voies dallées, du remplacement ponctuel d'une ou deux dalles, à distinguer du “relevé à bout” consistant en la réfection complète d'un tronçon de dallage.

<sup>80</sup> Par exemple: *CIL* III, 14120, Gortyne, 169 ap. J.-C.: *margines d'un compitum*; *CIL* V, 2116, Tarvisium: *viam cum crepidinibus*; *CIL* X, 4585-4586, Caète: *crepidines circa forum* (cf. Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1998, 112); *CIL* X, 5055, 6 ap. J.-C., Atina: *viam sem[i]tas*; *CIL* XI, 2, 7123, Clusium: *viam et crepidinem*; *CIL* XIV, 4012, Ficulea, *clivum [...] cum marginibus*; *AE* 1990, n° 304, Cluana. Une inscription d'Aletrium désigne par le terme de *semitas* soit des rues, soit des trottoirs (*CIL* X, 5807; cf. Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1998, 111-112).

<sup>81</sup> *AE* 1990, n° 304.

<sup>82</sup> *CIL* III, 14120.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. *Roman Statutes*, I, 355-391 (présentation, édition, commentaire par C. Nicolet et M. Crawford, et traduction en anglais). L'organisation du texte et la datation de ses différents éléments posent de multiples problèmes (*ibid.*, 360-362). Si la rédaction même de cette partie du texte de la *Tabula Heracleensis* fait de la ville de Rome son champ d'application (*ibid.*, 358), la provenance de la table ainsi que sa structure ne permettent pas d'exclure que ces dispositions aient été utilisées par d'autres communautés, en particulier par les municipes et colonies d'Italie du sud: les deux premières parties de la table (l. 1-82) concernent explicitement Rome, mais les trois dernières (l. 83-163) concernent exclusivement les municipes et les communautés extérieures à Rome. Une interprétation d'ensemble des dispositions concernant les voies est proposée dans Robinson 1992, 59-82. Le texte est également utilisé et commenté par A. Zaccaria Ruggiu (1995) dans le chapitre qu'elle consacre aux rues (232 et s.). Voir aussi Nicolet 1987 et Frei-Stolba 1989, 28 et 32.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. *Roman Statutes*, I, 374: “[...] he is to keep the footpath properly paved, continuous with that whole building”; Frei-Stolba 1989, 28: “Der Anlieger ist zur Pflasterung seines Trottoirs verpflichtet.”

<sup>85</sup> Nous suivons ici la traduction de Legras (1907, 20), remaniée d'après l'édition de la *Tabula Heracleensis* dans *Roman Statutes*.

<sup>86</sup> Pour un exemple possible d'une telle adjudication, cf. *ILLRP*, 464.

<sup>87</sup> Saumagne 1928, 343 et s.

<sup>88</sup> Robinson 1992, 60

<sup>89</sup> “L'auteur de la loi [...] a prescrit que désormais toutes les rues seraient considérées comme publiques; mais il a codifié les procédures qui dérivait de la nature antérieure des choses sans les modifier.” (Saumagne 1928, 348).

Les *semitae* constituent un espace différent de celui des *viae*, en continuité matérielle avec la maison, et plus étroitement soumis à la responsabilité privée, puisque leur entretien ne peut apparemment pas faire l'objet d'une adjudication par les édiles, et que leur pavage même est à la charge du riverain. Il peut s'agir concrètement, soit de ruelles secondaires étroites<sup>90</sup>, soit de trottoirs le long des *viae*. Le sémantisme propre du terme *semita* ne permet pas de trancher<sup>91</sup>. L'essentiel ici est que cet espace, plus étroitement lié à l'espace privé que celui des *viae*, et placé sous la responsabilité des riverains, est bien en même temps contrôlé par la puissance publique<sup>92</sup>. Tel est précisément le statut des trottoirs de Pompéi, tel que nous l'avons reconstitué: la *Tabula Heracleensis*, attestant la possibilité pour un espace d'être caractérisé par un tel statut, confirme donc nos conclusions.

L'ambiguïté de la définition des trottoirs étonne moins si l'on compare leur statut à celui des chaussées elles-mêmes, dont l'entretien, comme nous l'avons vu, est confié par une des dispositions de la *Tabula Heracleensis* aux riverains, et qui semblent être caractérisées elles aussi par une certaine dépendance – plus limitée toutefois que celle des *semitae* – vis-à-vis de l'espace privé. Une telle conception est loin d'être sans parallèles dans le monde antique. Des indications du même ordre se lisent dans un texte conservé par le Digeste et dont l'attribution, la fonction originelle et les sources sont très discutées (D. 43.10)<sup>93</sup> ainsi que dans la "Loi des astynomes" de Pergame<sup>94</sup>. À Pompéi précisément, dans le cadre d'une étude récente, il a été observé que la réfection du dallage affectait parfois de brefs tronçons de la voie, inférieurs à la longueur d'un îlot. L'auteur de l'étude en déduit que la réfection du dallage pouvait relever de l'activité privée: cette conclusion mériterait toutefois d'être vérifiée par la mise en rapport des limites de la réfection du dallage et des limites de propriété<sup>95</sup>.

L'ambiguïté du statut du trottoir apparaît aussi dans les usages qui en sont faits.

### III. USAGES DU TROTTOIR

Tout en permettant la circulation des piétons le long de la chaussée, le trottoir assume plusieurs autres fonctions qui en font le lieu d'une rencontre dialectique entre sphère privée et domaine public, et parfois une véritable aire d'activités.

Plusieurs aménagements révèlent une propension des riverains à considérer le trottoir comme une extension de l'espace privé. L'accès de la demeure est parfois rendu monumental par un perron surélevé, aménagé sur le trottoir (fig. 13)<sup>96</sup>, et peut être

signalé par une modification ponctuelle de la bordure<sup>97</sup>, où est parfois ménagé un emmarchement<sup>98</sup>. Des banquettes permettent aux visiteurs, aux clients ou aux passants de s'accorder quelque repos (cf. fig. 13 et 27)<sup>99</sup>. Lorsqu'elles flanquent les deux côtés de l'entrée, formant une sorte d'antichambre extérieure<sup>100</sup>, elles constituent une projection explicite de l'espace privé sur l'espace public. Ces aménagements ostentatoires manifestent aux yeux de tous la capacité de la maison à remplir des fonctions publiques, qui constitue un trait typique de la demeure des notables à partir de la fin de la République<sup>101</sup>. Le même rôle est joué, de façon plus discrète, par les revêtements de sol, en particulier lorsqu'ils font écho aux revêtements intérieurs<sup>102</sup>. Ces aménagements apparaissent également par exemple à Herculaneum<sup>103</sup>: devant la *casa Samnitica*, le trottoir est orné d'une mosaïque et accueille des banquettes<sup>104</sup>; devant la *casa del'Atrio Corinzio*, le

<sup>90</sup> C'est avec quelque hésitation le choix que fait O. F. Robinson (1992, 61: *alley*). C'est aussi le choix d'A. Zaccaria Ruggiu (1995, 276). Une inscription d'Erythrées en Asie Mineure, énumérant des voies urbaines, distingue trois catégories de voies: ὁδοὶ δημοσῖαι, ὁδοὶ ἀνδροβασμοί, διώγῃα (Engelmann, Merkelbach 1972, n° 151, 247-252, et SEG 37, 920): la formulation de l'inscription suggère que les ὁδοὶ ἀνδροβασμοί sont, non des trottoirs, mais des rues piétonnes.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. *supra* note 71.

<sup>92</sup> À l'époque impériale, sur le fragment de plan cadastral de la *via Anicia*, la largeur des portiques longeant les maisons est exclue de la mesure de la profondeur des parcelles, et fait donc partie du domaine public (cf. Conticello de Spagnolis 1984, 30-31).

<sup>93</sup> Sur ce texte, cf. Saliou 1994, 11-13.

<sup>94</sup> Colonne I, lignes 29 et s. Cf. Klaffenbach 1954 (édition, traduction et commentaire de l'inscription); Saliou 1994, 10 (bibliographie postérieure à 1954) et 287 (reproduction du texte).

<sup>95</sup> Tsujimura 1991, 65.

<sup>96</sup> L'exemple le plus spectaculaire est celui de la maison IX, 1, 20; autres exemples: II, 2, 4; I, 6, 14. 15. 16. La surélévation du trottoir lui-même devant certaines entrées (VIII, 2, 37, VII, 6, 37) est d'interprétation plus ambiguë, dans la mesure où elle peut être la conséquence de réfections – du trottoir lui-même ou de l'édifice qu'il longe – ou correspondre à des impératifs techniques. Sur les difficultés d'une interprétation univoque de tels phénomènes, cf. Laurence 1994, 136.

<sup>97</sup> VI, 14, 12; VI, 3, 26.

<sup>98</sup> L'exemple de la *casa di Pansa* (VI, 6, 1) a été signalé par Étienne (1966, 352). Voir aussi par exemple, le long de la *via Consolare*, VI, 17, 36.

<sup>99</sup> Ex.: *via di Nola*, *casa del Centenario*, IX, 8, 6.5.3; *via di Nocera*, II, 9, 5; I, 6, 14; *domus Poppearum*, I, 10, 4.

<sup>100</sup> Ce dispositif évoque la définition que donne Aulu-Gelle du *vestibulum*: Aulu-Gelle, XVI, 5. Cf. Zaccaria Ruggiu 1995, 259-260; Callebat 1996, 18. Sur les problèmes posés par la notion de *vestibulum*, voir aussi Leach 1993 et Lafon 1997.

<sup>101</sup> Ce trait a été souligné à plusieurs reprises par la recherche récente: Wallace-Hadrill 1994; Zaccaria Ruggiu 1995, 178, 335, 371-378 (avec l'essentiel de la bibliographie).

<sup>102</sup> VI, 6, S, VI, 15, E (cf. *supra*, note 23).

<sup>103</sup> Maiuri 1958, 35.

<sup>104</sup> Maiuri 1958, 199 fig. 155.





*Fig. 44. Bloc de trottoir avec encoche: IX, 3, E.*



*Fig. 45. Aménagement devant VI, 8, 10: vue d'ensemble.*





*Fig. 46. Aménagement devant VI, 8, 10: détail.*



*Fig. 47. Un exemple d'empiétement: le perron de l'établissement de Julia Felix, II, 4, 6.*

trottoir, surélevé, supporte des colonnes et des banquettes<sup>105</sup>. Attestant une certaine maîtrise du trottoir par le propriétaire de la maison adjacente, ils impliquent un droit d'utilisation dont les modalités d'exercice ne nous sont pas connues.

Des aménagements spécifiques des blocs de bordure, qu'il n'est pas toujours facile d'interpréter avec précision, suggèrent eux aussi une utilisation intensive, dans certaines voies au moins, du trottoir. Les plus nombreux sont des sortes d'œilletons, de diamètre variable (entre 4 et 10 cm), creusés en bordure de bloc, et dont l'usage suggère qu'ils ont été utilisés pour faire passer une corde (fig. 43)<sup>106</sup>: on y verra des dispositifs servant soit à lier des animaux<sup>107</sup>, soit à arrimer des auvents<sup>108</sup> abritant des éventaires provisoires<sup>109</sup>, et comparables à ceux que les peintures de Pompéi nous montrent, aménagés sur l'esplanade qui entoure le cirque<sup>110</sup>, ou fixés à une maison<sup>111</sup>; des encoches circulaires ou quadrangulaires – ces dernières pouvant être fermées ou ouvertes –, ont servi, au moins pour certaines d'entre elles, à fixer des aménagements divers, en bois ou en métal (fig. 44-46)<sup>112</sup>. L'observation des irrégularités du revêtement du mur extérieur nord de la basilique a permis à M. Della Corte, dont les remarques ont été confirmées par K. Ohr, d'établir l'existence en ce lieu, le long de la *via Marina*, de baraques de commerçants<sup>113</sup>.

Si les utilisateurs de ces aménagements peuvent être des riverains, dont nous avons vu qu'ils ont tendance à considérer le trottoir comme une annexe de l'espace privé, quelques inscriptions réservant une portion de trottoir à un commerçant ambulant attestent également une occupation du trottoir par des non-riverains<sup>114</sup>, qui est un puissant argument du caractère public du trottoir: tout en étant aménagé et entretenu par les riverains ou à leurs frais, le trottoir, lieu de passage du public, est aussi un lieu susceptible d'être occupé par des non-riverains dans le cadre d'un dispositif normatif adéquat que notre documentation ne nous permet pas encore de reconstituer, mais que nous pouvons supposer similaire, par exemple, à celui qui régit l'utilisation des espaces de l'amphithéâtre, où la concession d'emplacements commerciaux est accordée par les édiles<sup>115</sup>. À Rome, à l'époque flavienne, Martial signale la répression par Domitien<sup>116</sup> d'une utilisation anarchique des rues par les commerçants: de ce texte il semble ressortir qu'au Haut-Empire, dans la capitale, la rue est dans son ensemble considérée comme un espace dont l'utilisation à des fins commerciales par exemple est contrôlée, et peut être limitée, par les autorités. Si téméraire que soit une conclusion fondée sur des documents peu nombreux et disparates<sup>117</sup>, il semble bien qu'à Pompéi et à Rome une partie de l'espace de la rue est susceptible

d'accueillir de façon stable une activité, nécessitant éventuellement l'implantation d'un aménagement spécifique, qui peut être le fait de non-riverains et s'effectue sous le contrôle des autorités, sans donc qu'il s'agisse d'un symptôme de perte de contrôle de l'espace public par les pouvoirs publics. Cette conception peut avoir été assez répandue: l'occupation pérenne par un commerçant d'une petite partie de l'espace public, est également attestée sur d'autres sites par la série des *Toposinschriften*, – il s'agit souvent de graffitis ou de *tituli picti* – réservant par exemple le pied d'une colonne ou un entrecolonnement dans un portique longeant une rue ou un édifice public<sup>118</sup>. Cette utilisation contrôlée de l'espace public doit être distinguée des phénomènes d'accaparement abusif,

<sup>105</sup> Maiuri 1958, pl. XXIII.

<sup>106</sup> B. Gesemann (1996, 61) reprend une hypothèse de H. Lauter selon laquelle ces orifices auraient été des orifices d'évacuation des eaux de pluie. L'évacuation des eaux de pluie semble plutôt avoir été assurée par les rigoles parfois visibles sur certains blocs.

<sup>107</sup> Digeste, 21.1.40.2 (cité par Mommsen 1894, 204): l'interdiction de faire stationner sur la voie publique des animaux dangereux implique qu'il est autorisé d'y faire stationner des animaux inoffensifs.

<sup>108</sup> Hypothèse proposée et illustrée, à partir d'exemples médiévaux et modernes et d'une reconstitution expérimentale faite sur le site même, par V. Spinazzola (Spinazzola 1953, 60-61 et fig. 67). Cf. Plin. *Hist. Nat.*, XIX, 23: *Mox Caesar dictator totum fotum Romanum intexit viamque sacram ab domo sua et clivum usque in Capitolio*.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Étienne 1966, 352.

<sup>110</sup> Scène de la rixe à l'amphithéâtre entre Pompéiens et Nucériens (Musée de Naples, inv. 112222; provenance: I, 3, 23).

<sup>111</sup> Représentation parodique du jugement de Salomon (Musée de Naples, inv. 113917; provenance: VIII, 5, 24).

<sup>112</sup> Certains blocs portent à la fois un œilleton et une encoche (*via della Regina*).

<sup>113</sup> Cf. Della Corte 1964, 222-223; Ohr 1991, 6-8; Gesemann 1996, 43, n. 33.

<sup>114</sup> *CIL* IV, 1768 = Della Corte 1964, n° 441; *CIL* IV, 1769 = Della Corte 1964, n° 442; *CIL* IV, 8432 = Della Corte 1964, n° 734; *CIL* IV, 8433 = Della Corte 1964, n° 735.

<sup>115</sup> *CIL* IV, 1096; voir aussi *ibid.*, 1096a sqq., 1115, 1129, 1130, 2485. Sur l'édilité à Pompéi, cf. Castrén 1975, p. 63-64, Mouritsen 1988, 75.

<sup>116</sup> Martial, VII, 61; cf. Morel 1987, 151-152.

<sup>117</sup> Une inscription du cadastre d'Orange pourrait constituer un parallèle décisif si son interprétation n'était fort douteuse. D'après son éditeur A. Piganiol en effet, elle mentionnerait un droit d'établir, moyennant le paiement d'une redevance, "soit des échoppes sous un portique, soit des étalages dans un marché" (Piganiol 1962, 329-335): il pourrait aussi bien s'agir d'éventaires sur un trottoir. L'obtention de ce droit s'opérerait selon des modalités conformes à celles qui conditionnent de façon générale la location des terrains et édifices des municipalités (Piganiol 1962, 329 et s., 343; Mommsen 1894, 126-131, 203). Toutefois l'interprétation de Piganiol a été contestée, avec des arguments sérieux, par Meißner (1992, 179-181), selon lequel le document concernerait des terrains suburbains.

<sup>118</sup> Voir par exemple Robert 1971, 81-84; Börker, Merkelbach 1979, n° 547 et s. (Éphèse); A. Rehm dans Knackfuss 1924, n° 209 et s. (Milet).



attestés à Pompéi par l'épigraphie<sup>119</sup>, ainsi sans doute que par l'exemple du porche du *praedium* de Iulia Felix, empiétant sur la chaussée (fig. 47)<sup>120</sup>.

## CONCLUSION

Compte tenu de la nature de nos observations, les conclusions qu'il est possible d'en tirer ne concernent que l'état actuellement visible des trottoirs, mais offrent de riches possibilités d'interprétation. L'étude des trottoirs confirme les résultats de travaux récents sur l'architecture domestique qui ont montré que les rapports entre espace privé et espace public ne sauraient être réduits à une opposition figée et intangible, mais s'organisent selon un chromatisme complexe<sup>121</sup>, en un camaïeu allant de l'intimité jalousement préservée à la totale publicité par toute une série de gradations dont la juxtaposition constitue le chatoiement de l'espace urbain. C'est ainsi que le trottoir, espace public, est confié à la responsabilité des propriétaires riverains, comme le montrent la projection des limites parcellaires sur le trottoir et la segmentation de sa facture et de son décor. Toutefois, le degré d'autonomie des riverains dans la construction des trottoirs varie en fonction des quartiers, des rues, des programmes. La reconstitution des modalités particulières d'aménagement de chacun des trottoirs de Pompéi, impliquant à la fois l'étude détaillée du trottoir lui-même et la reconstitution des rapports de propriété et des relations de voisinage, et constituant ainsi un chapitre d'une histoire de l'habitat, doit être effectuée dans le cadre d'un examen complet, intégrant données architecturales, archéologiques et épigraphiques, des différents îlots. Indicateurs suffisamment précis des limites parcellaires pour permettre l'étude des rapports juridiques entre les édifices, les trottoirs sont aussi porteurs de données sur l'évolution du tissu bâti : les limites qu'ils indiquent sont parfois des limites fossiles. Une étude systématique des trottoirs prend sa place aussi bien dans la recherche d'une reconstitution du parcellaire originel des îlots d'habitation de Pompéi que dans l'étude de l'organisation et de la hiérarchisation de l'espace urbain dans son ensemble.

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<sup>119</sup> Inscription datant du règne de Vespasien et mentionnant la récupération par la puissance publique de terrains publics indûment accaparés (*CIL* X, 1018 = *ILS* 5942).

<sup>120</sup> Sur ce phénomène, nous disposons de sources dispersées mais non insignifiantes : notices de Tite-Live (XXXIX, 44; XL, 51; XLIII, 16); inscriptions (*CIL* X, 1018 = *ILS* 5942, cf. *supra*, note 116; *CIL* VI, 919 = *ILS* 211, à Rome, sous le règne de Tibère); des textes juridiques (D. 18. 1. 32, D. 39. 1. D. 43. 7 à D. 43.9, D. 50. 10. 5), se dégage l'impression d'une grande souplesse et d'une certaine tolérance : les constructions privées utilisant des édifices ou des terrains publics sont tolérées lorsque la collectivité y trouve son profit. Cf. Zaccaria Ruggiu 1995, p. 260-263, pour des exemples archéologiques, et Thébert 1985, 330-332, pour une réflexion d'ensemble appliquée à l'Afrique romaine.

<sup>121</sup> Notamment Thébert 1985, Wallace-Hadrill 1994, Zaccaria Ruggiu 1995.



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Tableau 1  
Les trottoirs de Pompéi: répartition par région

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	Total
<b>Trottoirs<sup>(1)</sup> absents et/ou non visibles</b>	33	16	6	0	2	0	2	1	6	66
<b>Trottoirs mal visibles</b>	9	0	1	1	2	4	1	0	3	21
<b>Trottoirs étudiables</b>	38	8	12	4	15	51	63	25	31	247
<b>Total <sup>(1)</sup></b>	80	24	19	5	19	55	66	26	40	334

(1) “Trottoir” = portion de trottoir s’étendant le long d’une face d’îlot.

Tableau 2  
Les bornillons

Nombre de blocs	Localisation	Remarques
15 blocs	<i>vico di Mercurio</i> , VI, 11, S	Totalité de la façade de l’îlot (= façade de la Maison du Labyrinthe)
12 blocs	<i>via di Nola</i> , V, 1, S	Totalité de la façade de l’îlot
9 blocs	<i>vico dei Soprastanti</i> , VII, 7, N	
8 blocs	<i>vico di Mercurio</i> , VI, 15, S	Totalité de la façade de l’îlot (= façade de la Maison des Vettii) Blocs grossiers, de dimensions supérieures à la moyenne des bornillons
7 blocs	<i>via della Fortuna</i> , VI, 10, S <i>via Consolare</i> , VI, 17	VI, 10, S: totalité de la façade de l’îlot
6 blocs	<i>via di Nocera</i> , I, 20, E <i>via della Fortuna</i> , VII, 14, N <i>via Consolare</i> , VI, 17	VII, 14, N: totalité de la façade de l’îlot
5 blocs	<i>via della Fortuna</i> , VI, 12, S	Totalité de la façade de l’îlot
4 blocs	<i>vico dei Vettii</i> , VI, 13, E	
3 blocs	I, 4, S; <i>via Consolare</i> , VI, 2, W; <i>vico del Lupanare</i> , VII, 1, W; <i>via di Nola</i> , IX, 4, N	
2 blocs	<i>via di Nola</i> , V, 2, S; V, 2, W; <i>vico di Mercurio</i> , VI, 12, N; <i>vico di Mercurio</i> , VI, 14, N; <i>vico dei Soprastanti</i> , VII, 16; <i>vico del Lupanare</i> , VII, 12, E; <i>via Stabiana</i> , VII, 2, E; <i>via dei Teatri</i> , VIII, 4, E; <i>via del Tempio d’Iside</i> , VIII, 7, N; <i>via dell’Abbondanza</i> , IX, 1, S	
1 bloc	<i>via di Nocera</i> , I, 13, W; <i>vico di Tesmo</i> , I, 3, E et IX, 5, W; <i>via delle Terme</i> , VI, 8, S; <i>via Vesuvio</i> , VI, 14, W; <i>vico dei Soprastanti</i> , VII, 6, S; <i>vico di Balbo</i> , IX, 1, N	

Pour les séries comportant quatre blocs ou plus, notre inventaire est exhaustif. Pour les séries comportant moins de quatre blocs, nous ne citons que des exemples.



Tableau 3  
Les blocs de bordure: matériaux utilisés

Matériaux	Nombre de trottoirs <sup>(1)</sup>	% des trottoirs visibles <sup>(2)</sup>
calcaire	169	63 %
lave	168	62, 7 %
tuf	161	60%

<sup>(1)</sup> “Trottoir” = portion de trottoir s’étendant le long d’une face d’îlot.

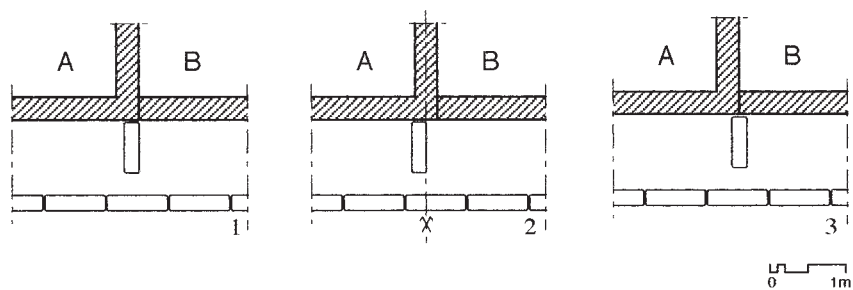
<sup>(2)</sup> Nombre total de trottoirs visibles (cf. tableau 1: “trottoirs étudiables” + “trottoirs mal visibles”) = 268. La somme des pourcentages est supérieure à 100 car il arrive fréquemment que plusieurs matériaux soient utilisés le long d’une même façade d’îlot.

Tableau 4  
Les blocs de bordure: éléments de chronologie relative

			Exemples
position des blocs de bordure par rapport au dallage de la chaussée	niveau égal ou inférieur		I, 3, W
	posés sur le dallage		<i>vico di Mercurio</i> , VI, 2, S
présence d'un trottoir antérieur			I, 10,W
réfection	par substitution		<i>passim</i>
	par juxtaposition		<i>vico del Balcone pensile</i> , VII, 12, S, aux abords des accès 28 et 33
	par surélévation	superposition (pose d'un nouveau bloc sur le bloc usé)	<i>via Stabiana</i> , VII, 1, E, le long de la façade Est des thermes de Stabies
		enrobage de maçonnerie	VI, 14, W
		exhaussement sur lit de maçonnerie	<i>via dell'Abbondanza</i> , IX, 1, S <i>via Vesuvio</i> , VI, 1, E
association avec des constructions datées			IX, 4, E
oblitération du trottoir par des aménagements postérieurs			VII, 6, W

Tableau 5  
Les blocs de séparation

a) Blocs de séparation et limites de propriété  
(Schémas de principe)



- 1 – L'une des faces du bloc de séparation est située dans le prolongement de l'un des parements du mur séparant A et B.  
2 – L'une des faces du bloc de séparation est située dans le prolongement de l'axe médian du mur séparant A et B.  
3 – L'axe médian du bloc de séparation est situé dans le prolongement de l'un des parements du mur séparant A et B.

b) Blocs de séparation et bordure du trottoir  
(Schémas de principe)

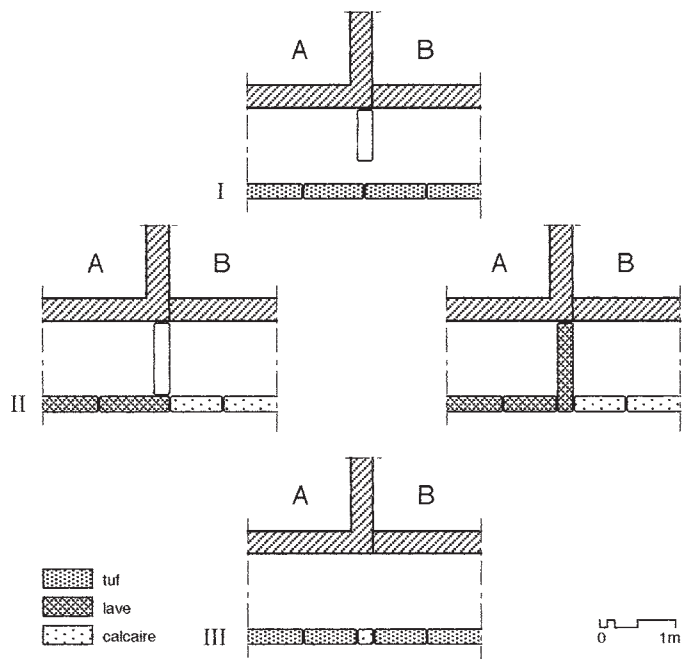


Tableau 6  
Éléments constitutifs des trottoirs. Tableau récapitulatif

	Premier établissement	Aménagement secondaire
Bornillons	?	?
Blocs de bordure	*	
Blocs de séparation à fonction ostentatoire (I)		*
à fonction technique (II)	*	
à fonction technique (III)	*	
Revêtement de sol		*

Tableau 7  
Nombre de segments des trottoirs segmentés ou partiels

Nombre de segments	Nombre de trottoirs <sup>(1)</sup>
2	47
3	49
4	25
5	12
6	5
7	3
8	3
9	0
10	1
11	1
12	1
indéterminable <sup>(2)</sup>	19

<sup>(1)</sup> “Trottoir” = portion de trottoir s’étendant le long d’une face d’îlot. 47 trottoirs s’articulent en deux segments, 49 en 3 segments, etc.

<sup>(2)</sup> L’état de la fouille ou de la conservation du trottoir, tout en permettant de constater la diversité de la bordure, empêche parfois d’en décompter les segments.



Tableau 8  
La segmentation des trottoirs

a) Les types de segmentation

Type			Description	Exemple
<b>A</b>			<b>Correspondant strictement à des limites entre des unités architecturales ou de propriété <sup>(1)</sup></b>	
	1		Un segment de trottoir devant chaque unité architecturale	I, I, W (fig. 21)
	2	a	Regroupement des dépendances de la maison	IX, 1, W (fig. 18)
		b	Association de plusieurs maisons ou édifices	I, 3, E (fig. 4)
		c	= a et/ou b	VI, 14, S
	3		Différenciation du trottoir devant une unité architecturale	VI, 13, E
<b>B</b>			<b>Correspondant partiellement à des limites de propriété</b>	
	1		Désobéissance attribuable à des impératifs techniques (réfections...)	VI, 16, W
	2		Désobéissance attribuable à l'autonomie d'une partie de l'édifice	IX, 4, W (fig. 10)
	3		Désobéissance attribuable à une volonté de mise en valeur	VI, 8, E
	4		Désobéissance attribuable à la présence de limites fossiles	I, 15, N (fig. 26-27)
<b>C</b>			<b>Ne correspondant à aucune limite</b>	
	1		Réfection	I, 8, E
	2		Unique unité de propriété	II, 4, N
	3		Pas de principe d'explication apparent	VI, 4, W

<sup>(1)</sup> Unité architecturale: ensemble de pièces accessibles de la rue par la même entrée; unité de propriété: ensemble d'unités architecturales appartenant à un même propriétaire.

b) Répartition de la segmentation par type et par région

Le tableau présente, pour chaque région, le nombre de trottoirs<sup>(1)</sup> de chaque type.

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	Total	% du total des trottoirs segmentés ou partiels <sup>(3)</sup>
<b>Type A</b>	9	0	0	0	4	11	12	5	9	50	30%
<b>Type B</b>	4	2	0	0	2	18	16	7	6	55	33%
<b>Type C</b>	2	1	0	0	1	11	9	1	0	25	15%
<b>Segmentation inétudiable<sup>(2)</sup></b>	7	1	4	3	4	1	7	4	5	36	22%

<sup>(1)</sup> "Trottoir" = portion de trottoir s'étendant le long d'une face d'îlot.

<sup>(2)</sup> L'état de la fouille ou de la conservation du trottoir ou des édifices qu'il longe interdit parfois d'étudier le rapport entre la segmentation du trottoir et l'organisation des édifices.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. tableau 12: 166 trottoirs segmentés ou partiels.

Tableau 9  
Les matériaux des trottoirs homogènes

	Nombre de trottoirs <sup>(1)</sup> strictement homogènes	% du total des trottoirs homogènes <sup>(2)</sup>	Nombre total de trottoirs homogènes et quasi homogènes <sup>(1)</sup>	% du total des trottoirs homogènes et quasi homogènes <sup>(2)</sup>
<b>Tuf</b>	41	50,5%	77	49%
<b>Lave</b>	28	34,5%	45	28,5%
<b>Calcaire</b>	11	13,5%	30	19%
<b>Calcaire+Lave</b>	1	1,5%	3	2%
<b>Autre</b>			2	1,5%
<b>Total</b>	81	100%	157	100%

<sup>(1)</sup> “Trottoir” = portion de trottoir s’étendant le long d’une face d’îlot.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. tableau 14.

Le tableau se lit comme suit: 41 trottoirs strictement homogènes (soit 50,5% du total des trottoirs homogènes sur l’ensemble du site) présentent une bordure de tuf; 77 trottoirs homogènes ou quasi homogènes (trottoirs homogènes+ trottoirs segmentés avec matériau dominant), soit 49% du total de ces trottoirs, présentent une bordure de tuf.

Tableau 10  
Homogénéité et quasi-homogénéité: les grands axes

	Nombre total de trottoirs étudiables <sup>(1)</sup>	Nombre de trottoirs homogènes et quasi homogènes	% des trottoirs homogènes et quasi homogènes par rapport aux trottoirs étudiables
<b>Via di Nocera</b>	6	6	100%
<b>Vico di Tesmo+vicolo del Citarista</b>	9	9	100%
<b>Via dell’ Abbondanza</b>	32	28	87,5%
<b>Via di Nola+ della Fortuna+ delle Terme</b>	25	20	80%
<b>Via Mercurio</b>	4	3	75%
<b>Via Vesuvio + via Stabiana</b>	18	8	44,5%

<sup>(1)</sup> “Trottoir” = portion de trottoir s’étendant le long d’une face d’îlot.

Tableau 11  
Les trottoirs de Pompéi: répartition par secteur

	1	2	2bis	3	3bis	4	5	5bis	résidu	Total
<b>Trottoirs<sup>(1)</sup> absents et/ou non visibles</b>	2	0	0	8	0	1	47	2	6	66
<b>Trottoirs mal visibles</b>	1	3	2	5	1	0	8	1	0	21
<b>Trottoirs étudiables</b>	48	41	14	39	4	32	46	10	13	247
<b>Total <sup>(1)</sup></b>	51	44	16	52	5	33	101	13	19	334
<b>%trottoirs étudiables//total</b>	94%	93%	87,5%	75%	80%	97%	45,5%	77%	68,5%	47%

(1) “Trottoir” = portion de trottoir s’étendant le long d’une face d’îlot.

Tableau 12  
Les trottoirs segmentés dans l’espace urbain: répartition par région

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	Total
<b>Trottoirs<sup>(1)</sup> segmentés</b>	22	4	4	3	11	36	38	15	20	153
<b>Trottoirs partiels</b>	0	0	0	0	0	5	6	2	0	13
<b>Total</b>	22	4	4	3	11	41	44	17	20	166
<b>% des trottoirs étudiables<sup>(2)</sup></b>	57,8%	50%	33,3%	75%	73,3%	80,4%	69,8%	68%	64,5%	67,2%

(1) “Trottoir” = portion de trottoir s’étendant le long d’une face d’îlot.

(2) Par rapport au nombre de trottoirs étudiables de chaque région (cf. tableau 1).

Tableau 13  
Les trottoirs segmentés dans l’espace urbain: répartition par secteur

	1	2	2bis	3	3bis	4	5	5bis	résidu	Total
<b>Trottoirs<sup>(1)</sup> segmentés</b>	25	29	11	25	4	23	23	6	7	153
<b>Trottoirs partiels</b>	4	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	13
<b>Total</b>	29	34	11	25	4	25	23	6	9	166
<b>% des trottoirs étudiables<sup>(2)</sup></b>	60,5%	83%	78,5%	65%	100%	78,1%	50%	60%	69%	67,2%

(1) “Trottoir” = portion de trottoir s’étendant le long d’une face d’îlot.

(2) Par rapport au nombre de trottoirs étudiables de chaque secteur (cf. tableau 11).



Tableau 14  
Homogénéité et quasi-homogénéité: répartition par région

a) Inventaire

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	Total
<b>Trottoirs<sup>(1)</sup> homogènes</b>	16	4	8	1	4	10	19	8	11	81
<b>Trottoirs de type A3</b>	4	0	0	0	0	5	7	1	2	19
<b>Trottoirs segmentés<sup>(2)</sup> avec présence d'un matériau dominant</b>	9	3	2	0	1	10	15	5	12	57
<b>Total</b>	29	7	10	1	5	25	41	14	25	157

b) Pourcentages par rapport au nombre de trottoirs étudiables<sup>(3)</sup> pour chaque région

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	Total
<b>Trottoirs<sup>(1)</sup> homogènes</b>	42%	50%	67%	25%	27%	19,5%	30%	32%	35%	33%
<b>Trottoirs de type A3</b>	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	10%	11%	4%	6%	8%
<b>Trottoirs segmentés<sup>(2)</sup> avec présence d'un matériau dominant</b>	24%	40%	17%	0%	7%	19,5%	24%	20%	39%	23%
<b>Total</b>	76%	90%	84%	25%	34%	49%	65%	56%	80%	64%

<sup>(1)</sup> "Trottoir" = portion de trottoir s'étendant le long d'une face d'îlot.

<sup>(2)</sup> À l'exclusion des trottoirs de type A3.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. tableau 1.

Les deux tableaux se lisent comme suit: dans la région I se trouvent 16 trottoirs homogènes; les trottoirs homogènes forment donc 42% des trottoirs étudiables de cette région.

Tableau 15  
Homogénéité et quasi-homogénéité: répartition par secteur

a) Inventaire

	1	2	2bis	3	3bis	4	5	5bis	résidu	Total
<b>Trottoirs<sup>(1)</sup> homogènes</b>	19	7	3	14	0	7	23	4	4	81
<b>Trottoirs de type A3</b>	4	5	0	5	0	3	1	0	1	19
<b>Trottoirs segmentés<sup>(2)</sup> avec présence d'un matériau dominant</b>	11	8	2	11	0	8	14	2	1	57
<b>Total</b>	34	20	5	30	0	18	38	6	6	157

b) Pourcentages par rapport au nombre de trottoirs étudiables<sup>(3)</sup> pour chaque secteur

	1	2	2bis	3	3 bis	4	5	5bis	résidu
<b>Trottoirs<sup>(1)</sup> homogènes</b>	39,5%	17%	21,5%	36%	0%	22%	50%	40%	31%
<b>Trottoirs de type A3</b>	8,5%	12%	0%	13%	0%	9,5%	2%	0%	7,5%
<b>Trottoirs segmentés<sup>(2)</sup> avec présence d'un matériau dominant</b>	23%	19,5%	14%	28%	0%	25%	30,5%	20%	7,5%
<b>Total</b>	71%	48,5%	35,5%	77%	0%	56,5%	82,5%	60%	46%

(1) "Trottoir" = portion de trottoir s'étendant le long d'une face d'îlot.

(2) À l'exclusion des trottoirs de type A3.

(3) Cf. tableau 11.

Les tableaux 15a et 15b se lisent comme les tableaux 14a et 14b.

Tableau 16  
Les principales marques lapidaires (attestées plus de deux fois)

Type	nbre total d'occurrences <sup>(1)</sup>	publiées	<i>uidi</i>	
01a	91	64	67	(fig. 32, fig. 33)
01b	2	2	2	(fig. 32)
01 (Total)	93	66	69	
02a	65	50	50	(fig. 32, fig. 34)
02b	23	17	22	(fig. 32)
02c	2	1	1	(fig. 32)
02d	2	2	2	(fig. 32)
02 (Total)	92	70	75	
03	4	0	4	(fig. 32)
04	5	1	4	(fig. 32)
05	9	5	7	(fig. 32)
06	10	5	6	(fig. 32, fig. 35)
07	5	1	5	(fig. 32)
08	5	3	5	(fig. 32)
09	11	9	9	(fig. 32, fig. 36)
10	8	7	5	(fig. 32, fig. 37)
11	16	16	10	(fig. 32, fig. 38-39)

<sup>(1)</sup> Nombre obtenu par le cumul des données publiées et de nos propres observations.

Tableau 17  
Les marques lapidaires dans l'espace urbain

a) Répartition par région des marques lapidaires

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	total
<b>Nombre de marques repérées <sup>(1)</sup></b>	16	1	0	0	10	39	97	46	12	221
<b>% par rapport au total <sup>(2)</sup></b>	7%	0,5%	0%	0%	4,5%	17,5%	44%	21%	5,5%	100%
<b>Nombre total de marques inventoriées</b>	16	1	1	0	12	52	131	61	16	290
<b>% par rapport au total <sup>(3)</sup></b>	5,5%	0,5%	0,5%	0%	4%	18%	45%	21%	5,5%	100%

b) Répartition des marques lapidaires dans l'espace urbain: secteur oriental (régions I, II, III, IV, V, IX) et secteur occidental (régions VI, VII, VIII) de la ville.

	Secteur oriental	Secteur occidental
<b>Nombre de marques repérées <sup>(1)</sup></b>	39	182
<b>% par rapport au total <sup>(2)</sup></b>	17,5%	82,5%
<b>Nombre de marques inventoriées</b>	46	244
<b>% par rapport au total <sup>(3)</sup></b>	16%	84%

<sup>(1)</sup> D'après l'inventaire des marques, publiées ou inédites, effectivement repérées sur le terrain.

<sup>(2)</sup> Pourcentage du nombre de marques repérées dans chaque région par rapport au nombre total de marques publiées ou inédites effectivement repérées sur le terrain.

<sup>(3)</sup> Pourcentage du nombre total de marques inventoriées dans chaque région par rapport au nombre total de marques inventoriées.



Tableau 18  
Distribution des marques lapidaires (d'après l'inventaire général)

Localisation \ type	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	autres	total
Scuole		10			5							1	16
Regina	1	2			1							3	7
Parete rossi		8											8
Tempio d'Iside		6	2	4								3	15
<b>Total I</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>							<b>7</b>	<b>46</b>
Eumachia			1										1
Balcone Pensile	6	3										4	13
Scheletri	24	33				1	1					7	66
Maschera	17	11	1	1		2		1	1				34
<b>Total IIa</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>			<b>11</b>	<b>114</b>
VI, 3, VI, 5, VI, 6		8						1				1	10
vic. d. Terme	2	3									1	1	7
Fauno	2											4	6
VI, 9, S	2	3						2					7
Vesuvio	5	1			2							2	10
<b>Total IIb</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>15</b>			<b>2</b>			<b>3</b>			<b>1</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>40</b>
Panettiere	6												6
Tesmo (IX, 4, W)	3												3
Citarista (I, 4, W)	4												4
Balbo	3											1	4
Nola (V, 1, S)	2												2
I, 8/I, 9	7												7
<b>Total III</b>	<b>25</b>											<b>1</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>IV</b>							<b>3</b>		<b>10</b>		<b>10</b>		<b>23</b>
<b>V</b>						<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>			<b>7</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>Marques dispersées</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>4</b>			<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>		<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>290</b>

I, IIa, IIb, III, IV, V: cf. fig. 40.

Tableau 19  
Distribution des marques lapidaires (repérées sur le terrain)

Localisation \ type	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	autres	total
Scuole		10			3								13
Regina		2			1								3
Parete rossi		5											5
Tempio d'Iside		6	2	4								3	15
<b>Total I</b>		<b>23</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>							<b>3</b>	<b>36</b>
Eumachia			1										1
Balcone Pensile	2	3										4	9
Scheletri	20	22				1	1					5	49
Maschera	15	10	1			1		1	1				29
<b>Total IIa</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>2</b>			<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>			<b>9</b>	<b>88</b>
VI,3, VI, 5, VI, 6		8						1				1	10
vic. d. Terme	1	3									1	1	6
Fauno	2											2	4
VI, 9, S	2	2						2					6
Vesuvio	3	1			2							2	8
<b>Total IIb</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>14</b>			<b>2</b>			<b>3</b>			<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>34</b>
Panettiere	3												3
Tesmo (IX, 4, W)	3												3
Citarista (I, 4, W)	4												4
Balbo	2											1	3
Nola (V, 1, S)	2												2
I, 8/I, 9	7												7
<b>Total III</b>	<b>21</b>											<b>1</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>IV</b>							<b>3</b>		<b>8</b>		<b>7</b>		<b>18</b>
<b>V</b>						<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>			<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Marques dispersées</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>			<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>		<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>221</b>

I, IIa, IIb, III, IV, V: cf. fig. 40.

## Residences for the rich?

Some observations on the alleged residential and elitist character of *Regio VI* of Pompeii<sup>1</sup>.

Astrid V. Schoonhoven

*"In the Ausonian land a city rose  
Far from the haunts of poverty and toil,  
Where wearied ones sought rapture and repose,  
And evermore from the enchanted soil  
New fountains flashed into the odorous air,  
New palaces sprung upward to the light,-"*

*Excerpt from: Pompeii of the west- John Hall Ingham (1903)<sup>2</sup>.*

### INTRODUCTION

Together with the *regiones* around the *forum* of Pompeii, the area to the north of it, *Regio VI*, was disinterred in rather an early phase of Pompeii's excavation history. Most of the work was done in the years 1820-1850, a period in which the excavators started to use the streetpattern of the region as guideline to their work (Fig.1). They were rewarded by the many grand houses that turned out to be located in this area<sup>3</sup>.

When Giuseppe Fiorelli became director of the site in 1860 the excavations were directed towards the *insulae* that are situated to the left and right of the big north-south axis of the city, the *via Stabiana-via Vesuvio*. In this period were added *I. 1-5* and *IX. 1-3*<sup>4</sup>. The work of Fiorelli's successors was mainly concentrated on the intersection of the *via Stabiana/via Vesuvio* and the *via di Nola*<sup>5</sup>. The excavations were expanded to *V. 1-5*, *VI. 13-16* and *IX. 4-8* (Fig.2). It was not until this century that most of the south-east area of the city was disinterred under the guidance of firstly Vittorio Spinazzola (1910-1924) and later Amadeo Maiuri (1924-1941 and 1951-1961) (Fig.3)<sup>6</sup>. So the excavators of Pompeii turned their attention first to the areas to the north of the city-centre, then started to work their way to the east.

The same sequence might have been the way in which the city grew originally. In this sequence *Regio VI* is the first expansion the city had beyond the old city-centre, the so-called *Altstadt*. Apparently, at some point the built-up area became too small for its inhabitants and new residential areas needed to be created to fill the need. There is some logic in the assumption that an expansion to the north was the most practical choice at first. Topographically speaking it was

a very suitable area, which was close to the centre and also to the routes that led to and from the city in northern direction. Expansion to the east was less desirable because of the presence of a rather pronounced groove in the territory, the axis on which now runs the *via Stabiana*, which formed some sort of natural boundary<sup>7</sup>.

How the new district was organised in the first phase of its existence is hard to determine, hidden as it is within and probably mostly beneath the standing structures. The present arrangement, with the many grand mansions that dazzled the nineteenth century excavators, probably dates back to the Samnite phase of the town. From the early second century BC onwards there seems to have been a period of continuous growth of private wealth when many "palaces sprung upward to the light". A large part of these residences is supposed to have been located in *Regio VI*<sup>8</sup>. As it comes across to us in its AD 79 form, the region is still generally considered to have kept this original function as a residential district for the more well to do citizens<sup>9</sup>. Engaged in research concerning this region, I

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank H. Geertman for his helpful suggestions with regards to the text and P. Deunhouwer for his introduction to the drawing programmes (AutoCAD and CorelDRAW) used here to create Fig.4, 5, 7, 8 and 9. I am also grateful to the Italian government for funding my stay in Italy (by means of a NUFFIC scholarship), the *Soprintendenza di Pompeii*, esp. P.G. Guzzo and A. D'Ambrosio, the *Istituto Olandese di Roma*, A. Wallace-Hadrill, N. Greaves and L.M. Winckel.

<sup>2</sup> John Hall Ingham 1903, *Pompeii of the west and other poems*, Philadelphia/London.

<sup>3</sup> Brilliant 1979, 120.

<sup>4</sup> Fiorelli 1875 (map).

<sup>5</sup> Michele Ruggiero (1875-1893), Giulio De Petra (1883-1901), Ettore Pais (1901-1905) and Antonio Sogliano (1905-1910).

<sup>6</sup> Fiorelli 1859; Fiorelli 1875; Presuhn 1878, 1882; Maiuri 1950, 9-40; Spinazzola 1953; Étienne 1974, 55-77; Brilliant 1979, 99-131, 206-273.

<sup>7</sup> Eschebach 1970, 14-15, 46, who derives this idea from Van Buren, A.W. 1919, 1920, In Memoriam Francis John Haverfield, *The Classical Journal* 15, 169-172. The idea is supported by the location of wells in the city, see Mygind, H. 1917, *Die Wasserversorgung Pompejis*, *Janus* 22, 296.

<sup>8</sup> A.o. Lauter 1975, 149, 150 Fig.136, a map with the locations of, as Lauter calls them, the "palazzi and palazzetti" of the Samnite period; Zanker 1998, 32-43.

<sup>9</sup> Despite the later creation of other "elitist" areas, especially of the so-called *Insula Occidentalis*, e.g. Zanker 1998, 72-77, 143-144.



## PLAN GÉNÉRAL DE POMPEÏ.

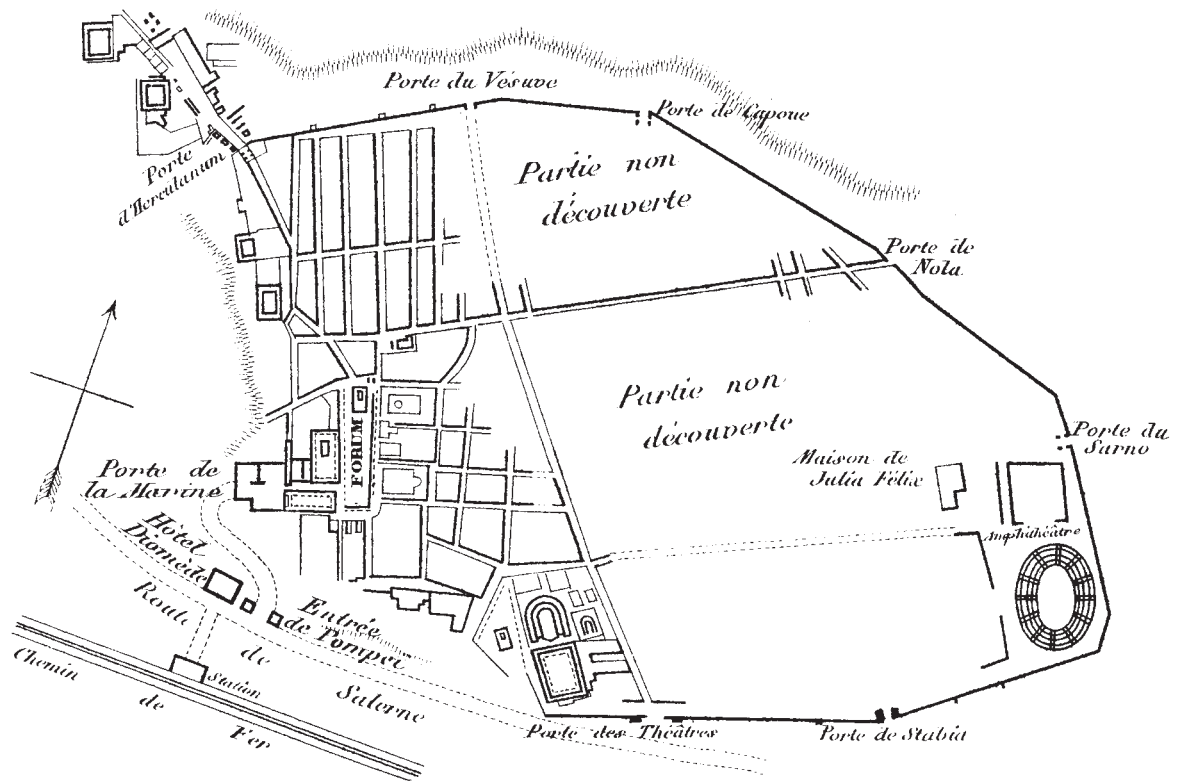


Fig.1. General plan of Pompeii, mid 19<sup>th</sup> century (Breton, E. 1855, *Pompeia*, Paris, fold-out map in the back).

decided to take a closer look at the character of the district to see if the description of the region as a residential area of the Pompeian elite fits<sup>10</sup>. This is in fact a question about the urban geography of Pompeii in general and about the place the chosen region had within the framework of the city. An attempt will be made to see if the region shows the high amount of elite housing attributed to it and if so what reasons lay behind such an organisation. Starting point is the present arrangement of the region, that for a considerable part must have been realised in the prosperous period mentioned, but might now be partially obscured by alterations made in the circa three centuries that followed. Some of the alterations could mean more than just constructional change. This holds true especially for the last phase of the city's existence. Transformations and adaptations made in that period might reflect a major shift in the social composition of Pompeii, which was probably caused by the seismic activity that from the big earthquake of AD 62 onwards continued to upset daily life in the area<sup>11</sup>.

### 1. The social organisation of space

The subject of the urban geography of Pompeii has for a very long time been more or less ignored by science. The first serious attempt to look into this matter was done by Raper in 1977, who applied the urban geographical techniques of analysis of his time to study Pompeii. The use of these techniques enabled him to gain insight in the spatial organisation of the ancient city and to formulate some ideas on the social processes that were behind its physical organisation. Raper came to the conclusion that Pompeii's various regions were characterised by a varied use of land, a positive sign that zoning in the modern sense did not exist in ancient Pompeii. He was surprised at this outcome because of the impor-

<sup>10</sup> This research occupies itself with the urban layout of Pompeii in general, but especially of *Regio VI*. The study is being executed in the context of the *Pompeii Project* of the University of Leiden, the Netherlands, under guidance of H.Geertman. See Geertman 1998.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. *Archäologie und Seismologie* 1995.

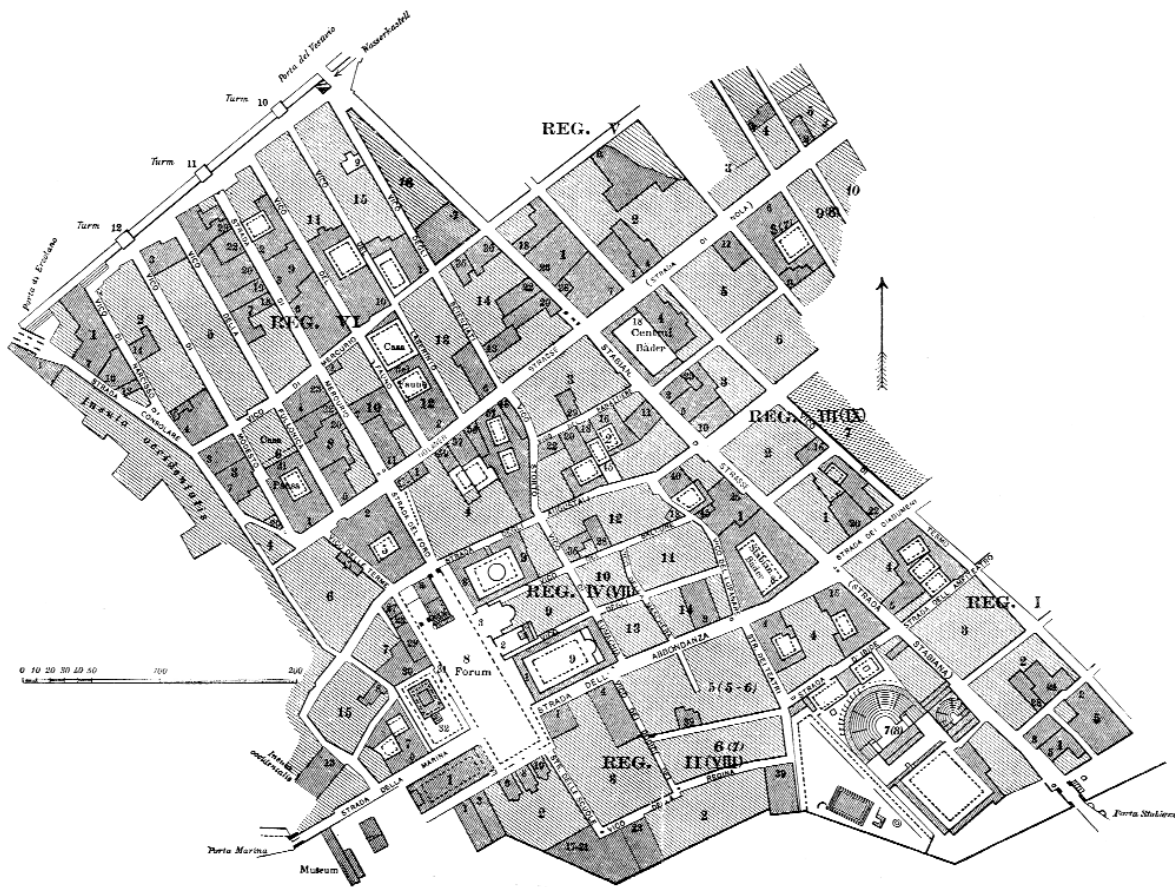


Fig. 2. The disinterred part of Pompeii around the turn of this century (Mau, A. 1908, *Pompeji in Leben und Kunst*, Leipzig, Plan VI).

tance of social values in Roman society. The absence of zones and the remarkably mixed use of land in Pompeii seem irreconcilable with the social order of the time. The explanation Raper offered, is that the mixed urban landscape of Pompeii only typified Pompeii in the last phase of its existence. It was a result of the changed social relations, which were caused by a "growing process of "democratization" following the commercial expansion under Roman provincial rule"<sup>12</sup>. The economic prosperity of the Roman period caused the rise of the commercial classes and the decline of the old aristocracy, as the latter did not wish to be directly associated with any form of commercial activities. The mixed pattern was a result of the deliberate choice of the rising economic classes to move commercial and industrial activities to previously more exclusively residential areas in combination with the incapability of the former elite to oppose to this process<sup>13</sup>. Raper's explanation relied heavily on

existing views. Of especial importance was the viewpoint of Maiuri, who was the first to point out the infiltration of respectable residential areas with trade. He stressed the fact that the general process of democratization was sped up in the Vesuvian cities because of the increasing seismic activity in the area. Many elite members decided to move away to geologically more stable areas, which helped the members of the lower classes that stayed behind to move up the social ladder<sup>14</sup>.

Many doubts have been cast on the probability of the theory of democratization. Often attacked is the

<sup>12</sup> Quotation from Raper 1977, 192.

<sup>13</sup> See also Raper 1979, where he repeats these ideas.

<sup>14</sup> Maiuri 1942, who based this view on Rostovzeff's idea of a Roman evolution towards industrialization in the first century AD, Rostovzeff 1957 (first edition 1926). See also Castrèn 1979, 1983, who argued that Pompeii's political scene was infiltrated by plebeian families in the city's final years.

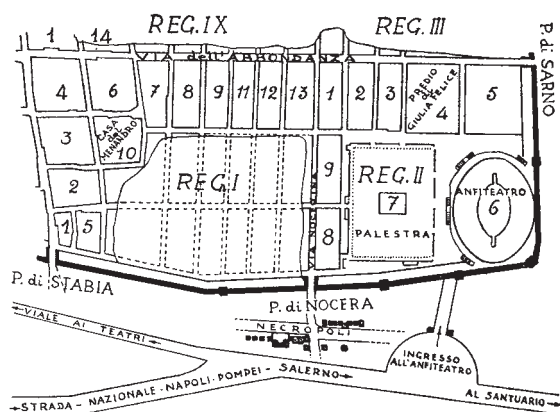


Fig.3. The Nuovi Scavi of Pompeii (Maiuri, A. 1967, *Pompeii, I nuovi scavi-La villa dei Misteri-L'antiquarium*, 14<sup>th</sup> edition, which includes the work of the years 1951-1961, 66 Fig.13).

proposed downfall and desertion of the town by the elite. It is also unclear whether or not a large-scale rise of the mercantile classes actually took place and to which extent the presence of a new industrial elite could have led to the substitution of the old aristocracy. Other reasons for the sudden blossoming of commercial activities have been brought forward. Some authors claim that the infiltration of commercial activities in residential context is far better explained by a shift of interest by the old land-owning families towards trade. This process might have been connected to a general evolution of Roman society towards industrialization and was probably also in some way influenced by the seismic unrest in the area<sup>15</sup>.

The matter of elite involvement in trade has been extensively discussed by Wallace-Hadrill in his *Houses and society in Pompeii and Herculaneum*<sup>16</sup>. Wallace-Hadrill convincingly argued that the commercial interest of the leading classes was not a specific feature of the later phase of Pompeii's existence. He showed it to be an existing characteristic of Roman-Italic and thus also of Pompeian society, not a fundamental change brought about by a sudden patrician or plebeian jump towards industrialization, by seismic unrest or by a combination of the two. The elite profited from trade, which made it feasible to keep it at close reach and under control. Thus the absence of zoning in Pompeii was not a symptom of the infiltration of residential areas by commercial activities but instead had its roots in the general attitude of the elite towards the world of trade. The residential areas had never been free from such activities nor from the presence of the lower classes engaged in it. It is true that the elite did not

want to be directly associated with "sordid trade", but apparently they had other ways to distance themselves from it than we would expect. There were no strict physical barriers between the two worlds, which explains the mixed urban landscape of the town.

Wallace-Hadrill's explanation of the phenomenon gives us far better insight in the social background of the spatial organisation of Pompeii. Changes that surely must have happened under Roman rule or specifically in the unstable decades of the last phase of the city's existence do not seem to have caused fundamental changes to the physical arrangement of the town nor to the social organisation that lay behind it. There are indications that commercial activity became more prominent but it would go too far to explain this as a victorious conquest of residential areas by the commercial and industrial sector<sup>17</sup>. There were no exclusive residential areas to conquer. Pompeian society allowed co-existence of the commercial and the residential, of "petty trade and dignified sociability"<sup>18</sup>.

The members of the Pompeian elite thus did not lock themselves away in zones to prevent the lower classes from trespassing across social frontiers. At first glance this seems to indicate that there could not have been specifically residential or rich districts in Pompeii simply because the notion of separation of activities or classes through the creation of exclusive areas ("zones") within the city was alien to this society. There are however signs of some clustering of the richer residences (*Regio VI*) and also of congregation of other than residential units, for instance of certain kinds of shops and workshops<sup>19</sup>. This does not indicate zoning but neither should eventual clusters be put aside beforehand as minor variations of a general pattern. While this suffices if one wants to define the broad picture, the smaller scaled nature of the study on *Regio VI* asks for a more detailed approach. If clusters existed, their presence and meaning need to be explained, not explained away.

<sup>15</sup> For several observations concerning the proposed continuous grip of the old aristocracy on city affairs, their involvement in trade and the restrictions this caused for the social mobility of the mercantile classes e.g. Rostovzeff 1957 (first edition 1926); Gordon 1927; Frank 1927; Lepore 1950; Mayeske 1972; Andreau 1973a and b, 1979; Étienne 1974; Moeller 1976; Pucci 1976-77; Lyapustin 1983; Gassner 1986 and Mouritsen 1988, 1997.

<sup>16</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 1994, chapter 6.

<sup>17</sup> Despite many examples of residences that seem to be partially or completely transformed into commercial units in the city's later years, *Regio VI* for example also possessed a large number of original commercial units. An evaluation of this evidence will be offered by the author at a later stage.

<sup>18</sup> Quotation from Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 118.

<sup>19</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 77, 78. See also the paragraph on the distribution of activities.



	Res.	C/I	P	Ratio
<i>Regio I</i>	84	211	0	1: 2.5: 0
<i>Regio II</i>	9	39	4	1: 4.3: 0.4
<i>Regio III</i>	18	52	1	1: 2.9: 0.1
<i>Regio IV</i>	8	17	0	1: 2.1: 0
<i>Regio V</i>	39	79	1	1: 2.0: 0.0
<i>Regio VI</i>	102	215	6	1: 2.1: 0.1
<i>Regio VII</i>	62	365	18	1: 5.9: 0.3
<i>Regio VIII</i>	39	104	13	1: 2.7: 0.3
<i>Regio IX</i>	52	172	1	1: 3.3: 0.0

**Table 1**, numbers of residential (Res.), commercial or industrial (C/I) and public areas (P) of Pompeii (based on Eschebach 1993, 453-467)<sup>23</sup>. The fourth column gives the ratio between the three categories.

The city of Pompeii presents itself to the modern observer as a somewhat chaotic entity, a jungle of intertwined units of diverse size and function. To explore this jungle the clusters are a good place to start looking<sup>20</sup>. Their presence will aid us to get a more detailed and therefore more complete picture of the urban landscape of Pompeii and the logic behind its physical organisation.

The next three paragraphs cover some factors that might help showing clustering of certain types of units or activities, areas where preference for a specific type of land use overruled the general idea of a mixed urban landscape. The paragraphs discuss respectively the number of residences, the distribution of activities and the distribution of unit size and unit type. For reasons explained in the introduction, the focus of attention will be on *Regio VI*.

## 2. The number of residences

The residential character of *Regio VI* can become clear when it is compared to the other regions of the city. Statistics of different sorts can show if indeed most of the district was equipped for housing, more so than any of the other regions<sup>21</sup>. Some caution with the results is needed. A major problem of statistical research in Pompeii is the uneven quality of the evidence for each region. To illustrate this *Regio III* and *IV* are good examples. These regions have been excavated for only a small part. The effect is that not only the total amount of discovered units is rather small but also that the ratio between the different functions is completely distorted. The areas that have been explored are mainly the north and south façades of the houseblocks. Situated as these are alongside the *via di Nola* and the *via dell'Abbondanza*,

two of the major arteries of the city, they display a disproportionate amount of commercial units. Although to a smaller extent, this implication is valid for all but the completely disinterested regions of the city. Despite this restriction there are still many observations that can be deduced from the available material.

Among the less laborious of the relevant statistics are those that give the numbers of different types of (activities within) units that can be found in the city. Statistic data of this type were used to create Table 1. The data were recently published as part of the “legacy” of Hans Eschebach<sup>22</sup>. As shown in the table, *Regio VI* has the highest amount of residences. However, because of the differences in size of the regions, numbers of residences alone are not very meaningful. Therefore a comparison has been made for each region of the ratio between residential, commercial or industrial and public units. The percentages show that of the relatively well explored regions

<sup>20</sup> See Raper who ponders a while on possible “further lines of investigation” (Raper 1977, 218-219) and Laurence, who correctly claims that “an alternative strategy for the evaluation of space is required” (Laurence 1995, 65).

<sup>21</sup> In order to create clarity in the arrangement of the tables presented in this article, the figures are rendered in round figures (surfaces and percentages) or rounded off to one decimal place (ratios and averages).

<sup>22</sup> Eschebach 1993, 453-467.

<sup>23</sup> Under commercial and industrial units: shops, workshops, wholesale businesses, vegetable gardens, hotel and catering establishments including *lupanaria* (= brothels). Under public units and spaces: public buildings including sanctuaries, schools, squares, *praedia civica* (= plots owned by the city-government). The numbers here presented are based on Eschebach 1993, 453-464, not on the summary on page 465.

	Res.	C/I	P	Ratio
<i>Regio I</i>	141	204	2	1: 1.5: 0.0
<i>Regio II</i>	22	31	3	1: 1.4: 0.1
<i>Regio III</i>	30	46	0	1: 1.5: 0
<i>Regio IV</i>	13	23	0	1: 1.8: 0
<i>Regio V</i>	69	75	1	1: 1.1: 0.0
<i>Regio VI</i>	187	238	3	1: 1.3: 0.0
<i>Regio VII</i>	190	392	28	1: 2.1: 0.2
<i>Regio VIII</i>	80	113	25	1: 1.4: 0.3
<i>Regio IX</i>	92	165	7	1: 1.8: 0.1

**Table 2.** numbers of residential units (Res.), commercial or industrial units (C/I) and public units or spaces (P) of Pompeii (based on Pompei, *l'informatica...* 1988, I, 51-59, II, Table)<sup>28</sup>. The fourth column gives the ratio between the three categories.

only *Regio V* has less commercial or industrial and public units per house than *Regio VI*.

A shortcoming of this comparison is that it does not take into account the amount of space that each category of units occupies. This is most obvious in the category of public units, which seems almost negligible in the data here presented. However one glance at any plan of Pompeii shows what an important role public buildings and areas must have played in city life. The same observation is significant when it comes to the category of houses. Here the amount does not give any information on the types of residences present or the amount of space they occupy.

In this respect another publication offers a better basis for statistical treatments. A statistical approach to Pompeii was the main objective of this publication which becomes immediately clear from the title: *Pompei, l'informatica al servizio di una città antica*<sup>24</sup>. The information presented enables the same approach as was already applied to the data published by Eschebach (Table 2). The differences between the amounts of units in Table 1 and 2 is mainly due to the differences in definition of the various categories and units belonging to these categories. However, despite the differences in numbers the results with regards to *Regio VI* are the same as before: only *Regio V* has a lower amount of commercial and/or industrial and public units per house. The publication also enables other applications. A big asset of the information provided is the specification of unit types, which proves very useful when we try to say more on the alleged residential character of *Regio VI*. This

becomes obvious when Table 2 is compared to Table 3, 4 and 5. Table 2 shows that for total numbers of residences *Regio VI* only comes in second after *Regio VII*. Also, as seen before, that *Regio V* has less commercial or industrial and public units per house than *Regio VI*. Table 3, 4 and 5, however, show that *Regio VI* has the highest number and the highest percentage of houses that had possession of at least one *atrium* or *peristylum*. This type of house design needs a relatively large area to be created and the design is such that the main part of this area is reserved for residential purposes<sup>25</sup>. Because of this an atriumhouse of more or less regular plan might have been a status symbol for its owner<sup>26</sup>. Other houses like the so-called rowhouses were sometimes given a more “distinguished” look by installing a traditional *atrium* and by adding one or more *peristylia* or decorative gardens<sup>27</sup>. In this

<sup>24</sup> *Pompei, l'informatica...* 1988. The statistical data used here are derived from the contribution to this publication of De Lellis, Miele and Pisapia (49-71).

<sup>25</sup> This holds especially true for the atriumhouses that, besides a *peristylum*, possess an added *atrium* and/or *peristylum*, a category which according to this information seems to have formed a remarkable presence in *Regio VI*.

<sup>26</sup> *Neapolis* 1994, 193; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 80, 81.

<sup>27</sup> Most obvious example of this is the *Casa dell' Efebo* where as many as six rowhouses were put together and transformed into a miniature villa suitable for multiple habitation, with two *atria*, a *peristylum*, a decorative garden with large summer *triclinium* and private baths. For the matter of rowhouses e.g. Hoffmann, A. 1980, Ein Beitrag zum Wohnen im vorrömischen Pompeji, *Architectura* 10; *Idem* 1979, L'architettura, in *Pompei* 79, Napoli, 97-118; Nappo, S.C. 1993-4, Alcuni esempi di tipologie di case popolari della fine III, inizio II secolo a.C. a

	A	A/P	AA/PP	Ap.	Per.	Ir.	N.i.	U.v.
<i>Regio I</i>	33	7	3	16	6	72	4	0
<i>Regio II</i>	2	1	1	1	0	16	1	0
<i>Regio III</i>	2	1	1	0	0	2	24	0
<i>Regio IV</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	0
<i>Regio V</i>	11	2	4	2	10	21	19	0
<i>Regio VI</i>	57	15	14	24	28	48	1	0
<i>Regio VII</i>	29	14	7	38	48	51	2	1
<i>Regio VIII</i>	17	8	3	11	8	32	0	1
<i>Regio IX</i>	20	3	8	5	10	32	14	0

**Table 3**, numbers of different types of residences in Pompeii. Type A: houses with one atrium, A/P: houses with atrium and peristylum, AA/PP: houses with more than one atrium and/or peristylum, Ap.: an apartment on the upper floor, Per., Pergula: entresol or platform in the interior of shops, accessible by means of stairs (constructed in wood or stone)<sup>29</sup>, Ir.: residence of irregular or unusual plan, N.i.: house of not identifiable type (partially excavated), U.v.: Urban villa with productive area (based on Pompeii, *l'informatica...* 1988, I, 55, II, Table).

respect another interesting remark can be made with regards to the ratio between the category of atrium-houses (A) and the category of houses of irregular plan (Ir, see Table 3). All reasonably well explored regions show a ratio of circa 1:2, only *Regio VI* has a ratio of 1:<1. The presence of all forms of atrium-houses (A; A/P; AA/PP) as opposed to that of more irregularly built residences has a minimum ratio of 1:1 for these same regions, again *Regio VI* stands out with a ratio of 1:0.6.

The results seem to indicate that *Regio VI* indeed was predominantly residential in character and the house types present suggest that it was an area of some distinction.

Robinson recently published an article in which he presented a similar statistical treatment of (residential) properties of Pompeii as has been conducted to create Table 5<sup>30</sup>. Robinson worked from an assumption of Grahame, who in a survey of the dwellings of *Regio VI* suggested that “there was a relationship between increasing property size, the number of courtyards the property possessed and the social class of the building”<sup>31</sup>. Difference between the approach of Robinson and the method *Pompeii, l'informatica...* is that the latter looked at functions of units, which means that if a unit has two functions it is counted twice. For example a house with shop is counted both as house and shop. Robinson counted the total number of units for each *Regio* and then looked at the amount of units that do not possess an atrium and/or peristylum and the ones that do. Despite this variation, the data collected should in

both cases show if *Regio VI* had a prominently higher percentage of atrium/peristylum houses than any of the other *Regiones*. For each region Robinson gave the percentages of properties without atrium or peristylum, the houses with either atrium or peristylum and the houses that possessed both atrium and peristylum (see Table 6)<sup>32</sup>.

Comparing the results it is surprising to what extent Tables 5 and 6 differ. Therefore the decision was made to undertake a similar study. In Pompeii I visited all units of the more completely excavated *Regiones*<sup>33</sup>.

Pompeii, *Rivista di Studi Pompeiani* VI, 77-104. See also Zanker 1998, 174-181.

<sup>28</sup> Of the residential units is excluded type AB “postico”, since this is not a type of residence, just an entrance. Under commercial and industrial units are included type B (commercial units), C and D (productive units); type E (storage) and P (*lupanaria*). Under public units and spaces: type F (buildings for performances), GB (public baths), H (sanctuaries), IB and IC (sporting complexes), M (municipal buildings), N (other public buildings) and O (open public spaces).

<sup>29</sup> The proper meaning of the Latin term is: 1. Project or shed in front of a house, used as booth, stall or shop; 2. shop; 3. school or lecture room; 4. brothel; 5. vine-arbour; 6. hut, hovel (Lewis, C.T.; Short, C. (impression of) 1955, *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford).

<sup>30</sup> Robinson 1997.

<sup>31</sup> Robinson 1997, 139; Grahame, M. 1995, *The Houses of Pompeii: Space and Social Interaction*, (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Southampton).

<sup>32</sup> Robinson 1997, 139 Table 2. This table was adapted to make it more directly comparable to Tables 5 and 7.

<sup>33</sup> See also the chapter on the distribution of unit size and unit type.



	Residences	A;A/P;AA/PP	Percentage
<i>Regio I</i>	141	43	31
<i>Regio II</i>	22	4	18
<i>Regio III</i>	30	4	13
<i>Regio IV</i>	13	0	0
<i>Regio V</i>	69	17	25
<i>Regio VI</i>	187	86	46
<i>Regio VII</i>	190	50	26
<i>Regio VIII</i>	80	28	35
<i>Regio IX</i>	92	31	34

**Table 4**, total number of all types of residences in Pompeii, and the sum of houses with atrium-a and/or peristylum-a. The last column shows the percentage these residences occupy on the total (based on Pompei, *l'informatica...* 1988, II, Table).

	Units	A;A/P;AA/PP	Percentage
<i>Regio I</i>	347	43	12
<i>Regio II</i>	56	4	7
<i>Regio III</i>	76	4	5
<i>Regio IV</i>	36	0	0
<i>Regio V</i>	145	17	12
<i>Regio VI</i>	428	86	20
<i>Regio VII</i>	610	50	8
<i>Regio VIII</i>	218	28	13
<i>Regio IX</i>	264	31	12

**Table 5**, total number of all types of units in Pompeii and the number of residences with one or more atrium and/or peristylum. The last column shows the percentage these residences occupy on the total (based on Pompeii, *l'informatica...* 1988, I, 51-59, II, Table).

	Units	A;A/P;AA/PP	Percentage
<i>Regio I</i>	160	92	58
<i>Regio II</i>	18	11	61
<i>Regio III</i>	-	-	-
<i>Regio IV</i>	-	-	-
<i>Regio V</i>	59	30	50
<i>Regio VI</i>	213	106	50
<i>Regio VII</i>	284	71	25
<i>Regio VIII</i>	99	35	35
<i>Regio IX</i>	106	41	39

**Table 6**, distribution of atrium/peristylum houses across Pompeii (adaption of Robinson 1997, 139 Table 2).

	Units	A;A/P;AA/PP	Percentage
<i>Regio I</i>	159	66	42
<i>Regio II</i>	20	7	35
<i>Regio III</i>	-	-	-
<i>Regio IV</i>	-	-	-
<i>Regio V</i>	60	22	37
<i>Regio VI</i>	202	86	43
<i>Regio VII</i>	273	61	22
<i>Regio VIII</i>	86	23	27
<i>Regio IX</i>	127	36	28

**Table 7**, number of atrium/peristylum houses on the total number of private units across Pompeii (source: author, fieldwork 1998 <sup>36</sup>).

The results of this survey are presented in Table 7. The table gives yet another representation of the data. The inconsistency in numbers can partially be explained by the choice of sampled areas. For various reasons some areas were excluded from the sample<sup>34</sup>. Another important factor is the way the sample was collected. The choice not to rely on existing maps but to conduct fieldwork instead must have improved the data, for example in the many cases where I discovered a non-recorded *impluvium*. Unfortunately, not all units were accessible, especially the *insulae* 3, 4 and 5 of *Regio VIII*, where the bramble bushes proved to be an impenetrable jungle in which cases the existing maps and studies needed to be consulted. Another more theoretical factor that might explain some of the differences is the definition of a “separate unit”. To offer a consistent approach, it was decided to treat every unconnected unit independently despite the fact that this is not always correct. Some unconnected shops or small dwellings might have been part of a larger legal unit, which cannot always be concluded from the constructional remains<sup>35</sup>.

The variation in numbers caused by the various reasons mentioned unfortunately leads to remarkable shifts when it comes to percentages. From this it becomes obvious how statistics might lead to hasty and possibly false conclusions. All tables presented in this paragraph show that *Regio VI* housed many residences, a lot of which possessed status architecture. Unfortunately they differ when it comes to the exclusivity of this characteristic. The differences may or may not be completely explained by the reasons mentioned. Fact is that conclusions drawn from these data vary too much to say anything decisive

with regards to the residential character of the Pompeian *Regiones*. This approach that depends on absolute numbers of (functions of) units needs to be combined with other types of research to determine whether or not *Regio VI* was a particularly residential and/or rich area. This will be done in the next two paragraphs on respectively the distribution of activities and on the distribution of unit size and unit type.

### 3. The distribution of activities

A way to avoid the dangers that are specifically linked to a numerical approach is to visualise statistical data. Examples of this are researches conducted

<sup>34</sup> *Regio VIII*, *insula* 2 and the *Insula Occidentalis* were excluded because of their separate location and character, also the areas that are excavated for but a small part. My sample included: *I. 1-16*, 20-22; *II. 1-4*, 8, 9; *V. 1-4*; *VI. 1-16*; *VII. 1-4*, 6, 7, 9-15; *VIII. 3-7* and *IX. 1-9*, 14.

<sup>35</sup> On problems surrounding the correct definition of a separate unit see also Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 72-74, on juridical aspects, see: Saliou, C. 1994, *Les lois des bâtiments. Voisinage et habitat urbain dans l'empire romain, recherches sur les rapports entre le droit et la construction privée du siècle d'Auguste au siècle justinien*, Beyrouth.

<sup>36</sup> The data on which Table 7 was based will be published as an appendix to the dissertation of the author. *Reg.V*, *ins. 2*, 3 and 4, also *Reg.IX*, *ins. 6*, 7 and 8 are not completely disinterred. *I. 14* and *Reg.VIII*, *ins. 3* and 8 were partially inaccessible because of bramble bushes. The missing information was completed through the *Eschebach* map (1993) and the AutoCAD version of the *Corpus Topographicum Pompeianum*, which was manufactured by the *Studio Architettura* (Rome) by order of the *Soprintendenza degli Scavi di Pompei* and the *World Monuments Fund* 1997.



Fig.4. Distribution of commercial and industrial activities across town (after: La Torre 1988, 77, 83, 85, 87 Map 1, 3-5).



Fig.5. Distribution of commercial and industrial activities across town (after: Laurence 1994, 58, 60, 62, 63, 65, 77, 82, 83 Maps 4.1, 4.3-4.6, 5.1-5.3).



separately by La Torre and Laurence on spatial distribution of different kinds of commercial and/or industrial activities<sup>37</sup>. Through this kind of research residential areas can be spotted by the relative absence of these activities. Fig. 4 and 5 show the results of their efforts. The distribution charts make an important specification of the data presented before with regards to *Regio VI*. The *insulae* that are in close proximity to the city gates and the through routes that led to and from these gates were much more commercial and/or industrial in character than the other blocks. As shown above the region did possess a high number and percentage of (the larger) houses of the city, despite the many activities going on in the west- and east part of the region. From these observations may be concluded that *Regio VI* is better characterised as a region with a residential core and more commercialised outskirts.

The found distribution forms a reflection of a more general pattern of commercial and industrial units throughout the city that despite possible changes in the later period can still be recognised. The activities were located where they are for practical reasons. The distribution charts show how most of the bars, restaurants and hostels (*cauponae*, *thermopolia* or *popinae*, *hospitia*) were situated alongside the through routes of the city with clusters where these arteries crossed one another and where they left/entered the city. They were easily spotted by weary travellers and practically situated for deliverance of stock. There are also quite a few in the lively part of the centre, the crooked streets behind the public buildings on the east side of the forum, and in close proximity of public buildings, for instance near *thermae*, the theatres and the amphitheatre<sup>38</sup>.

The shops were located alongside the through routes, where they could be reached by vehicles<sup>39</sup>. This also holds true for many of the workshops, although there is a large concentration of workshops in the winding streets to the east of the forum. Certain types of workshops tend to cluster a bit<sup>40</sup>. They all seem to have “avoided the residential areas associated with *Regiones* 1, 5, 6 and 8”<sup>41</sup>. This is hardly surprising since a lot of them must have produced noises, smells or both.

The bakeries (*pistrina*) are a bit more evenly distributed than the other (work)shops because they filled a rather basic need. Of these the ones with mills were situated alongside bigger arteries to be closer to the deliverance of grain<sup>42</sup>.

However there also seem to have been reasons other than practical ones for the locations of the activities mentioned. The bars and small eating-houses were connected to activities that were considered to be “deviant behaviour” (prostitution, excessive public drinking and gambling). They are situated away

from the residential areas, especially from the areas where the larger houses are situated<sup>43</sup>. The buildings that were the most socially undesirable of all, the brothels, are situated in isolated areas, not always far away from the residences but in any case well out of sight of the (main entrances of) houses of respectable Pompeian families<sup>44</sup>.

Based on the location of these units Laurence composed a map on which he has indicated which streets can be qualified as being deviant (Fig.6)<sup>45</sup>. The deviant streets of the city were busy until late at night, they constituted “areas that were avoided by the elite”. After having attended a party in the luxurious privacy of some friend’s house, the respectable citizens did not want to be confronted with the low-life of the city on going home<sup>46</sup>. The fact that deviant behaviour was probably (legally) regulated must mean that absence of it in any particular area is not the result of chance but of deliberate exclusion of these activities from the area<sup>47</sup>. The proposed attitude of the upper class of the city speaks for the arrangement of elitist areas, where larger residences clustered and deviant activities where conspicuously absent<sup>48</sup>. In the current opinion *Regio VI* must have been such an elitist area.

<sup>37</sup> La Torre 1988; Laurence 1994. For *hospitia*; *stabula*; *tabernae* see also Kleberg 1957, 33-44, map between 48 and 49; on craft workshops: Lyapustin 1983, 60 distribution chart; on wool trade: Moeller 1976, 55 distribution chart; on bakeries: Mayeske 1972, catalogue of Pompeian bakeries, 82-165, 195, 196 table with the location of different types of bakeries.

<sup>38</sup> Kleberg 1957, 49-53 (map between 58 and 59); La Torre 1988, 76-78; Laurence 1994, 81.

<sup>39</sup> See also: Gassner 1986, esp. 84.

<sup>40</sup> See also: Mayeske 1972; Moeller 1976; Lyapustin 1983.

<sup>41</sup> Quotation from Laurence 1994, 64.

<sup>42</sup> Laurence 1994, 55-57; see also: Mayeske 1972.

<sup>43</sup> Laurence 1994, chapter 5, 71-87; compare Kleberg 1957, 52, 53.

<sup>44</sup> Laurence 1994, 73-75.

<sup>45</sup> Laurence 1994, 85 Map 5.4.

<sup>46</sup> Laurence 1994, 81-87. The hostels, bars and small restaurants aimed at the lower classes that did not entertain at home. On holders, personnel and clients of these establishments see Kleberg 1957, 53, 74-97.

<sup>47</sup> Laurence 1994, 70; Wallace-Hadrill 1995, who shows that this particularly holds true for the more official public areas, like the western stretch of the *via dell’Abbondanza* leading from the *forum* in the direction of the *Foro Triangolare*. A city like Pompeii shows moral awareness in the location of its virtuous and vicious activities. As Wallace-Hadrill puts it: “A major conscious preoccupation of a city was to enhance the opportunities for both (virtue and vice): that is, to make sure that virtue was rewarded with the finest public display, and that vice was kept inconspicuous” (57).

<sup>48</sup> Compare Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 78. He mentions there was some sort of clustering of larger houses, although in his opinion this is but a “minor local variation” that is “not enough to disrupt the underlying pattern of mixture of large and small”. However it is possible that the concern displayed in creating a “purified world of public life” (Wallace-Hadrill 1995, 56) was repeated on a smaller scale by the Pompeian elite by creating residential areas where vicious activities were kept at bay.

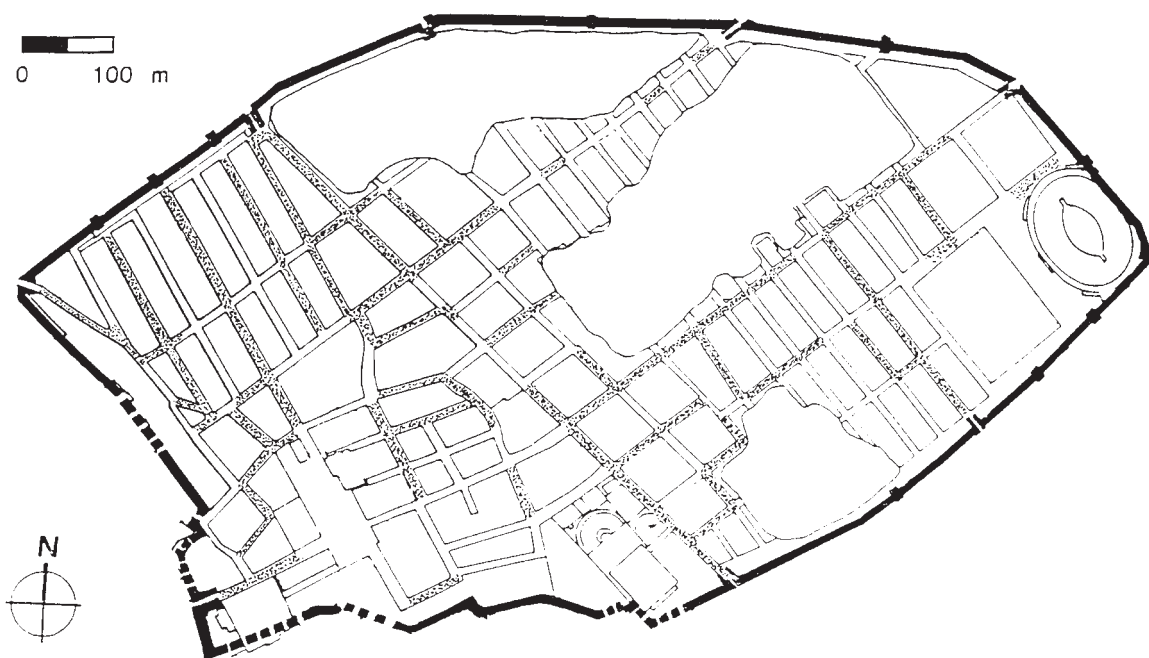


Fig.6. The deviant streets of Pompeii (Laurence 1994, 85 Map 5.4).

Laurence's map however surprisingly presents *Regio VI* as a rather deviant area, especially if one takes into account that the streets of the region which are not shaded, are aligned with the back façades, i.e. the garden walls, of houses. This view of the region however does not seem to be justified by the data presented. Fig.6 does not give an accurate representation of the data because it does not show clustering of deviant activities. The map lacks precision because it is too precise; it is so constructed that the presence of a single deviant unit is enough to cross the thin line between virtue and vice. To give an example, the upper stretch of the *via di Mercurio* is marked as deviant in Fig.6. As can be seen in Fig.5 this is done on the basis of the presence of one single bar<sup>49</sup>. I would like to argue that the information on distribution of units provided shows that at least the core of the region was hardly deviant at all which, especially combined with the previously shown evidence for a large amount of bigger houses, suggests the presence of an elite in the area.

In another publication Laurence tried to provide more answers to questions concerning the underlying "rules" of Pompeii's spatial organisation by looking into the distribution of street activity<sup>50</sup>. In order to see whether or not there existed some form of organisation of street activity he studied the occurrence of doorways in a street, the occurrence

of street messages or graffiti and the ratio of narrow entrances (of houses) and wider entrances (of shops). Based on the distribution maps presented in Laurence's publication some interesting observations can be made. The highest occurrences of doorways and street messages were in those streets that formed through routes from the gates of the city and in the crooked streets in the area to the east of the *forum*<sup>51</sup>. The high ratio of "open" entrances can be found in the same areas<sup>52</sup>. Obviously the larger arteries of the town served visitors and townsmen alike in their movements around town and the area to the east of the *forum* might have served as some sort of integrating core<sup>53</sup>. The evidence collected by Laurence makes it possible to make some interesting remarks with regards to *Regio VI* specifically.

<sup>49</sup> VI. 9, 1.14, *praedium civicum, hospitium* and *caupona* of *Gabinus* (Eschebach 1993, 188).

<sup>50</sup> Laurence 1995. Laurence attacks the preoccupation of previous studies with zoning and presents the study of street activity in Pompeii as an alternative strategy to gain insight in the spatial organisation of the town. Compare his initial study on street activity (Laurence 1994, chapter 6). See also the paragraph on the social organisation of space and note 20.

<sup>51</sup> Laurence 1995, 68-71 Fig. 4.3, 4.4.

<sup>52</sup> The ratio *fauces*: "open" (shop) entrance = 1: 4-6, Laurence 1995, 74 Fig. 4.7a/b.

<sup>53</sup> Laurence 1995, 72, 73.

Surprisingly enough the occurrence of doorways and street messages alongside the *via di Mercurio* equals that of the through routes and centre of the town. However the ratio of wide shop doors compared to narrow *fauces* leading to residences is very low, which shows that despite competition for street frontage this probably was not a competition between residential and commercial or industrial activities<sup>54</sup>. The evidence suggests that “Regio VI (...) is not an area of distributive streets (...). There would be little reason to enter this area, unless there was a specific purpose and destination in it”<sup>55</sup>. This specific purpose and destination might have originated from social concerns. The bigger part of the houses of the region is situated alongside the (socially) busier streets. The fact that this includes most of the largest residences of the region suggests that even the houses of the elite tended to be located in spots where they could be easily seen and found, also that the proprietors of those houses apparently felt the need to show off their elegant mansions<sup>56</sup>. The high occurrence of electoral graffiti alongside the same streets speaks for the same urge of advertisement by the elite.

Both the paragraph on numbers of residences and the observations presented in this paragraph on the distribution of activities showed that *Regio VI* seems to possess the residential character attributed to it. Not only the number but also the proportion of houses in the region was relatively high and the core of the district was relatively free of commercial activity. The evidence also indicates the presence of an elite in the area. Many of the houses of the region possess status architecture. The absence of commercial and industrial activities implies a relative absence of deviant behaviour in the area, which organisation points in the direction of an elite group. The evidence provided by the study of street activity also offered a glimpse into the mind of the elite. Living in a residential, setting they still tended to focus on the busier streets, not just the socially busy streets like the *via di Mercurio*, but also on the distributive arteries of the town like the *via Consolare* and the *via Vesuvio*. Apparently they had reasons to stimulate interaction with the public.

The evidence seems to confirm the existing views on the presence of elite housing of *Regio VI*. However the evidence is not conclusive. There are other “quiet” areas which were obviously mainly residential where the houses are not excessively large or richly decorated (parts of *Regio I*, see Fig. 4, 5 and 6). Also many obviously rich houses incorporated other than residential activities in their homes (especially the larger residences that aligned the main routes through the city and the ones within the “integrating core” of the city) which in a lot of cases seems to have been an original arrangement<sup>57</sup>.

Some of the more modest houses had “morally correct” surroundings, while some of the more luxurious houses were surrounded by vice. It is hard to tell what this suggests with regards to the social texture of Pompeii in general and *Regio VI* specifically. The next paragraph will focus on the richer residences of Pompeii through a survey and evaluation of the distribution of houses with status architecture across the city.

#### 4. The distribution of unit size and unit type

As seen above, the statistics show that *Regio VI* probably possessed a relatively large quantity of the bigger residences of the city. In fact when it comes to size many of the houses of *Regio VI* are only comparable to small palaces<sup>58</sup>. The most striking example of course is the *casa del Fauno* which occupies an entire *insula* (a little over 3000 sq.m)<sup>59</sup>. In the pages above is already stated how house type can form an important factor in defining whether or not a specific area was predominantly residential in character. In this respect house size and house type are closely connected: as soon as the plan of a dwelling becomes more elaborate more space needs to be reserved for residential use<sup>60</sup>. Needless to say that using a relatively large area for residential purposes alone must have been considered a luxury and therefore can only have brought status to its owner. Among the most luxurious and large residences are those that were variations of the traditional atrium-house: the ones that were in the possession of two *atria*, the so-called double-atriumhouses, and those with more than one *peristylum*. *Atrium* and *peristylum* were architectural features that implied a high social status, since they were reception areas for which the common man had no use<sup>61</sup>. The *casa del Fauno* had two *atria* as well as two large *peristylia*.

<sup>54</sup> Laurence 1995, 68, 69 Fig. 4.3, 74, 75 Fig. 4.7d which shows the ratio of *fauces*: “open” (shop) entrance to be 1: 1-2. <sup>55</sup> Cited from Laurence 1995, 73. The distribution of wheel-ruts in the streets of Pompeii also shows low street activity for *Regio VI*. (Tsuji-mura, S. 1991, Ruts in Pompeii, the traffic system in the Roman city, *Opuscula Pompeiana* 1, Fig. 5).

<sup>56</sup> Compare Robinson 1997, 142; Zanker 1998, 41-42.

<sup>57</sup> Compare Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 118-142.

<sup>58</sup> Lauter 1975, 148; Zanker 1998, 33-37. On the role of size of residences as a status symbol in antiquity see Vitruvius *De Architectura* VI.V.2, also e.g. Wallace-Hadrill 1994, Chapter 1 and 72; Robinson 1997, 137 and Zanker 1998, 12-14.

<sup>59</sup> The surface, 3018.74 sq.m, is calculated from the average of the east- and west façade (respectively 90.37 and 90.42 m) and the average of the north -and south façade (respectively 33.78 and 33.01 m). In Oscan feet the surface is approximately 40.000 sq. feet. (Data: *Pompeii project* of the University of Leiden).

<sup>60</sup> Compare Robinson 1997, 139-141.

<sup>61</sup> Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, book VI, chapter V.



The plot, on which the residence was erected, used to be divided between several proprietors in an earlier phase. The new owner removed all traces of the previous constructions when he built his house, something, which, probably because of the costs and effort involved, was not a common practice<sup>62</sup>. The capability to create a house in this fashion might still have been seen as a status symbol in the II<sup>nd</sup> century BC when these houses were constructed<sup>63</sup>. Does the presence of these large residences in the area indicate that *Regio VI* was predominantly residential, and wealthy at that, after all? Or are these huge mansions characteristic of Pompeii in general? The statistics applied and discussed in the second paragraph failed to be decisive but maybe they were too crude for our purposes. What happens if the factor size is drawn into the statistical calculations?

Working with surfaces of units instead of amounts of units offers a number of advantages. To mention an example: *insula 12* of *Regio VI* consists of two commercial units and one residence of the *atrium/peristylum* type. In the paragraph on numbers of residences this would have been translated as “one third of the total number of units was reserved for residential use”. The fact that the residence was probably spacious would have been noticed by looking at the type of residence, but the specific implications with regards to the division of space inside the block would not have become clear. This problem does not occur when one looks at the amount of surface each unit occupies. In the case of *Regio VI*, *insula 12* it becomes clear that the one residence of the block, the *casa del Fauno*, was by far the dominant factor within the block<sup>64</sup>.

Of course not every large area is an indication of a stately home. Examples where this is not the case, are the large cultivable areas in the east part of *Regio I* and *Regio II*. Most of the houses on these plots were not in the possession of status architecture. In all cases the residential function was clearly subservient to the agricultural use of the plot. This is why the study of surfaces of units cannot be done without some notion of the types of units studied. In his *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum*, Wallace-Hadrill acknowledged the importance of property size in antiquity<sup>65</sup>. He drew the attention to the distribution of house sizes and house types in Pompeii and Herculaneum by looking at three samples, two from Pompeii, one from Herculaneum<sup>66</sup>. Wallace-Hadrill used existing plans of the city to measure the ground areas of all separate units within the three samples. A combination of unit size and type led to the creation of a typology that covers the whole range of Pompeian units. Based on the material thus obtained, he concluded that the city shows a “pattern of mixture of large

and small”<sup>67</sup>. The statistics show that in this, *Regio VI* was no different from the rest of the city. The average house size of this region does not differ from that of the other regions under examination. Also all the different house sizes and house types are equally represented<sup>68</sup>. There seems to be something of a cluster of the larger residences in the core of the region, alongside the *via di Mercurio* but this does not disrupt the underlying pattern<sup>69</sup>. Later in the same chapter Wallace-Hadrill combines the occurrence of status architecture, the presence of *atria* and *peristylia*, and house size, and concluded that at least both Pompeian samples show us a similar picture<sup>70</sup>.

There lies a lot of truth in his observations. As shown before, *Regio VI* houses a variety of residential, commercial and/or industrial units and most certainly does not consist exclusively of stately mansions. The proposed exclusive nature of *Regio VI* does not show up in the statistics. This evidence brought Wallace-Hadrill to the convincing characterisation of Pompeii as a city without “the sort of zoning that typifies the post-industrial city (...)”<sup>71</sup>. The mixed pattern of high and low class residences and of all kinds of activities can be explained by the close ties that existed between the social classes in ancient society and the general interest of all classes in trade<sup>72</sup>.

However, as was said in the first paragraph, the general question whether or not there was zoning in Pompeii leads to a rather general answer that is not very useful when one tries to make more specific

<sup>62</sup> Other examples in Pompeii are the *casa di Pansa*, which also occupies an entire *insula*, the *casa del Labirinto* and the *casa del Centenario*. Of these examples only the *casa del Centenario* is located outside *Regio VI*. All four were perfect variations on the traditional *atrium* house.

<sup>63</sup> Neapolis 1994, 193.

<sup>64</sup> *VI 12*, 2, the *casa del Fauno*, 2804.95 sq.m, *VI 12*, 4 and 6, the two shops, respectively 20.17 and 22.46 sq.m (based on the computerised version of the *Corpus Topographicum Pompeianum* 1997, see note 36). Also obvious from this example is, how this approach counterbalances to some extent the problems that arise because of the difference between physical and legal dependency of units. By introducing the factor size, the risk of distortion is reduced.

<sup>65</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 1994.

<sup>66</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 1994, chapter 4. The three samples are: Pompeii, *Regio I*, *insulae 6-10*, *Regio VI*, *insulae 9-16*, Herculaneum, *insulae 3-6*.

<sup>67</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 78.

<sup>68</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 72-78 Fig. 4.9.

<sup>69</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 78.

<sup>70</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 86-87. 42 percent of the houses in the *Regio I* sample were in the possession of an impluviate *atrium*, 45 percent of the houses in *Regio VI*.

<sup>71</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 78, see also the first paragraph on the social organisation of space.

<sup>72</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 1994, esp. chapter 6.

observations concerning the social organisation of the city. If one looks specifically at *Regio VI*, which is the intention of this article, the local clustering of the bigger residences in the core of the region could prove to be a meaningful aspect of its individuality and the indication of the presence of a local elite<sup>73</sup>. It follows from an evaluation of the two samples Wallace-Hadrill uses that his *Regio VI* sample shows a cluster of smaller units in the *insulae 14* and *16*, two house blocks that are located close to the *Porta di Vesuvio* and the artery leading towards it<sup>74</sup>. This evens out any unusually high quantity of larger buildings in the other *insulae*. The plot sizes within the *Regio I* sample seem to be a bit more evenly distributed between the different *insulae*. Thus where the *regiones* show the same range and distribution of unit sizes and types the *insulae* from which the districts are made up do not. The dissimilar internal make up of the samples makes one wonder if the similar overall picture the samples present could be the result of chance and if it is wise to use these samples as representatives of the Pompeian urban landscape as a whole<sup>75</sup>.

A more complete picture of the spatial distribution of unit sizes and types of the city is required. Robinson filled this need by means of the article that was already partially discussed in the paragraph on the numbers of residences<sup>76</sup>. He looked at the spatial distribution of social class across the urban landscape in order to test the “often repeated hypothesis proposed by Raper, that there was no spatial zoning”<sup>77</sup>. The social status of dwellings can be deduced from the interaction of three factors: the size of the property, the quantity and quality of its decoration and the presence or absence of certain architecturally distinctive rooms. Of these three factors the one that might seem the most promising at first, the decoration of the houses, proves to be the least rewarding because of the inequality of preservation of this category of evidence. From the distribution of unit size across the landscape can be made more reliable conclusions. Despite the overall diversity of property sizes there are some marked differences between the Pompeian *regiones*. *Regiones VII* and *IX* have a relatively low average property size which can be explained by the higher proportion of smaller dwellings around the *forum* and the location of most of the *insulae* of *Regio IX* alongside two of the major through routes of the city. The average property size for the *Regiones I* and *II* on the other hand is relatively high, which is caused by the presence of large garden plots in these areas. The other *regiones* display an average property size that comes close to the overall average of 250 square meters. To be of use in differentiating areas of various social status, the numbers need to be combined with an

evaluation of the architecture present. The distribution of “socially significant architecture” shows that with the exception of *Regio VII* all *regiones* had an equal percentage of residences that possessed both *atrium* and *peristylum*. Houses with either an *atrium* or a *peristylum* were more common in the *Regiones I, II, V* and *VI*. Dwellings that did not possess either were more abundant in the *Regiones VII, VIII* and *IX*<sup>78</sup>. From a graphic representation of the combination of property size and possession of certain architectural features Robinson deduced a typology of Pompeian dwellings<sup>79</sup>. Since the typology is based on important status indicators the distribution of the different types can serve as a gauge for the distribution of social class across the urban landscape. Robinson based his interpretation of the social texture of Pompeii on the found distribution<sup>80</sup>. The distribution of the smaller units without status architecture shows that the city had a densely occupied, commercially active core located in the *Regiones VII, VIII* and *IX*. Visitors and inhabitants of the town alike were channelled to this core by means of the large through routes of the city, which show the same characteristics as the heart of the town itself<sup>81</sup>. Some of the largest and most impressive houses of the city were situated alongside the busy through routes, which suggests some of the wealthiest families of the city felt the need to see and be seen<sup>82</sup>. Away from the central area and the through routes, the *Regiones I, II* and *VI* have a more residential character<sup>83</sup>. Here are situated more houses of all sizes, also many average sized houses, which were less well represented in the busier areas

<sup>73</sup> Especially in combination with the noticeable absence of commercial or industrial activity in the area.

<sup>74</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 68, 69 Fig. 4.1 and 4.2.

<sup>75</sup> Of course this is a problem from which suffer all studies that are based on samples. In this case Wallace-Hadrill (1994, 67) argued that the fact that both samples show a good cross section of different unit types and sizes present in the city is an indication that they provide a representative picture for the overall arrangement of space. However it is impossible to know for sure whether or not this is the reality. In the worst case imaginable the two samples might even represent the only two Pompeian areas which possessed such a variety of units.

<sup>76</sup> Robinson 1997.

<sup>77</sup> Quotation from Robinson 1997, 136.

<sup>78</sup> Robinson 1997, 139.

<sup>79</sup> Robinson 1997, 140.

<sup>80</sup> Robinson 1997, 141-143.

<sup>81</sup> This conclusion is supported by Laurence's studies on the distribution of activities throughout the city (Laurence 1994, 1995). See also the paragraph on distribution of activities.

<sup>82</sup> Again Robinson comes to the same conclusion as Laurence did before him (Laurence 1995). See also the paragraph on the distribution of activities.

<sup>83</sup> Possibly also *Regio V*, although Robinson does not specifically mention this region. *Regio I* is far less residential than suggested since there are large areas reserved for horticulture.

of town, and there is less commercial activity. Again the largest and most elegant dwellings are rarely located away from the busier streets. The picture that appears is that of a city that was a “highly structured society in spatial terms”<sup>84</sup>. The city had a flourishing commercial core, which was connected to the rest of the city and its surroundings by means of the large through routes. There were residential areas where many reasonably well off families lived. The largest houses however were situated alongside the bigger streets, which functioned as arteries that sustained the life of the city organism. Their distribution across the urban landscape, which Robinson interprets as even, is explained by him as the way in which the elite dominated different districts or neighbourhoods<sup>85</sup>.

The results of Robinson’s efforts show that indeed there is more to say to the social organisation of Pompeii than simply making the observation that there was no spatial zoning. With his research he is able to show that Pompeii was not a city where all kinds of activities and the dwellings of all social classes were scattered more or less randomly across the urban landscape. It gives an alternative for the unfortunate picture of Pompeii as a somewhat unstructured city, a picture that involuntarily jumps to mind when one sees Pompeii described as a city which possessed a mixed pattern caused by intermingled land use.

However, the picture of the spatial distribution of dwellings as presented by Robinson is not completely convincing. Firstly there were only the suspicions that were raised by the differences between Robinson’s table and the ones I had created from the publications discussed in the paragraph on the numbers of residences. As was said before this forced the decision to do my own data collecting on site. Then another problem surfaced. Both Robinson’s results and my own did not completely correspond to the more impressionistic view of the different areas of Pompeii one develops working on site. This may have something to do with the difference between experiencing the city *insula* by *insula* as one does on site and the way the facts show up when grouped according to *Regio*. This is a problem of scale that was already attested before with regards to the research of Wallace-Hadrill. Looking at the data on *regio* level makes it impossible to draw any conclusions on the internal arrangement of the various *regiones*. But more than just a matter of scale it is in fact a mistake to look at Pompeii by *regio* since the organisation of the city in the familiar *regiones* is not ancient but was created in the nineteenth century by the archaeological administration of the site<sup>86</sup>. The preoccupation of Pompeian research with these *regiones* tends

to obscure the fact that in comparing *regio* with *regio* we are not comparing ancient districts. Most probably ancient Pompeii did possess a division into different districts, but this original division is unfortunately lost to us.

Some *regiones*, like *Regio VI*, look more like districts than others because they basically consist of a group of similarly shaped *insulae*. These *insulae*-clusters have been recognised and studied by Geertman<sup>87</sup>. He came to the conclusion that the clusters represent different phases of systematic, regulated expansion beyond the old city-centre. The three main phases, which are closely connected to the streetpattern of the “new” Pompeii, are the area to the north with the *via di Mercurio* as its principal axis, the area of squared *insulae* alongside the *via Stabiana* and the east part of the town, with the *via di Nocera* as its north-south axis and perpendicularly the *via dell’Abbondanza* and the *via di Nola*. Two areas of irregularly shaped houseblocks were created to fill in the gaps between the three zones of differently oriented blocks. From the way the different zones are connected follows the relative chronology of the three phases. First to be created was the “*Mercurio*” area (almost all *insulae* of *Regio VI*), followed by the “*Stabiana*”-houseblocks and finally the “*Nocera*” part of town. Because of their location and spatial organisation the different clusters have been identified by Geertman as “*quartieri*” or districts in a physical sense. He quite correctly acknowledged the significance of the physical evidence offered by the *insulae* of Pompeii, from which can be deduced all sorts of information on the design and organisation of the different areas of expansion.

Whether or not the established “*quartieri*” also formed districts in a more social sense is another matter, however one that is of some consequence to the present argument. I decided to find out what would happen if, instead of the “modern” *regiones*, the ancient pattern of clusters of similar looking blocks was used as the basis for statistical analysis. Fig.7 shows an adaption of the map that shows the different phases of expansion as proposed by Geertman<sup>88</sup>. The clusters that are shown were named “*Altstadt*” (red), “*Pomerium*” (orange), “*Mercurio*” (dark green), *V. I, 2- VI. 14, 16* (bright green), “*Stabiana*” (yellow), “*Nola*” (dark blue) and “*Nocera*” (bright blue).

<sup>84</sup> Quotation from Robinson 1997, 143.

<sup>85</sup> Compare the study on local identity by Laurence (1994, chapter 3).

<sup>86</sup> E.g. Fiorelli 1875.

<sup>87</sup> The *Pompeii project* of the University of Leiden, see Geertman 1998, 17-20.



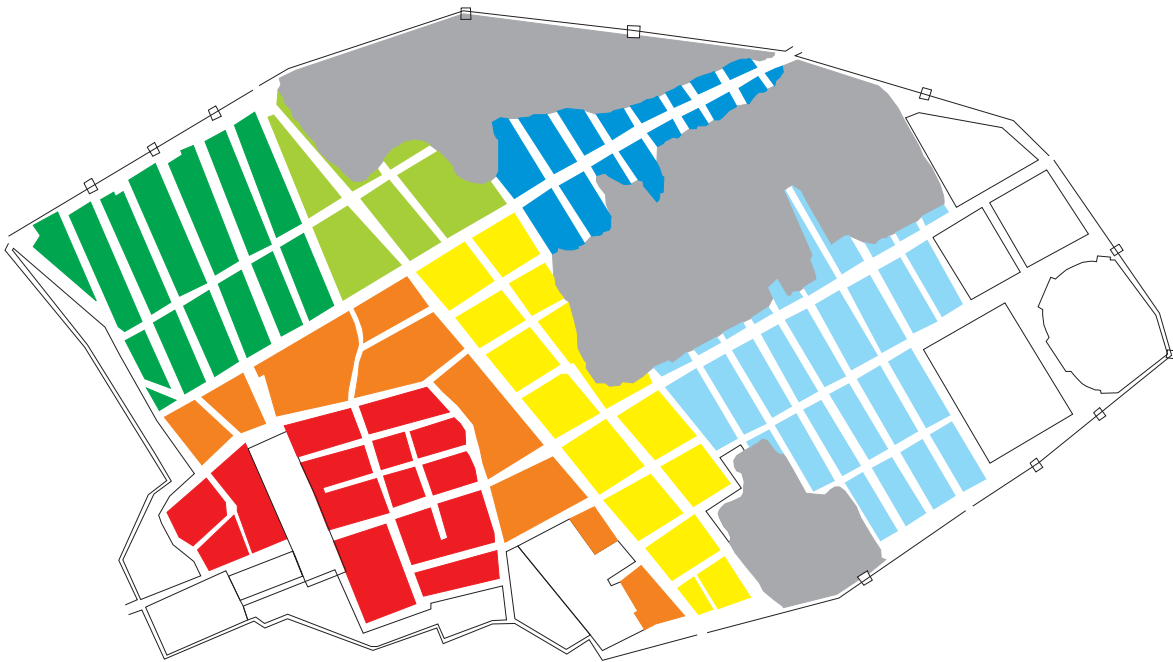
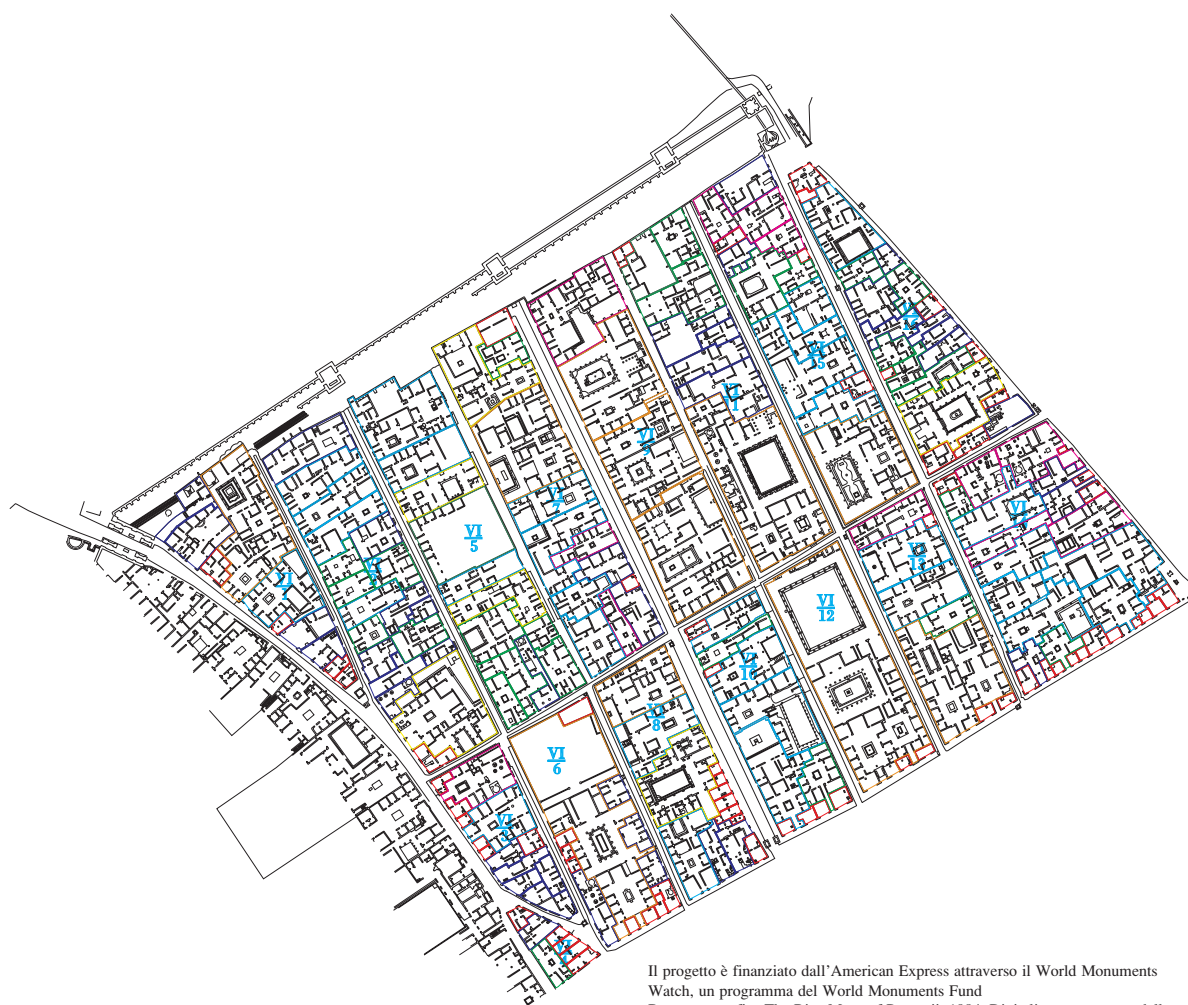


Fig.7. The insulae-clusters of Pompeii (after: Geertman 1998, 19 Fig.16).



Fig. 9. The average unit size of all units and the average unit size of the type 5, 6 and 7 properties per insula (the figures were deduced from the Corpus Topographicum Pompeianum).



Il progetto è finanziato dall'American Express attraverso il World Monuments Watch, un programma del World Monuments Fund  
Base cartografica: The Rica Maps of Pompeii, 1984. Digitalizzazione a cura dello STUDIO DI ARCHITETTURA  
SCALE 1:1000

TYPE	DESCRIPTION		
1 (red)	Small (work)shops/dwellings, usually < 100 sq.m	6 (yellow)	House with an <i>atrium</i> and <i>peristylum</i> or two <i>atria</i>
2 (dark blue)	Larger (work)shops and/or dwellings of more complex plan but without status architecture. Also rowhouses	7 (orange)	As 6 with an added <i>atrium</i> and/or ( <i>pseudo-</i> ) <i>peristylum</i> or decorative garden
3 (bright green)	House with an <i>atrium</i> or ( <i>pseudo-</i> ) <i>peristylum</i>	8 (brown)	Large area without architecture, with or without small dwelling, mostly areas used for horticulture
4 (pink)	As 3 but with commercial area	P (purple)	Public building or space
5 (bright blue)	House with an <i>atrium</i> and decorative garden or <i>pseudo-peristylum</i>		

Fig.8. Map of Regio VI with unit boundaries (AutoCAD map of the *Corpus Topographicum Pompeianum* (detail), boundaries by the author).

Firstly all separate units of the site were visited and plotted on a computerised map of the city (Fig. 8)<sup>89</sup>. The ground surface of all units was established by the computer and used to calculate the average unit size for all *insulae* under examination. The average unit size and average amount of units per *insula* of the different *regiones* are shown in Table 8. The average amount of units per *insula* gives some idea of the density of units in the different *regiones*. Table 9 shows the same information when the new approach, which is based on the clusters of similarly shaped *insulae*, is applied. Because of the problem of scale some of the figures were visualised by means of a distribution map to enable the reader to keep an eye on the internal make up that lies at the basis of the overall characterisation of the studied clusters (Fig. 9).

On the *regio* level the results are very similar to the picture presented by Robinson<sup>91</sup>. *Regiones VII* and *IX* have the lowest average property size, *Regiones I* and *II* the highest. The units of *Regio VI* and *VIII* were a bit above, the units of *Regio V* a bit below average size. The combination of the average property size with a notion of the density of buildings in the various regions adds to this information. If the average amount of units is high and the average surface area is low this characterises the region as an area that was densely packed with relatively small units. The best example of this is *Regio VII*. A lower number of larger units is indicated by a low average amount of units in combination with a large average property size, as is the case of the *Regiones I* and *II*. The table shows that the *insulae* of *Regio VI* had an average number of relatively large units. Looking at the evidence when distributed according to clusters of similarly shaped *insulae*, a somewhat different and in any case more detailed picture appears. The number of units in the "Altstadt" and "Pomerium" area, previously *Regio VII* and *VIII*, is high. The units had a very low surface average. Owing to the differences in size of the blocks, the number of units per *insula* is much higher in the "Pomerium" area.

The *insulae V. 1, 2* and *VI. 14, 16* show a very similar picture as the blocks of the "Pomerium".

The square blocks of the "Stabiana" cluster have a relatively low average unit size. The square *insulae* were smaller than those of the "Pomerium" area and the *insulae V. 1, 2* and *VI. 14, 16* and because of this they housed a smaller amount of units per block.

In the north-east part of the city there are less properties per block which in this case is caused by the higher average unit size. Even more explicit is this for the north part of town, previously the bigger part of *Regio VI*. Finally, the average property size of the

south-east part of town is very high, which in combination with the low average amount of properties per *insula* suggests the presence of large plots in this area.

The next step was to combine unit size with unit type to enable differentiation between large properties with and those without status architecture. A typology was created in which the presence or absence of status architecture was rated more important than unit size. In this respect the typology is different from both Wallace-Hadrill who based his typology of Pompeian units on property sizes and Robinson who created a typology that followed directly from the combination of property size and status architecture<sup>92</sup>. The types are presented in Fig. 8. Type 5, 6 and 7 are the types that will be looked at in more detail since they constitute a group of houses within the city that had possession of two status indicators, that is at least an *atrium* as well as a decorative garden, (*pseudo*-) *peristylum* and/or second *atrium*. Not only did they have the traditional reception area in the front of the house but also a second source of light within the house around which a semi-private area for reception of family, friends and invited guests was created<sup>93</sup>. Reason to exclude houses, which only possessed an *atrium* (type 3), is that these houses do not need more surface area than many of the houses without status architecture. In fact many of these "humbler" dwellings were changed into atriumhouses because a "traditional" *atrium* with *impluvium* that was visible from the street provided them with a more "noble" appearance. Type 4, atriumhouses with an area for commercial or industrial activity, was

<sup>88</sup> Geertman distinguishes two phases in the irregular blocks that were created in between the northern "Mercurio" area, the blocks alongside the *via Stabiana* and the east part of town. The *insulae VI. 14* and *16* and *V. 1* and *6* were an addition to the northern area, whereas the *insulae V. 2* and *7* were created after the squared blocks were completed. The distinction has mainly chronological relevance and seems too detailed to be sustained here. Another difference between Fig. 7 and the original map of Geertman is my division of the east part of town in a northern and a southern area, two areas that were focussed on different main streets, respectively the *via di Nola* and the *via dell'Abbondanza* which probably resulted in areas of different character.

<sup>89</sup> Measured were the interior surfaces of the different units to enable comparison of the amount of ground area each of the units had to their disposal.

<sup>90</sup> The discrepancy between the totals of Table 8 and 9 is caused by the fact that, owing to the singularity of character and position of the *praedium* of *Julia Felix* (*insula II. 4*), this block was left out of the calculations of Table 9.

<sup>91</sup> Compare Robinson 1997, 138 Table 1.

<sup>92</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 80-82, Robinson 1997, 140.

<sup>93</sup> On the role and importance of both architectural status symbols mentioned in ancient literature, e.g. Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 83, 84.



	Units Total	Surface Total	Surface Average	Units Average per <i>insula</i>
<i>Regio I</i>	159	50988	321	8.4
<i>Regio II</i>	20	19495	975	3.3
<i>Regio V</i>	60	13524	225	15.0
<i>Regio VI</i>	202	53470	265	12.6
<i>Regio VII</i>	273	42911	157	18.2
<i>Regio VIII</i>	86	22392	260	14.3
<i>Regio IX</i>	127	26505	209	12.7
Total	927	229285	247	12.2

**Table 8.** Total amount of units, the total surface of all units, the average unit size per *Regio* and the average amount of units per *insula* (source: author, fieldwork of 1998, figures derived from the *Corpus Topographicum Pompeianum* 1997).

	Units Total	Surface Total	Surface Average	Units Average per <i>insula</i>
“Altstadt”	175	32390	185	13.5
“Pomerium”	184	32913	179	23.0
“Mercurio”	150	44922	300	10.7
V. 1, 2; VI. 14, 16	91	17698	195	22.8
“Stabiana”	179	37838	211	12.8
“Nola”	44	11817	269	11.0
“Nocera”	103	45979	446	6.1
Total	926	223557	241	12.4

**Table 9.** Total amount of units, the total surface of all units, the average unit size per cluster of similarly shaped *insulae* and the average amount of units per *insula* (source: author, fieldwork of 1998, figures derived from the *Corpus Topographicum Pompeianum* 1997)<sup>90</sup>.

	All Units	Units 5-7	Percentage	Surface All Units	Surface Units 5-7	Percentage	Surface Average Units 5-7
<i>Regio I</i>	159	42	26	50988	21986	43	524
<i>Regio II</i>	20	4	20	19495	10827	56	2708
<i>Regio V</i>	60	15	25	13524	8474	63	565
<i>Regio VI</i>	202	49	24	53470	33529	63	684
<i>Regio VII</i>	273	39	14	42911	23320	54	598
<i>Regio VIII</i>	86	13	15	22392	10628	48	818
<i>Regio IX</i>	127	19	15	26505	12485	47	657
Total	927	181	20	229285	121249	53	670

**Table 10,** Total amount and percentage of units of type 5, 6 and 7 per regio, the total surface area and the surface occupied by units of type 5, 6 and 7, the percentage these units take up on the total and their average property size (source: author, fieldwork of 1998, figures derived from the *Corpus Topographicum Pompeianum* 1997).

	All Units	Units 5-7	Percentage	Surface All Units	Surface Units 5-7	Percentage	Surface Average Units 5-7
“Altstadt”	175	27	15	32390	16782	52	622
“Pomerium”	184	25	14	32913	17165	52	687
“Mercurio”	150	41	27	44922	29514	66	720
V. 1, 2; VI. 14, 16	91	19	21	17698	11422	65	601
“Stabiana”	179	39	22	37838	20285	54	520
“Nola”	44	6	14	11817	5094	43	849
“Nocera”	103	23	22	45979	15259	33	663
Total	926	180	19	223557	115521	52	642

**Table 11,** Total amount and percentage of units of type 5, 6 and 7 per cluster of similarly shaped insulae, the total surface area and the surface occupied by units of type 5, 6 and 7, the percentage these units take up on the total and their average property size (source: author, fieldwork of 1998, figures derived from the *Corpus Topographicum Pompeianum* 1997)<sup>95</sup>.

excluded because most of the relatively large amount of surface this type of unit usually occupies is not put to residential use. Because Robinson's selection of the "richest" residences in town is different from mine it is not possible to make a direct comparison of his and my results<sup>94</sup>. Since we both aim to present a distribution of the richer houses it is possible however to compare the conclusions. In order to define the distribution of the chosen types it is necessary to establish how many houses of these types existed in the different *regiones* and *insulae*-clusters of Pompeii. It is also relevant to look at the size of the residences found because this allows an evaluation of the proportion of the ground area that was used to accommodate these larger residences and the space that was left for other types of units. Table 10 shows the amount and percentage of type 5, 6 and 7 properties per *regio*, the area and percentage they occupy on the total area available for each *regio* and finally their average size per *regio*.

The evidence allows some interesting observations to be made. It becomes immediately clear that there was quite an extensive spread of the richer houses. With the exception of *Regio I* the houses did not take up much less than 50 percent of the total amount of space available per *regio*. In this respect the distribution of this selection of rich mansions seems to coincide with the distribution of Robinson's selection. However, the figures do not suggest an even distribution. Relatively many residences of type 5-7 are located in the *Regiones I*, *V* and *VI*. The percentage these houses occupy on the total area available shows that they were much more prominently present in the *Regiones V* and *VI*, where they take up about 63 percent of the surface available, whereas the ones in *Regio I* do not take up more than circa 43 percent of the total area. The average size of the residences in *Regio VI* is much higher than the average size of the residences in the other two regions. *Regio II* possessed an average amount of type 5-7 houses, which comes close to the total. The houses that are there however take up as much as 56 percent of the total surface that was present in this region. Their average size is extraordinary high. The remaining three *regiones*, did not possess a large percentage of type 5-7 houses. Nevertheless these houses still take up about half of the total amount of surface available in these regions. The average size of the houses is not very high in *Regio VII*, whereas the houses in *Regio IX* and especially of those located in *Regio VIII* are much bigger.

Table 11 shows the data for presence and distribution of type 5, 6 and 7 properties when grouped according to the clusters of similar blocks within the

city. The information that is offered by Fig.9 is included in the discussion of the table.

Table 11 shows a relatively low amount of the type 5-7 houses in the areas "*Altstadt*", "*Pomerium*" and "*Nola*". Nevertheless the first two areas reserved about half of the available space for these types of residences.

The blocks that were situated in the "*Altstadt*" were much smaller and therefore less suitable for the erection of large houses. It is surprising that despite all this, there was still much status architecture located in the area. The residences situated here were very closely connected to trade, also to more deviant activities like drinking and prostitution, which seem to have been abundantly present in this central area of town. With the exception of the *via dell'Abbondanza* there were not many large streets on which the houses could focus. To the west of the *forum*, close to the pretentious "*Hanghäuser*" of the *Insula Occidentalis*, the properties of type 5-7 were situated in somewhat quieter surroundings. It is extremely hard to say anything decisive on the character of the north-east part of town. The figures suggest that there were relatively little but very large residences of the 5-7 type present in the area. Unfortunately the figures are based on a total of only five *insulae* that show a marked diversity among them. The area housed two of the largest and most elegant mansions Pompeii possessed, the formidable *casa del Centenario*, IX. 8, 6. 3, a, and the house of *Marcus Obellius Firmus*, IX. (14), 2, 4, b. The residences mentioned were directed towards the *via di Nola*. The type 5-7 houses that are located in the *insulae V. 3* and *V. 4* are less in number and smaller in size. They seem to be rowhouses that, originally built up back to back, were later expanded and transformed into more elegant dwellings<sup>96</sup>. Because of these origins they were oriented on all streets surrounding the blocks.

Judging from the low percentage of space reserved for the type 5-7 houses in the "*Nocera*" area, this area obviously reserved more space for other purposes. It

<sup>94</sup> Robinson's group of richest houses, his type 4 properties, consists of residences of at least 800 sq.m in size. Usually they possess at least an *atrium* and a four colonnaded *peristylum* (Robinson 1997, 140). It is extremely hard to define a "luxurious mansion". I decided to include houses with *pseudo-peristylia* because there are many cases in which a two or three sided *peristylum* is just as big or even larger than a true four sided peristyle.

<sup>95</sup> See note to Table 9.

<sup>96</sup> There are a lot of transformed rowhouses in the *insulae V. 3* and *V. 4*. Most of them were only embellished by the installation of an *impluvium*, some bought up (parts of) other properties to create a decorative garden or (*pseudo*-)*peristylum*. Most obvious example of the latter is the house of *Marcus Lucretius Fronto*, V. 4, a, 11.





Fig. 10. “Crollo” in the Casa del bell'impluvio, I 9, I.2 in 1997, the wall is now rebuilt (picture by the author).

is an area in which a lot of surface was used for horticulture. The houses on the horticultural plots were often not embellished with status architecture<sup>97</sup>. There are also a lot of the rowhouses located in this area, many of which kept their original plan without impluviate atrium. The fact that *Regio I* was previously characterised as a residential area with a reasonable amount of the richer houses can be explained by the presence of many type 5-7 houses to the west, the largest of these located outside the “Nocera” area, in the square *insulae* which here form part of the “*Stabiana*” cluster. To the east the *insulae* 2-4 of *Regio II* seem to form a very special group by themselves since these blocks almost exclusively consist of the type 5-7 houses, which were all directed towards the *via dell'Abbondanza*<sup>98</sup>.

The type 5-7 houses are much more prominently present in the other two areas that were in close proximity to the *via Stabiana*, that is the “*Stabiana*” and V. 1, 2; VI. 14, 16 clusters. The average size of the 5-7 units in these two areas however is relatively low, which is hard to explain. It seems as if the larger number of these types of residences caused the reduction in size. The main part

of the residences were oriented on the (commercially) active *via Stabiana/via Vesuvio*, the *via dell'Abbondanza*, the *via di Nola* and the *vicolo del Menandro*. An exception forms the *casa delle Nozze d'argento*, V. 2, i, e, 21, which was situated in what appears to be a quiet back alley. The houses that were located in the second row of squared blocks were directed towards the *vico di Tesmo*.

The high number of type 5-7 residences did not cause reduction of property size in the former *Regio VI* area. There are many large residences present, which together take up as much as 66 percent of the space available. The average unit size is high, which is an important sign for the respectability of these mansions. There was definitely a cluster of larger residences there, which caused a reduction of space

<sup>97</sup> With the exception of the *casa della Nave Europa*, I. 15, but this house is also connected to a large horticultural plot, in fact the area reserved for the residence is smaller than the area used for horticulture.

<sup>98</sup> Although the *praedium* of *Julia Felix*, *insula II. 4*, had a more public than private function, which might also have been the case for the residences of the other two *insulae* mentioned.

for smaller houses and other types of units. Except for the *casa del Labirinto*, VI. 11, 9, 10, the biggest houses are directed towards the larger streets, the *via di Mercurio*, the *via delle Terme/via della Fortuna*, the *via Consolare* and the *vico dei Vetti*. Depending on the overall character of the street some of these residences can be more directly associated with trade than others<sup>99</sup>.

The possibility to connect the factor size to the numbers of residences and the presence or absence of status architecture provides clear-cut information on the distribution of the rich residences of the town. However, both approaches presented, one based on the arrangement in *regiones*, the other based on the existence of clusters of similarly shaped *insulae*, suffer from the problem of scale. The interpretation of the clusters studied does not enable us to learn much about the internal organisation of these groups. Because of this Fig. 9 was created, which showed the two most tale-telling numbers from the tables, the average unit size and the average size of the units of type 5, 6 and 7. Obviously both approaches indeed tend to hide smaller scaled phenomena. Good example of this is the cluster of large residences in the east part of *Regio II*, a cluster that does not show up in the tables.

Overall however the *insula*-clusters seem to possess much internal cohesion. They therefore definitely show a less diverse character than the *regiones* (see Fig. 9). The cynic might argue that this is probably caused by the character of the blocks, their size and shape. That this was an important factor cannot be denied, smaller blocks tend to house smaller units, larger blocks facilitate creation of larger properties. But not every aspect of the spatial organisation attested, not all choices made with regards to land use can be explained from the physical appearance of the blocks. The most apparent reason for the various clusters of differently shaped *insulae* that we see in the map of Pompeii is probably chronological<sup>100</sup>. However, once created a combination of location and physical characteristics of the blocks probably led to some sort of "cluster-character". Of course, the clusters were no "real" zones in the post-modern sense. There is not one area that accommodates a single type of land use. Nevertheless from area to area there were preferences for this or the other type. In this respect it is also very interesting that unlike the results of Robinson's research the overall picture of land use according to *insula*-cluster largely corresponds to the patterns that followed from the studies discussed in the paragraph on the distribution of activities. His results and the ones following from the studies of spatial distribution of activities do not seem to form pieces of the same puzzle. To give an

example, the square *insulae* of *Regio I* do not fall into the description Robinson gives for this region, which was: "marked by a large number of dwellings with extensive garden plots, increasing the value of the average property sizes". Instead these blocks fit into his description for *Regio IX*:

"The (...) low average of *Regio IX* is due to the majority of the *insulae* lying on two of the major through-routes of the city. These have been described by Laurence (1994, 96-103) as "areas where small commercial establishments tend to cluster, and which would tend to decrease the average property size"<sup>101</sup>. In this area of *Regio I*, nor the amount of smaller units, nor the number of the richest dwellings is "below average", even if the overall picture when grouped according to *Regio* suggests this<sup>102</sup>.

Grouped according to the *insula*-clusters the picture of spatial distribution becomes much easier to read and when compared to a more detailed distribution map like Fig. 9, the inconsistencies that remain are far more easy to spot.

The conclusions will evaluate in how far the original question, with regards to the character of *Regio VI*, has been answered by the different approaches discussed in the various paragraphs.

## CONCLUSIONS

The main question of the study presented in the pages above was whether or not *Regio VI* of Pompeii possessed the residential and rich character that has been attributed to it. This problem entails a comparison of the chosen region to other areas of the city, and therefore implies a study of the lay-out of the city as a whole. The arrangement of the urban landscape is an elementary factor when one tries to understand city-life and it is therefore surprising that it took a very long time before the matter received any serious attention in Pompeian research. In this respect Raper performed pioneer work when he opened the discussion on the urban geography of the city. Inspiration for this new trail of research was

<sup>99</sup> See also the paragraph on the distribution of activities.

<sup>100</sup> See Geertman 1998.

<sup>101</sup> Quotations from Robinson 1997, 138, compare Table 8, which shows the same picture.

<sup>102</sup> Robinson's type 1 and 4 (Robinson 1997, 141 Fig. 11.3). The character of the region as a whole is very influenced, warped even, by the presence of large horticultural plots in a large part of the area. Compare Table 10, which shows *Regio I* as an area with a very low percentage of surface taken up by the type 5-7 units, something which definitely does not correspond to the amount of surface these units take up in the square blocks of the region.

derived from modern urban geographical methodology and methods, which proved to be applicable to the astoundingly well preserved ancient city of Pompeii. Raper's attempt to reveal "the internal structure of a city and the interrelations of its inhabitants" led to the very useful characterisation of Pompeii as a city where varied land use prevailed<sup>103</sup>. His sociological interpretation of the city's structure has often been attacked, especially for its dependency on existing views that were gradually replaced by subsequent study. Of much greater importance however is the problem that lies in the nature of the methods of analysis adopted. Urban geography looks for general validities with regards to urban organisation. This approach leads to generalizations about cities which necessarily present restrictions. In the case of Pompeii the picture of spatial organisation of the city that emerged from Raper's studies is not detailed enough to answer more specific questions like the one presented in this article. In his conclusions Raper indicates possible further lines of investigation regarding (dis)similarity between areas which if they had been executed at some point would have been more suitable for detailed questioning<sup>104</sup>.

Raper's work is very valuable, both in itself and as starting point for further research. Nevertheless it was not until much later that other systematic attempts to get grip on the arrangement of the city were made.

Wallace-Hadrill tackled the issue from a social-historical background. From this starting-point he made a very accurate appraisal of the social-political and economical values of Pompeian society and the implications of these for the built-up environment. The insight he displayed in ancient society led to his typology of Pompeian houses, which forms a steady basis for an evaluation of the composition of units and their distribution across the city. However, since Wallace-Hadrill sought to obtain a rather broad definition of the arrangement of the city, his study effectively only partially fulfilled the hopes Raper had for the continuation of his work. More detailed questions concerning specific areas within the city-structure remained unanswered.

A specification of the (reasons for) location of various commercial and industrial activities can be found in the work of La Torre and Laurence. More aspects of the spatial organisation of the city are discussed by the latter. But even a combination of the subjects chosen by both authors leads to knowledge of but a limited selection of all possible aspects of city-life and can therefore only in part illuminate the character of any given urban area. Again Raper's ultimate goal of a complete evaluation of the city's arrangement was not reached<sup>105</sup>.

Robinson tried to obtain a more complete picture of the spatial distribution of the various units of Pompeii. In order to see whether or not Raper's hypothesis of Pompeii as a city of intermingled land-use was correct, he investigated the city on the spatial distribution of social class. He captured the social texture of the city in a representation of the occurrence of four types of dwellings per Pompeian *Regio*. A decisive factor in his research forms the separation of the archaeological material in *Regiones*, a division that did not exist in antiquity. His interpretation of the spatial organisation of the city consequently suffered from its dependence on this modern division.

In this respect the cluster-approach offers a methodical correction. The phases of expansion of the city were "petrified" in clusters of similarly shaped *insulae*<sup>106</sup>. The cluster-approach is thus based on an antique feature that can be recognised in the city-structure. The clusters might well have comprised other than just the chronological differences, which makes it interesting to look at the occurrence of richer houses across the city from this angle. Even in the case of *Regio VI*, which modern region largely corresponds to an *insula*-cluster, a comparison to other areas of the city remains necessary for its characterisation, which makes it important to reconsider previous information and interpretations. The result of the approach is that to the original question with regards to *Regio VI* can with some certainty be given an affirmative answer. The north-western part of town clearly characterises itself as an area where large, elegant residences clustered. Both the *insula*-clusters "*Mercurio*" and "*V. 1, 2; VI. 14, 16*" reserved a large surface, circa 65 percent of the total surface available, for the properties of the types 5, 6, and 7. Especially in the "*Mercurio*" area, which is the bigger part of *Regio VI*, there was a large number of relatively large type 5-7 properties, which in combination with the small amount of space left for other activities suggests a cluster of the richest residences of town in this specific area. The other cluster, *V. 1, 2; VI. 14, 16*, had a smaller number of type 5-7 houses since there were probably more commercial units present in

<sup>103</sup> Quotation from Raper 1977, 190.

<sup>104</sup> See note 105 and Raper 1977, 218, 219.

<sup>105</sup> "Ideally, distribution maps of each category (of unit types) could be prepared and then correlated with each of the other categories to see what relationships prevailed and whether any patterning was evident", Raper 1977, 219.

<sup>106</sup> "petrified" derived from Geertman's description of the town as a cadastral map in stone, "*Un catasto di pietra*", lecture by H. Geertman at the Pompeii Colloquium organised by the *British School at Rome* in cooperation with the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom* on the 27 and 28 of June 1997.



these blocks, which can be explained from the proximity of the *insulae* to the busy *via Stabiana* and the *via di Nola*. The rich character of the north-western part of town possibly had its roots in the Samnite era when many large scaled residences were erected in the area. To a not inconsiderable extent this feature remained unchanged throughout the following three centuries, a manifestation of a “*permanence des lieux*”.

Another and extremely difficult matter is to find the answer to the question which social complications and implications are connected to the patterns of spatial distribution attested. What is apparent is that the pattern that emerges is not that of a random scatter of the wealthiest houses in town, neither can what we see be explained as an even distribution of the rich residences. That the physical arrangement of the town must have been created according to and operated under some underlying social “rules” goes without saying. However in this respect the results are very hard to read.

The north-western part of town is not the only area where rich residences were located, just an area where a remarkable presence of the richer houses can be attested. Just as everywhere else, the largest residences of this region tended to focus on the bigger streets. In the particular case of *Regio VI* however many of the streets on which the more prominent houses focus do not show the characteristic appearance of the larger Pompeian streets, which is that of a melting pot of housing, commerce and industry. The best example of a bigger street without the usual interactive character is the upper stretch of the *via di Mercurio*. What this means in terms of commercial involvement of the proprietors of the houses in these areas and whether or not this had implications with regards to their social status is unclear. Since wealth or the absence of it is not necessarily linked to high or low status, differences between context of the richer houses as we see here could prove to be very meaningful<sup>107</sup>. The difference in surroundings of the richest houses around town could well reflect a difference in social status<sup>108</sup>.

The problems of chronology however are not restricted to our difficulties in unravelling ancient ideas with regards to expressions of social status. There are also a lot of problems concerning the history of the ancient town itself. As was stated in the introduction, the last phase of the city's existence might have been a period that was somewhat out of the ordinary because of the seismic unrest that led up to its final destruction. More detailed studies to the fabric of buildings in the Roman period of Pompeii are necessary to say more about the possible implications for Pompeian society and the resulting

changes in the fabric and nature of specific areas around town<sup>109</sup>.

Another chronological problem is in how far the characterisation of for instance *Regio VI* as an elitist and residential area is valid for the period before the standing structures were erected<sup>110</sup>. If *Regio VI* was indeed the first expansion beyond the old city centre it is hard to believe that the district was created to please the rich. Where were the bars, shops and workshops situated? Where were the lower classes housed? Did they live and work elsewhere, in buildings that did not survive the ages?<sup>111</sup> Or was the region perhaps originally more mixed than is the case at present? Expansion of studies to the standing structures as well as excavations or at least strategically placed sondages around town might shed some light on the existing problems

<sup>107</sup> On signs of social status in the Roman world see Wallace-Hadrill 1994, especially the introduction on page 3; Zanker 1998, 10-15; see also Jongman 1988.

<sup>108</sup> I realise that I have only sparsely used social studies, a field that might provide more insight in these matters. The suggested expansion of the spatial studies could also lead to more definite ideas on the distribution of social status around town (see note 105). Better information on the finding spots of material and decoration would be very helpful in this respect. Zanker showed how meaningful an evaluation of Pompeian domestic style can be when one tries to understand ancient communications of social status (Zanker 1998). Another example of definition of social status can be found in a recent article on the house of the Faun (Zevi, F. 1998, *Die Casa del Fauno und das Alexandermosaik, Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts (Römische Abteilung)* 105, 21-65). Although through these types of study the best preserved and documented (often most luxurious) houses will be heavily biased, some of the gaps in our knowledge of social relationships of Pompeii, especially with regards to the higher strata of society, might be filled.

<sup>109</sup> Existing studies can be found among the contributions to *Archäologie und Seismologie* 1995. The building history of the forum has been especial focus of some very detailed recent research (by the University of Virginia, e.g. Dobbins, J.J. 1994, Problems of chronology, decoration and urban design, *American Journal of Archaeology* 98, 629-694; see also Wallat, K. 1997, *Die Ostseite des Forums von Pompeii*, Frankfurt am Main). Reconstruction of the condition of unit I. 9, 11, 12 in this last phase has been one of the main aims of the British research to this unit (e.g. Fulford, M.; Wallace-Hadrill, A. 1995-6, The house of Amarantus at Pompeii (I, 9, 11-12): An interim report on survey and excavations in 1995-96, *Rivista di Studi Pompeiani* VII, 78-113), see also note 113.

<sup>110</sup> Examples of stratigraphic research in *Regio VI* are the excavations below *insula I*, under the *casa del Chirurgo*, the *casa della Fontana grande* (Maiuri, A. 1944-5, *Saggi nella “Casa della fontana grande” e in altre case pompeiane, Notizie degli Scavi*, 130-159) and the *casa delle Vestali* (Jones, R., University of Bradford, for a preliminary report see: <http://www.brad.ac.uk/acad/archsci/pompeii/>); below *insula 5* (Bonghi-Jovino, M. 1984, *Ricerche a Pompei-l'insula 5 della Regio VI dalle origini al 79 d.C.*, I-II, Roma, and below the *casa del Fauno*, *insula 12* (unpublished).

<sup>111</sup> Zanker proposed that the less wealthy citizens lived in humbler dwellings (possibly wooden structures) to the east of the forum, Zanker 1998, 33 text to Fig. 2, 42.

surrounding the city's building history<sup>112</sup>. Despite all efforts to piece this history together, there is still no complete and conclusive chronology of the building techniques and materials of the city from its origins somewhere in the sixth century BC up to its final years<sup>113</sup>. Expansion and combination of studies to the structures on and below the AD 79 level will have to become one of the main aims of Pompeian research<sup>114</sup>. With regards to the standing structures there is no time to be lost. Many constructions can no longer stand the tooth of time, a process which unfortunately seems to have been sped up by early attempts of reconstruction and preservation (Fig.10). Also new conservation techniques form a danger in this respect. Necessary as they may be to preserve this unique document, Pompeii, for generations to come, every interference with the ancient fabric is a destruction in some way, and thwarts interpretation of the (remaining) evidence<sup>115</sup>.

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<sup>112</sup> A selection of strategically placed sondages is being prepared by the Soprintendenza degli Scavi di Pompei.

<sup>113</sup> Traditional studies are preoccupied with the different building materials and techniques around town and the possible chronology that might be deduced from these data. A recent example of this type of study is C.L.J. Peterse's *Bouwkundige studies van huizen in Pompeii, muurwerk, maatvoering en ontwerp* (Nijmegen 1993, esp. 105-240). Unfortunately new excavations tend to surprise us when it comes to the dating, as was for instance the case with the excavations of the University of Reading at I. 9, 11, 12, the *caupona* of *Amarantus Pompeianus*. The standing structures, executed in Sarno stone in a combination of *opus quadratum* (façade) and framework (interior walls) were erected somewhere in the late first century BC (see: Fulford, M.; Wallace-Hadrill, A. 1994-5, The house of *Amarantus* at Pompeii (I. 9, 11-12): An interim report on survey and excavations in 1995-96, *Rivista di Studi Pompeiani* VII, 78-113; *Idem* 1998, Unpeeling Pompeii, *Antiquity* 72, 128-145). The "traditional" date for a house executed in this combination of techniques however is third or even fourth century BC (e.g. Peterse, period B, 420-275 BC ca). From this one example it is obvious how much of the building history still remains unclear.

<sup>114</sup> The PhD thesis of the author on *Regio VI* will be published in 2001 and will hopefully enable reconstruction of the earliest arrangement of the standing structures and some of the constructional processes which led to the region's final appearance in AD 79.

<sup>115</sup> An example is the way the ancient mortar is obliterated by generously applied modern cement on the façades of many *insulae*.

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# The Late Roman Unguentaria of Sagalassos

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The city of Sagalassos, the ruins of which are situated on the western slopes of the Taurus mountain range in southern Asia Minor, was already a town in its own right when Alexander the Great subdued it by force in 333 B.C. After this event the city remained in existence for nearly a millennium until it was finally abandoned somewhere around the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The site has been undergoing excavation by an international team directed by M. Waelkens since the beginning of the nineties<sup>1</sup>. Among the many finds a series of slender fusiform vessels, called "Late Roman Unguentaria" by J.W. Hayes<sup>2</sup>, have always attracted attention in Sagalassos, because they are so distinctive when compared to the usual Sagalassos wares. The local products, both common and fine, are of a different nature, as far as ware fabric composition, colour and other descriptive elements are concerned. In 1993, a first preliminary report on the presence of these unguentaria was presented in the Sagalassos series of excavation reports<sup>3</sup>. In the present report we wish to comment on the many examples that have come to light since then and on the additional research that has been done.

Other types of unguentaria have been excavated at Sagalassos, but these were not deemed relevant to the present study, as they fit into the much earlier tradition of Hellenistic to early Roman unguentaria<sup>4</sup>. The latter are mostly associated with funeral contexts and differ in shape and chronology to a considerable extent from the late unguentaria.

What initially attracted attention to the late unguentaria was the easy and virtually error-proof identification of these vessels<sup>5</sup>. Even extremely small shards could be recognized without trouble by their distinctive colour and finish. This vessel type was originally identified by J. Hayes as a separate and widely distributed vessel type from Late Imperial to Byzantine times in the Eastern Mediterranean and beyond<sup>6</sup>. The most complete publication concerning these vessels was also from his hand, namely that of the excavations at Saraçhane, the former church of Saint Polyeuktos in Constantinople<sup>7</sup>. Although vessels of this type were rare in publications before their systematic description and typing, earlier publications sometimes contained references and even images of

them, as was for instance the case with the publication of the Ernst von Sieglin collection<sup>8</sup>. The precise origin of this pottery type could never be determined, although Hayes considered a possible production centre located somewhere in the Palestine-Lebanon area. The vessels bear a marked resemblance to earlier Nabataean ceramics, at least as far as ware fabric and colouring are concerned<sup>9</sup>. The vessel shapes are different however, and there is a hiatus of several centuries between the wares. Also, publications of archaeological material from this region fail to produce significant numbers of these vessels. Logically it could be assumed that greater numbers of finds would be present near the production area. In fact based on the quantitative evidence so far available for Constantinople, Limyra, Perge, and Sagalassos, a production centre in or near Asia Minor now seems more likely<sup>10</sup>. The time frame of this specific type is as a whole not completely fixed, but there is little doubt that the main concentrations are to be found in the sixth and seventh centuries<sup>11</sup>.

The reason why this particular type of vessel is so important at Sagalassos, notwithstanding the relatively limited number of finds, can be attributed to several factors.

The first factor concerns the physical aspect: next to the already remarked upon ease of identification, only one type, albeit with two variants, is found on this site. This type is called 8I110 in the Sagalassos classification scheme<sup>12</sup>. Both variants are only discernible in their lower part, i.e. the base, which commonly is a massive spike<sup>13</sup>, while the rarer variant

<sup>1</sup> see Fig. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Hayes 1992.

<sup>3</sup> Degeest 1993.

<sup>4</sup> For an overview of the earlier unguentaria see for instance Anderson-Stojanović 1987.

<sup>5</sup> Fig. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Hayes 1971.

<sup>7</sup> Hayes 1968; Hayes 1992.

<sup>8</sup> Pagenstecher 1913.

<sup>9</sup> Hayes 1971.

<sup>10</sup> Hayes 1992; Pülz 1995, 69-70; Atik 1995, 180-181. A gazetteer of find locations can be found in the original article by Hayes (Hayes 1971). Since then more finds have been published, but we considered it outside the scope of this work to include them here.

<sup>11</sup> Hayes 1971, 245; Riley 1975, 37; Atik 1995, 181.

<sup>12</sup> Degeest, forthcoming.

<sup>13</sup> Fig. 3c-e.

has a flat, thick-walled base<sup>14</sup>. There is no known chronological difference in their spread, as both are found in the same contexts. Another type of unguentarium has been identified by Riley as Type A, but no traces of this type could be found at Sagalassos. Type A unguentaria show a soft brown micaceous fabric that is very different from the very hard-fired Type B<sup>15</sup>.

Secondly, the local stratigraphy at Sagalassos indicates that the time frame for this ware is rather limited, with a very late appearance, i.e. presumably not before the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, and a disappearance at the latest around the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

Another contributing factor is the presence of a number of stamps, which may eventually lead to further information on the history of Sagalassos and its trade related connections.

## 2. THE TYPOLOGY AND MINERALOGY OF THE LATE UNGUENTARIA

Before we start with the distribution of the unguentaria, a description of the physical characteristics of these vessels is appropriate. Whereas at first research was performed limited to a purely macroscopical description, the integrated approach of the Sagalassos project allowed a close collaboration between the archaeological and geological branches, which resulted in more detailed information.

The general shape is a slender fusiform one with mostly a massive foot<sup>16</sup>. A rarer variant shows a slightly wider string cut base with a thinner wall in this region. The vessel was clearly never intended to be stood upright by itself, as even the broader based variant is unable to stand independently because of the irregular shape of the base. In Sagalassos we encountered mostly the same size of vessel, with a maximum height of 21-22 cm, a body width of 5-5.8 cm, a rim diameter of ca. 3 cm, and a base width of 1-3 cm, depending on the type of base. The rim is thin and slightly flaring with a distinctive horizontal ridge at its base. The vessel was wheel thrown, apparently made in a single operation, with a wet smoothed outer surface and distinctive interior spiralling as the shape of the vessel did not allow a proper smoothing of the interior, except at the very top. Not always immediately noticeable is the presence of a slip layer on the top half. This is usually invisible on the sintered examples. The latter are quite common and comprise as much as 20% of the total shard number. The complete or near complete examples show another feature of their manufacture, namely three oval impressions set lengthwise in a triangular fashion with the

base of the triangle located on the upper part of the vessels and the point near the spike. From the way in which the slip trickled down onto the lower part of the body, it is clear that these are the impressions of a triangular stand on which the leather hard vessel was placed to dry after immersion of the top half in a slip solution. The three contact points were clearly not at the same level, with two points presumably at the same level and higher than the third point. In some instances the potter has used a small sponge or similar instrument to wipe down the vessel, since traces of such markings with a width of approximately 2 cm have been found. On a minority of the vessels a stamp is present on the lower half of the body. Often the clay was so wet at the time of the application of the die, that the stamp was partially smudged.

To describe ceramic fabrics macroscopically at Sagalassos the descriptive algorithm developed by D. Peacock was used. This has proved to be a very popular one over the years since its first publication in 1977, because of its straightforwardness<sup>17</sup>. The only notable exception was the initial use of Munsell Soil Color Charts for colour descriptions, instead of common name descriptions. In the end the former proved to be too time-consuming for the description of individual shards, and the practice is now largely discontinued, except under special circumstances, i.e. when new fabric ware groups are encountered.

Macroscopically the ware fabric group that comprises these vessels is our group 8<sup>18</sup>. This fabric is very hard fired, many fragments show distinct sintering. Rarely some fine whitish inclusions occur. The latter do not react to the standard hydrochloric acid test<sup>19</sup>.

The colour is very irregular, with a range extending from gray to maroon and purplish red, usually with a colour difference between the core and margins. The combination of a gray fired core and reddish buff surface is most common. The colour gradation is facilitated by the thickness of the lower parts of these vessels, which can be more than 1 cm. The Munsell charts give often 10 R 5/6 or 7.5 YR 6/6 reddish yellow as margin colour and 2.5 YR 5/0 gray as core colour. The fracture is always conchoidal,

<sup>14</sup> Fig. 2.

<sup>15</sup> Riley 1975: p. 36-37. It should be noted that this Type A is more prevalent in Palestinian contexts than Type B, but is totally absent in Sagalassos.

<sup>16</sup> Fig. 2, Pl. 1-2.

<sup>17</sup> Peacock 1977.

<sup>18</sup> Degeest forthcoming.

<sup>19</sup> Hydrochloric acid is used to determine the presence of lime in a fabric. As lime breaks down at temperatures over 750°C, its presence would indicate a low fired fabric.

much more so in fact than the Sagalassos wares<sup>20</sup>. The mineralogical analysis consisted of both chemical bulk analysis and optical mineralogical composition determination<sup>21</sup>. To our knowledge no similar analyses have been performed elsewhere on this material. Chemically the fabric is characterized by moderate amounts of SiO<sub>2</sub><sup>22</sup>. The Al<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub> content of 18.5 % is the highest mean value recorded, with the exception of a single shard with no less than 24 %. The iron content is also rather high in the fabric series of Sagalassos with 7.9 %. The CaO contents amount to 5.7 %. Low are also the amounts of Na<sub>2</sub>O (0.5 %) and the value for Loss-On-Ignition (L.O.I. 1.6 %). The variation coefficients are narrow for SiO<sub>2</sub> (0.09), Al<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub> (0.05), iron oxide (0.1), and TiO<sub>2</sub> (0.12). A wider spread is shown by MnO (0.3), MgO (0.29), Na<sub>2</sub>O (0.29), K<sub>2</sub>O (0.24), and P<sub>2</sub>O<sub>5</sub> (0.36). A wide spread was recorded for CaO (0.67) and for L.O.I. (0.76).

Mineralogically, no grog, chert, or pillow lava was found, elements that are typical for most Sagalassos wares. Pyriboles accounted for 0.3 volume %. Biotite was present (1.6 %), as was iron oxide (0.2 %), feldspar (2.2 %), quartz (3 %) and calcite (0.3 %). Porosity was 0.2 %, i.e. the lowest value ever found for ceramic fabrics at Sagalassos. This can be connected to the extensive sintering that is often found in the ware.

The relatively low feldspar and pyribole, i.e. amphiboles and pyroxenes, presence and the high quartz amount normally indicate fluvial transport of the clay. Quartz may have been added as a filler, but the narrow spread as indicated by the variation coefficient for this mineral<sup>23</sup> argues otherwise, unless one accepts an uncommonly high level of standardisation of the clay mixture. The latter seems unlikely in view of the often sloppy finish of the vessels in this ware.

Considering the differences in chemical/mineralogical composition, for example the total absence of chert and pillow lava, which to some extent can be considered to be trade marks of the local fabrics, and the archaeological data, namely the relative scarcity of the finds at Sagalassos, this was likely an imported product for this area.

### 3. THE DISTRIBUTION OF LATE UNGUENTARIA IN SAGALASSOS

To date 501 shards belonging to this type of vessel have been recovered from the excavations of the city of Sagalassos. Compared to the total number of excavated shards, which reaches many tens of thousands, this is a small number. Yet it is not insignificant. Due to the as yet relatively limited area which

has been excavated at Sagalassos, a distribution covering the whole of the site equally is impossible. What is clear from the excavation stratigraphical series is that the finds are limited to the last phases of the occupation of the town, broadly from the late 5<sup>th</sup> to the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

The main concentrations are found in areas that were heavily occupied at that time, namely the so-called UAN site, a large complex of workshops and storage at the northern end of the upper agora<sup>24</sup>. This complex was built on the remains of an earlier market building. The second most extensive concentration was recovered from the layers to the north of the late fortification wall that abutted the Doric temple to the west<sup>25</sup>. The areas in between or adjacent to these areas were also found to contain unguentarium shards, namely the upper agora itself<sup>26</sup>, the bouleuterion area between the upper agora and the Doric temple<sup>27</sup>, and the northwestern heroon site to the north or this<sup>28</sup>.

Lesser concentrations were found in the excavations around the commercial center of the town, namely the lower agora zone<sup>29</sup>, with to the east of the agora proper the main baths<sup>30</sup>. Other, similar concentrations were found on nearly every site within the original perimeter of the town, e.g. in a housing zone to the northeast of the main bath building<sup>31</sup>. From smaller sites like the fill of the Late Hellenistic fountain<sup>32</sup>, which was located outside the area of the late city walls, and from site W in the domestic quarters to the west of the public centre came also some examples of this ware<sup>33</sup>.

### 4. THE STAMPS FOUND ON THE UNGUENTARIA

If we compare the number of shards with those from the largest published collection, namely that of

<sup>20</sup> A conchoidal break, from the Latin *concha* or shell is typical for very hard homogeneous non-crystalline or partially crystalline materials like glass.

<sup>21</sup> All mineralogical/chemical analyses were done at the laboratory of Physico-chemical geology of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven by W. Viaene, R. Ottenburgs, H. Kucha and P. Degryse.

<sup>22</sup> Mean weight % was 56.4: see table 1.

<sup>23</sup> See Table 1.

<sup>24</sup> Fig. 1, no 5.

<sup>25</sup> Fig. 1, no 2.

<sup>26</sup> Fig. 1, no 5.

<sup>27</sup> Fig. 1, no 4.

<sup>28</sup> Fig. 1, no 3.

<sup>29</sup> Fig. 1, no 9.

<sup>30</sup> Fig. 1, no 8.

<sup>31</sup> Fig. 1, no 7.

<sup>32</sup> Fig. 1, no 6.

<sup>33</sup> Fig. 1, no 1.



Saraçhane in Istanbul, where 504+ shards were recovered, among which were some 50+ stamps<sup>34</sup>, Sagalassos shows a total of 501 shards, with only 21 stamps<sup>35</sup>. The stamps are more than fleetingly interesting because of the fact that they are not limited to this type of pottery and not even to ceramics in general. All stamps found so far at Sagalassos are of the so-called monogram type.

Monograms are found on rings, coins, seals, architectural elements, and on a variety of other objects<sup>36</sup>. The main subject of the monograms are primarily names or invocations<sup>37</sup>. The large number of lead seals with monograms are the primary source for our knowledge of monograms of this kind, for the simple reason that, just like coins the reverse side contains often additional information on the owner of the seal and his official or private functions. In many cases this allows a precise dating of the seals. Monograms are to be found in many walks of life in the Late Roman – Early Byzantine period, which is the one that concerns us. The most comprehensive and reliable source is formed by the lead seals<sup>38</sup>. The unguentaria monograms pose a difficulty, because there is no reverse side containing additional information. However, the study of the lead seals allowed researchers to establish certain datable elements based on the structure, iconography and epigraphy of the stamps. This was based on the assumption that fashions changed over time and that individuals would tend to respect the latter. However, even if true for the majority of the cases, allowances should always be made for personal preferences and conservatism<sup>39</sup>. A single stamp is therefore not by itself a reliable indicator for a given period. When studied as a group, the results become progressively more reliable as general trends will emerge. One of these trends is the observation that monogram seals are generally to be dated from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup> century after Christ, with so-called block monograms prevailing in the 6<sup>th</sup> and the cross-shaped/cruciform ones appearing after 540<sup>40</sup>. Virtually all our stamps can be put in one or the other of these categories. Monogram seals reappear sometimes in later periods, but their style is clearly different from the early ones.

The lecture of the monograms remains wrought with difficulties. Based on monograms on seals and capitals it is known that they most often express a name, with more complicated ones giving a name and title. However the lack of a reverse side for the stamps on ceramics increases the difficulty of producing an acceptable reading for a name.

According to their shape it is possible to classify our stamps into several main groups, none of which has a border, an element that appears in the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

#### 4.1. Monograms based on a rectangular frame-work:

SA-91-DT-330-132<sup>41</sup>: previously published<sup>42</sup>, clear circular stamp of 6 or 7 interconnected letters, from the area to the west of the Doric temple and north of the late fortification wall (layer 3).

SA-95-UA-148-1<sup>43</sup>: the same monogram as the previous one, probably even the same die was used. The stamp is less deeply imprinted in the clay however. This was found on the upper agora. This type of monogram was predominant until the late sixth century<sup>44</sup>. The legible letters could be Θ or Φ, Y, T, E or Π, O, M or Σ, and I. The same stamp was found on an unguentary from Ephesos<sup>45</sup>, dated from the sixth to the mid seventh century.

#### 4.2. Cross-shaped monograms

In this group we can discern two variants. On the one hand we have square or rectangular stamps with fine or thick incised lines, while on the other hand the stamps are round with thick lines.

<sup>34</sup> Hayes 1992: 8.

<sup>35</sup> See Table 2.

<sup>36</sup> Examples can be found in considerable numbers, as there are coins like the pentanummium of Justin II (565-578) (Hendy 1986, 298, 300). Monograms can also be found on architecture, for instance an extended series was part of the architectural decoration of the church of St. Polyeuktos in Istanbul erected in 524-527 (Harrison 1986, 406). Here we find them on cornices, piers, and screens (Harrison 1986, 162, fig. L). In fact from the remaining fragments 14 different monograms could be recovered, all attributable to the original church building. These monograms are by no means the only ones to be found on architectural monuments. Others are present e.g. on the church of St. Mary at Ephesos and the martyrion of Philippos at Pamukkale, the ancient Hierapolis. Other places where monograms are found are for instance inscribed on utilitarian pottery like a jar found on the Yass Ada wreck from the early seventh century (Bass et al. 1982, 169, fig. 8). Monograms are not unexpectedly found on finger rings, e.g. some of the sixth century bronze rings excavated at Corinth (Davidson 1952, 237 nos. 1860-1862, Fig. 44, Pl. 103) or at Sardis (Waldbaum 1983, Pl. 48 nos. 826, 829).

<sup>37</sup> Invocations can be of a religious nature like the often found ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΗ, but can also be slogans or acclamations like a series found in Aphrodisias which permit a reading like ΝΙΚΑΙ Η ΤΥΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΑΞΙΝΩΝ i.e. The fortune of the Greens triumphs! (Roueché 1989, 226-228, pl. xl)

<sup>38</sup> Lead seals are the foremost source of monograms for several reasons. They are relatively abundant and have two faces. While one side carries a monogram, the reverse side often shows a more legible version of the former, though even there, and especially for the early periods, many questions remain to be answered.

<sup>39</sup> Oikonomides 1986, 151.

<sup>40</sup> Zacos 1972, 367; Oikonomides 1986, 152-153; Seibt 1993, 21.

<sup>41</sup> Pl. 4.

<sup>42</sup> Degeest 1993, 184.

<sup>43</sup> Fig. 3e, Pl. 3.

<sup>44</sup> Seibt 1993, 21.

<sup>45</sup> Gassner 1997, 171, Pl. 56 no. 710.

#### 4.2.1. square or rectangular stamps

SA-92-UA-190<sup>46</sup>: previously published<sup>47</sup>, the same monogram was found at Saraçhane<sup>48</sup>, where it was excavated from a context dated c. A.D. 650-670<sup>49</sup>. Even taken into account the deformations due to different impressions the die of Saraçhane was not the same as the Sagalassos one.

SA-94-UA-266<sup>50</sup>: identical stamp as the previous example. Found in layer 3 on the upper agora site. The letters seem to be E, Λ or Y, A(?), and OY. SA-98-DA1-100-1<sup>51</sup>: rectangular stamp with cut corners. Lettering seems to consist of A, Ψ, Π, OY in ligature probably, and either N or Z. This stamped example was excavated from layer 4 of site DA1, a domestic quarter in the valley to the north of the main baths of the city. This particular context contained a fairly large quantity of unguentarium fragments, among them four complete rims.

SA-98-DA1-100-2<sup>52</sup>: the same die as for the previous entry was used for this one. Both are from the same context, indicating that the original vessels belonged to the same assemblage. More complete sets containing a dozen or more unguentaria and one example of a much larger size have been excavated at Perge<sup>53</sup>. This is an indication for the way in which these vessels were traded and/or used.

#### 4.2.2. circular stamps

SA-97-B1-26<sup>54</sup>: Diameter approximately 1.6 cm. From the bouleuterion topsoil layer. The cross has a small cross turned over 45° in the middle. The main arms have a letter connected to their extremities. The letters are Π, E, X, A or perhaps a ligature of TP, and OY. Possibly to be read as ΠETPOY, were it not for the presence of the letter X. The same monogram, but with a different treatment of the letters can be found at Saraçhane<sup>55</sup>. The latter is considered residual<sup>56</sup>.

SA-96-UAN-203<sup>57</sup>: Diameter 1.6 cm. From the UAN site layer 1S. Although somewhat fainter, there is no doubt that this is the same stamp as the previous one, with the same die used.

SA-91-N-666<sup>58</sup>: previously published<sup>59</sup>. Diameter 1.5 cm. From the fill of the Late Hellenistic fountain courtyard (layer 4) This smudged stamp has thicker lines and larger letters than the others found, while at the same time the rays from the cross are missing. The letters are B and either H or Z on one arm, while the top reads in ligature OY.

#### 4.3. Monograms based on a square with diagonals and one open side

In this group we find at Sagalassos two variants, one a circular type with fine lines and clear lettering, the other a simplified square one with thick lines and large, mostly vestigial letters.

#### 4.3.1. circular stamps

SA-96-B-253-1<sup>60</sup>: Diameter 1.6 cm. Found in the bouleuterion area layer 3. Similar to a series at Saraçhane, but different monogram found in the seventh century deposit 30<sup>61</sup>. The legible letters are Φ or Θ, Y, A, and possibly Δ and/or M.

SA-95-UA-322-3<sup>62</sup>: Incomplete stamp. Diameter 1.6 cm. From the upper agora. The only certain letter is O.

#### 4.3.2. square stamps

First a series of four identical stamps, made with the same die. The stamps measure 1 by 1.1 cm. In this case the square is closed. The stamp has a parallel at Saraçhane and in this case the similarity is more than superficial, in all likelihood the same die was used<sup>63</sup>. The find was made in the seventh century deposit 30<sup>64</sup>. Reading the monogram is very uncertain, due to the extreme simplification of the letters. Probably E, Δ, O, Σ, and X are present.

SA-92-DT-273<sup>65</sup>: From the Doric temple area.

SA-97-B2-106<sup>66</sup>: From layer 2 of the bouleuterion excavation.

SA-93-LA-130<sup>67</sup>: From layer 4 of the shops of the lower agora.

SA-96-UA-131-5<sup>68</sup>: Found in the tunnel at the north end of the upper agora.

SA-98-H-52-1<sup>69</sup>: Same types as the preceding series, but different lettering. From layer 5 of the heroon site northeast of the Doric temple site.

#### 4.4. Monograms with a central "M"

Two identical circular stamps with a large letter M as the main element were also found. The dies used were the same. The same stamp was found at

<sup>46</sup> Pl. 5.

<sup>47</sup> Degeest 1993, 184.

<sup>48</sup> Hayes 1992, Pl. 17, no. 41.

<sup>49</sup> Hayes 1992, 203.

<sup>50</sup> Pl. 6.

<sup>51</sup> Pl. 21.

<sup>52</sup> Pl. 22.

<sup>53</sup> N. Firat, personal communication.

<sup>54</sup> Pl. 7.

<sup>55</sup> Hayes 1992, Pl. 17, no. 45-46.

<sup>56</sup> Hayes 1992, 9.

<sup>57</sup> Pl. 8.

<sup>58</sup> Pl. 9.

<sup>59</sup> Degeest 1993, 183-184.

<sup>60</sup> Fig. 3d, Pl. 10.

<sup>61</sup> Harrison 1986, 38; Hayes 1992, 9, Pl. 71, no. 28-30, 91.

<sup>62</sup> Pl. 11.

<sup>63</sup> Hayes 1992, 9, Pl. 17, no. 33.

<sup>64</sup> Hayes 1992, 9, 91.

<sup>65</sup> Pl. 12.

<sup>66</sup> Pl. 13.

<sup>67</sup> Pl. 14.

<sup>68</sup> Fig. 3c, Pl. 15.

<sup>69</sup> Pl. 20.

Saraçhane in the already mentioned deposit 30, dating from the seventh century<sup>70</sup>.

SA-95-UA-139-5<sup>71</sup>: Excavated in the upper agora site layer 5.

SA-97-B2-101<sup>72</sup>: From the bouleuterion excavation layer 2.

#### 4.5. Monograms based on "N" shape

Of this group only one was found.

SA-96-H-90-1<sup>73</sup>: From the heroon excavation layer 3. Parallels are present in Saraçhane, possibly even a full match<sup>74</sup>. All these parallels were retrieved from deposit 30 (seventh century after Christ).

#### 4.6. Other forms

SA-97-B1-26-1<sup>75</sup>: An oval stamp, very faint, with a star consisting of 6 rays. Found in the topsoil of the bouleuterion. The size is 0.8 by 1.4 cm. Possibly this is not a stamp at all, but the impression made by the lower part of the stand on which the vessel was put to dry after being partially immersed in a slip solution.

SA-96-RB-194-10<sup>76</sup>: A square stamp of 0.9 by 0.95 cm, without apparent motif. Found in the Roman baths. Were it not for its positioning on the base it would probably not be considered a stamp at all.

### 5. CONCLUSIONS

Several conclusions can be drawn regarding the finds of Late Roman – Early Byzantine Unguentaria in Sagalassos.

From the excavated material it is clear that there is only a limited number of stamps, not only in absolute numbers of finds compared to the total number of shards of unguentaria, but also in the number of different stamps, as several instances of the same stamps are found.

One conclusion is that they stamped only a small part of the total number of vessels of this type. This is corroborated by the finds at other sites and has probably a bearing on the purpose and manner of distribution/trade of the vessels. So far the evidence at Sagalassos does not allow us to get into more detail concerning this aspect, but comparison with other sites may eventually lead to firm clues in this matter.

Related to the previous point is that of the meaning of the stamps. They are notoriously difficult to interpret. Most consist simply of names, but it is far from obvious what the correct lecture of the names should be. In this respect one should note that Hayes published a stamp with an inscription that reads as bishop Proklos. Here we probably have a reference to a producer, not a potter. The stamps are made on

the vessels during the manufacturing process and are not later additions like painted or incised inscriptions. The question of their meaning remains unanswered. Since the nature of the contents is also unknown, although a number of samples for organic residue analysis have been prepared, no conclusions can be drawn that would be valid at this point.

The observation that most of the stamps are found in chronologically closely related contexts, with no noticeable typological evolution and sometimes the use of the same stamps, probably indicates a closely spaced distribution in time and maybe a geographically related origin, which is certainly not Sagalassian, as evidenced by the chemical and mineralogical composition of the ware fabric. The next step in this respect must consist of comparing the chemical/mineralogical data with those from other sites when they become available, to test the validity of the above mentioned conclusion on the one hand and to try to locate the area of production of the vessels.

When considering the stylistic treatment of the monograms, the picture is equivocal. Regarding for instance the monograms based on a square with diagonals, one could put forward the hypothesis that there is an evolution from a more legible, thin-lined original with discernible lettering to a simplified, thicker-lined successor stamp. This in turn could be a marker for chronological succession, which seems more likely than a geographical differentiation as the vessels are so uniform in their aspect and finish. A second instance of evolution could be seen in the cross-shaped monograms, where also a variant with thin lines and widely separated letters is present, with a thicker-lined one with closer spacing. However, here the evolution seems to run from square to circle. If this observation holds true, then there is no relation between the form of the stamp, circular or square, and chronology as in the first case the evolution goes from round to square and in the second case from square to circle. Whatever the case may be, from the archaeological context no conclusive evidence can be drawn either way.

What seems to be certain is that the whole is closely connected in time and likely not earlier than the sixth century and not later than the middle of the seventh century AD, based not only on the available stratigraphic evidence but also on the comparative material, both from unguentaria and from lead seals.

<sup>70</sup> Hayes 1992, 9, 91, Pl. 16 no. 12.

<sup>71</sup> Pl. 16.

<sup>72</sup> Pl. 17.

<sup>73</sup> Fig. 3b, Pl. 18.

<sup>74</sup> Hayes 1992, 9, Pl. 16, no. 13-14.

<sup>75</sup> Pl. 19.

<sup>76</sup> Fig. 3a.



Unless more narrowly dated contexts are found it remains too ambitious to get into more detail as far as chronology is concerned.

For the moment we must accept that additional information on the origin of this ware is not to be found at Sagalassos. Further research will have to be done further afield, as the potential of these attractive vessels is certainly not yet exhausted.

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	SiO <sub>2</sub>	Al <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	TOT Fe	MnO	MgO	CaO	Na <sub>2</sub> O	K <sub>2</sub> O	TiO <sub>2</sub>	P <sub>2</sub> O <sub>5</sub>	CO <sub>2</sub>	L.O.I.
<b>Fabric 1 (Sagalassos ware) n= 128</b>												
mean	52.57	16.13	8.28	0.10	6.53	7.79	0.97	2.75	0.88	0.26	0.86	3.14
median	52.67	16.19	8.30	0.10	6.59	7.71	0.99	2.76	0.88	0.24	0.62	3.02
mode	53.01	16.30	8.59	0.10	6.84	7.71	0.90	2.87	0.91	0.19	0.00	2.16
range	15.11	8.19	3.64	0.08	9.46	12.96	0.81	1.57	0.31	0.62	2.35	11.58
$\sigma$	2.11	1.24	0.60	0.01	1.23	1.99	0.13	0.25	0.07	0.10	0.86	1.99
V	0.04	0.08	0.07	0.14	0.19	0.25	0.13	0.09	0.07	0.36	1.00	0.63
<b>Fabric 8 (Unguentary ware) n=9</b>												
mean	56.49	18.51	7.97	0.10	3.85	5.71	0.59	3.44	0.96	0.16	0.00	1.67
median	58.48	18.02	7.51	0.09	3.60	5.44	0.57	3.80	0.96	0.18	0.00	1.11
mode	NA	NA	NA	0.08	NA	NA	0.57	NA	0.96	0.19	0.00	NA
range	16.73	2.80	2.08	0.09	4.06	13.91	0.60	2.48	0.45	0.19	0.00	4.40
$\sigma$	4.88	1.01	0.77	0.03	1.12	3.84	0.17	0.82	0.12	0.06	0.00	1.26
V	0.09	0.05	0.10	0.30	0.29	0.67	0.29	0.24	0.12	0.36	0.00	0.76

*Table 1. Summarized data of the chemical bulk analysis of the main Sagalassos ware and of unguentarium ware (n= number of analysed samples,  $\sigma$ = standard deviation, V = coefficient of variation, NA = not applicable)*

stamp identification	site	layer	date
SA-91-DT-330-132	Doric temple	layer 3	6 <sup>th</sup> century
SA-91-N-666	Hellenistic fountain courtyard	layer 4	first half of 6 <sup>th</sup> century
SA-92-UA-190	Upper agora	topsoil	5 <sup>th</sup> to 7 <sup>th</sup> century+
SA-92-DT-273	Doric temple	topsoil	7 <sup>th</sup> century or later+
SA-93-LA-130	Lower agora	layer 4	end 5 <sup>th</sup> to mid 7 <sup>th</sup> century
SA-94-UA-266	Upper agora	layer 3	5 <sup>th</sup> to 7 <sup>th</sup> century
SA-95-UA-139-5	Upper agora	layer 5	5 <sup>th</sup> to 7 <sup>th</sup> century
SA-95-UA-148-1	Upper agora	layer 4	5 <sup>th</sup> to 7 <sup>th</sup> century
SA-95-UA-322-3	Upper agora	layer 2	5 <sup>th</sup> to 7 <sup>th</sup> century
SA-96-UAN-203	Upper agora north	layer 1S	6 <sup>th</sup> to mid 7 <sup>th</sup> century
SA-96-H-90-1	Heroon	layer 3	6 <sup>th</sup> century
SA-96-B-253-1	Bouleuterion	layer 3	6 <sup>th</sup> – 7 <sup>th</sup> century
SA-96-RB-194-10	Roman baths	layer 4	6 <sup>th</sup> – 7 <sup>th</sup> century
SA-96-UA-131-5	Upper agora tunnel	surface	
SA-97-B1-26-1	Bouleuterion	topsoil	6 <sup>th</sup> – 7 <sup>th</sup> century+
SA-97-B2-101	Bouleuterion	layer 2	6 <sup>th</sup> – 7 <sup>th</sup> century
SA-97-B2-106	Bouleuterion	layer 2	6 <sup>th</sup> – 7 <sup>th</sup> century
SA-97-B1-26-2	Bouleuterion	topsoil	6 <sup>th</sup> – 7 <sup>th</sup> century+
SA-98-DA1-100-1	Domestic area 1	layer 4	6 <sup>th</sup> – 7 <sup>th</sup> century
SA-98-DA1-100-2	Domestic area 1	layer 4	6 <sup>th</sup> – 7 <sup>th</sup> century
SA-98-H-52-1	Heroon	layer 5	end 6 <sup>th</sup> – 7 <sup>th</sup> century
Total:	21 stamps		

Table 2. List of all the unguentarium stamps found at Sagalassos with their stratigraphical date.



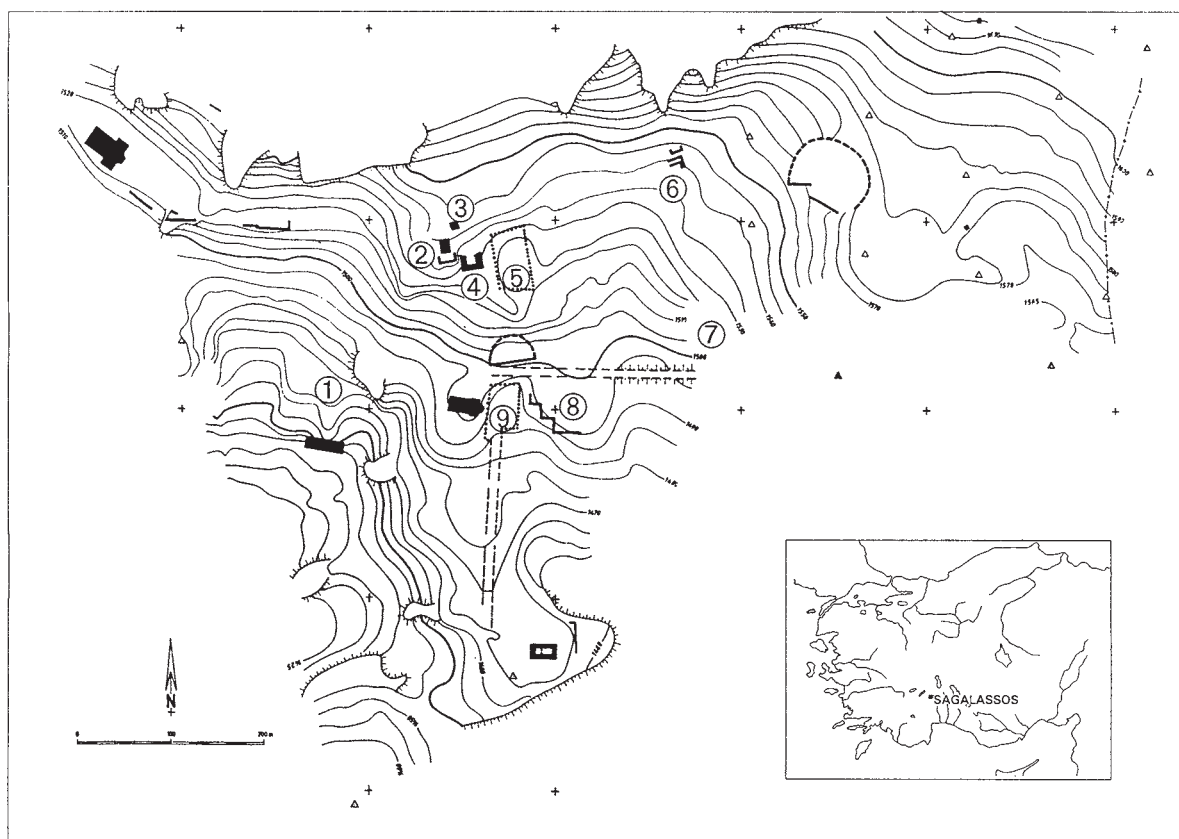
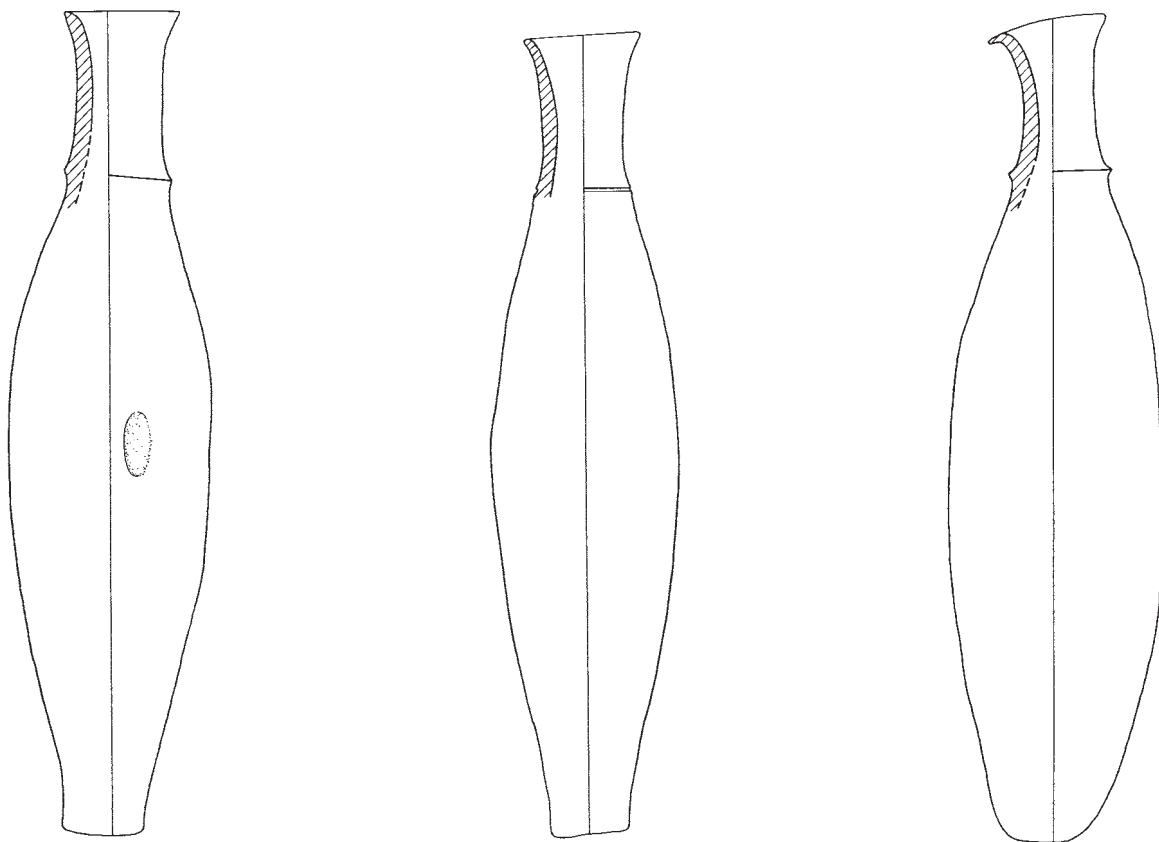


Fig. 1. Simplified plan of Sagalassos: 1 – Site W, 2 – Doric temple, 3 – Heroon, 4 – Bouleuterion, 5 – Upper Agora, 6 – Late Hellenistic fountain, 7 – Domestic area 1, 8 – Baths, 9 – Lower agora.



*Fig. 2. Complete unguentaria found at Sagalassos: a: SA-96-UAN-120, b: SA-95-UAN-247-1, c: SA-96-UAN-51.*

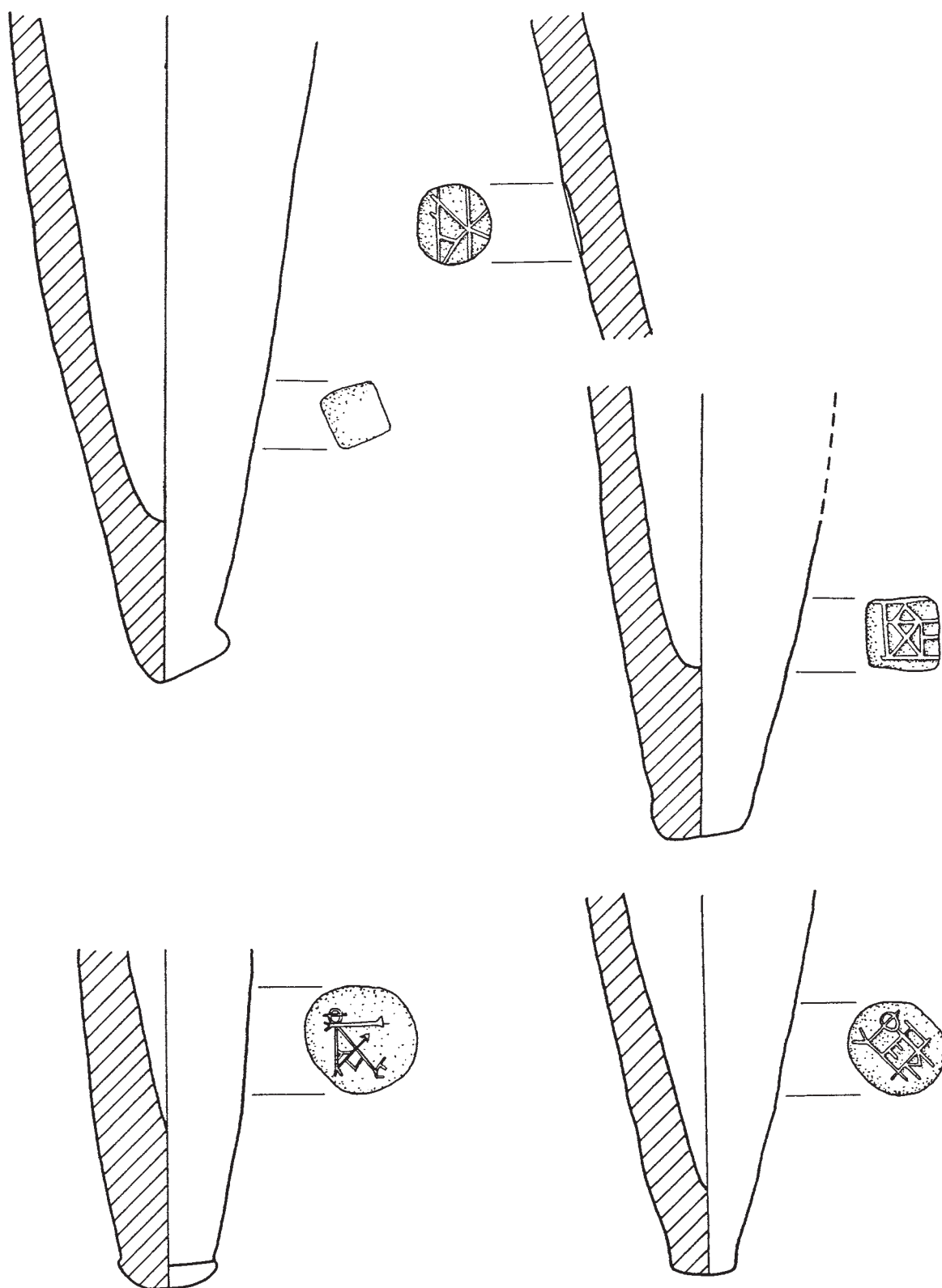


Fig. 3. Stamp drawings: a: SA-96-RB-194-10, b: SA-96-H-90-1, c: SA-96-UA-131-5, d: SA-96-B-253-1, e: SA-95-UA-148-1.





Plate 1. SA-94-UAN-198.



Plate 2. SA-94-UA-349.



Plate 3. SA-95-UA-148.



Plate 4. SA-91-DT-330-132.



Plate 5. SA-92-UA-190.

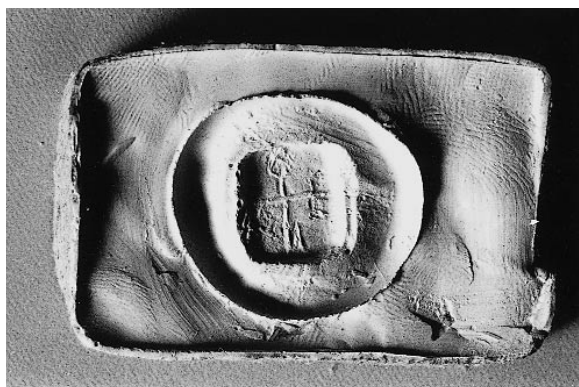
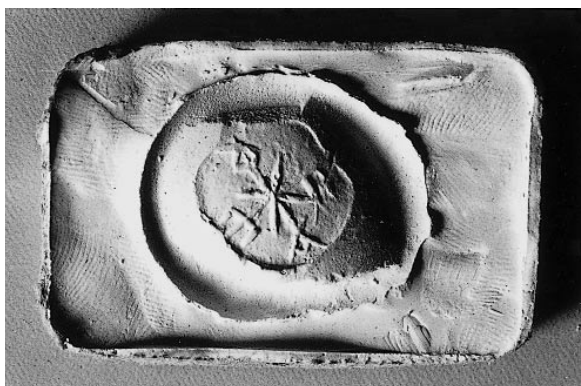


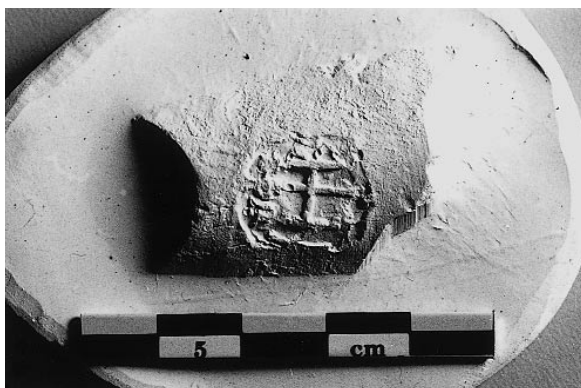
Plate 6. SA-94-UA-266.



*Plate 7. SA-97-B1-26.*



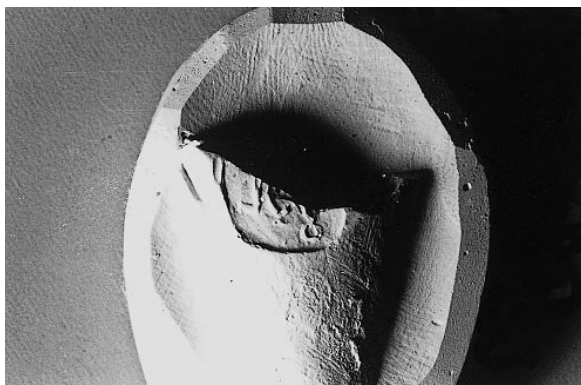
*Plate 8. SA-96-UAN-203.*



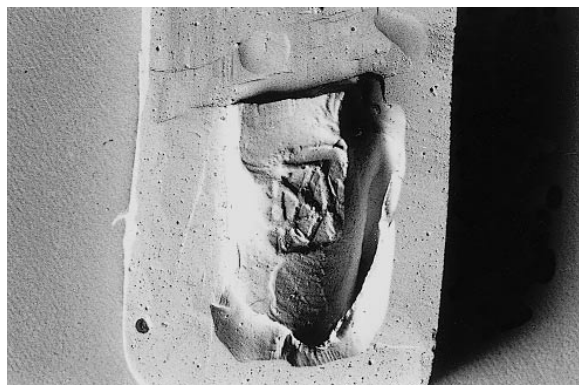
*Plate 9. SA-91-N-666.*



*Plate 10. SA-96-B-253-1.*



*Plate 11. SA-95-UA-322-3.*



*Plate 12. SA-92-DT-273.*



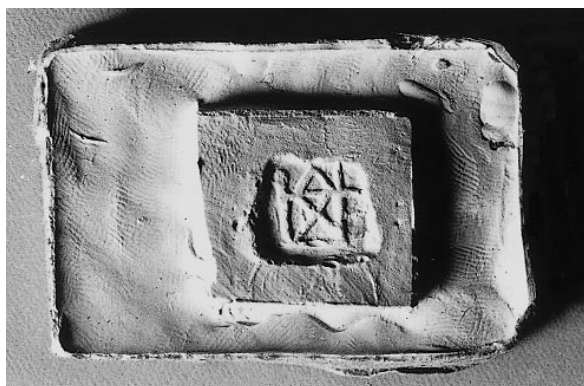


Plate 13. SA-97-B2-106.



Plate 14. SA-93-LA-130.

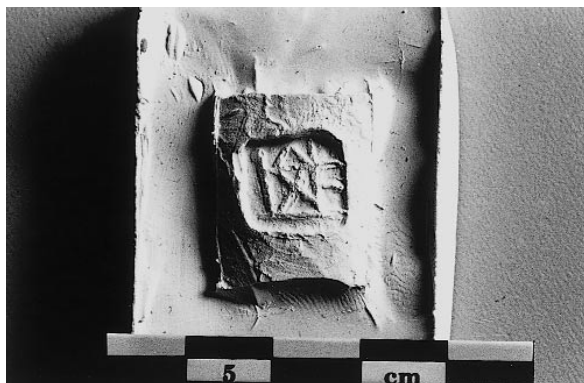


Plate 15. SA-96-UA-131-5.



Plate 16. SA-95-UA-139-5.

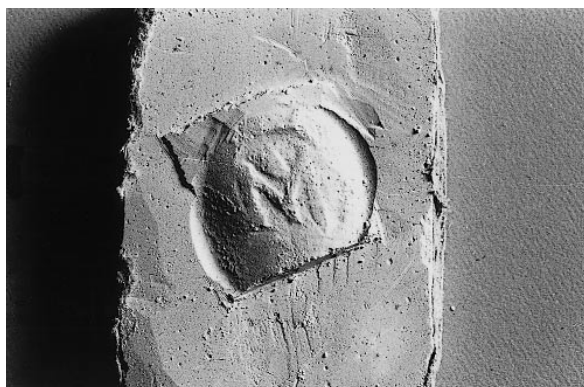


Plate 17. SA-97-B2-101.

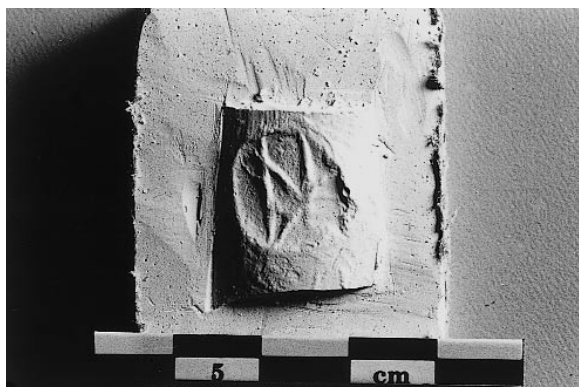


Plate 18. SA-96-H-90-1.





*Plate 19. SA-97-BA-26-1.*



*Plate 20. SA-98-H-52-1.*



*Plate 21. SA-98-DA1-100-1.*



*Plate 22. SA-98-DA1-100-2.*

## A genuine fake Poniatowski Gem?

By Gertrud Seidmann

A gold swivel ring mounted with an intaglio gem depicting *Jason* (Fig. 1) was on the New York art market in 1995. The engraving on the orange, lightly striated cornelian, a long oval measuring 31x18 mm, represents the legendary hero standing frontally in a graceful pose, his weight resting on his left leg, while his head is turned in profile to his right. He is naked but for a helmet with a large crest and sandals on his feet; a cloak, fastened at the throat with a brooch and billowing behind him, is gathered over his right arm, in which he grasps a short lance, and a sword is slung from the baldric across his shoulder; the captured golden fleece is draped over his left arm. In the field on the right, a Greek name is inscribed in reverse, reading from top to bottom; it is that of Augustus's gem engraver Dioskourides (*fl.* c.40 BC – c.AD 10). But the signature is not autograph, and its presence makes this gem a fake. Style alone would have excluded an attribution to Dioskourides, it is true, but it can be dated with certainty to the early nineteenth century, for it was then that Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770–1844) created the monumental statue of *Jason* which is copied on this gem<sup>1</sup>. (Fig. 2)

The copying of sculptures on engraved gems, practised in antiquity, was revived by eighteenth century Roman workshops providing elegant souvenirs of the ancient works of art which the Grand Tourists came to admire<sup>2</sup>. By the last decades of the eighteenth and the early years of the nineteenth century, the traditional canon of 'the most beautiful statues'<sup>3</sup> began to include works of three contemporary sculptors, considered worthy to stand beside the Ancients: they were Antonio Canova, born 1757 and resident in Rome from 1781, the Dane Bertel Thorvaldsen, thirteen years his junior, who was awarded a Rome scholarship in 1796, and John Gibson, born 1790, resident in Rome since 1817. As their fame grew, so the gem-engravers, too, took notice. The sculptures of all three were copied on gemstones, as witness the numerous collections of casts from engraved gems reproducing their works, manufactured by the foremost Roman providers of such popular souvenir boxes, the Paoletti and Cades workshops<sup>4</sup>. On their evidence, Canova's works were copied by at least seven engravers, Thorvaldsen's by at least thirteen<sup>5</sup>. One might have hypothesized that the copyist of Thorvaldsen's *Jason* should be sought among this

group; but in the absence of documentary evidence for its origin, the attribution of a gem with a forged Greek signature presents obvious problems. Two among Thorvaldsen's known gem-engraver copyists produced a number of intaglios: they were Giovanni Settari (1773–after 1833) and Luigi Pichler (1773–1854); the latter seemed to be the foremost candidate, on several grounds. The much younger half-brother and pupil of Giovanni Pichler, he had become celebrated in his turn for exquisitely engraved stones<sup>6</sup>; we find among them no fewer than

<sup>1</sup> H. 2 m 42, original plaster model 1802–3 (Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum), marble 1803–28 (*ibid*); Jornaes and Urne 1985, cat. nos. A 52, A 822. On the statue, see von Einem 1975; Di Majo, Jornaes and Susinna 1989–90, Pl.9, Fig. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Haskell and Penny 1981.

<sup>3</sup> Exhibition curated by F. Haskell and N. Penny, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1981.

<sup>4</sup> Cast collections elegantly housed in fictive 'books', or more plainly in chipboard nests of stacking trays, titled '*Opere di Canova / di Thorvaldsen* (the sculptor's name seems universally spelt thus in Rome) / *di Gibson / del Sig. Cav.e Thorvaldsen / del Commendatore Thorvaldsen*', with varying numbers of examples.

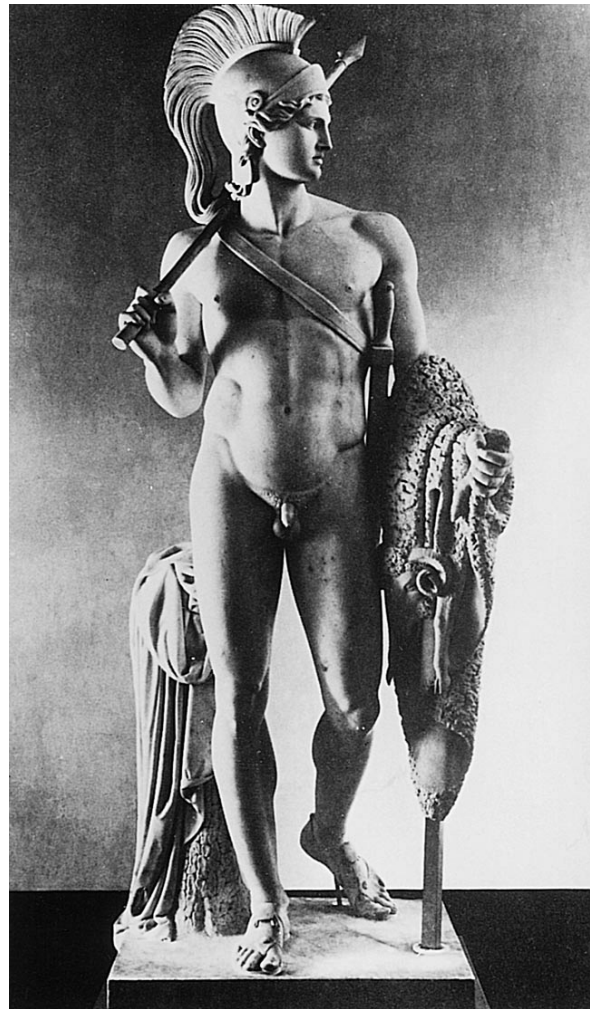
For some engravings after Thorvaldsen, see Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1991, who cites seven names; a further name, that of Giuseppe Caputi, appears in Di Majo, Jornaes and Susinna 1989–1990; for a fuller list, supplemented by inspection of casts in the Thorvaldsen Museum, Copenhagen, and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, see Note 5 below. See also Tassinari 1993, 243–272, on the influence of Thorvaldsen's *Vulcan's Forge*. Beside the sculptor's large collection of ancient gems, the Thorvaldsen Museum owns a small group of stones and several casts in glass and plaster of gems after his works, including the popular roundels of *Night* and *Day*, by Giovanni Beltrami, Giovanni Settari, H. Conradsen and Luigi Pichler. The *Jason* gem under discussion, however, has not been recorded before.

<sup>5</sup> They are Giovanni Beltrami, Giuseppe Caputi, Giuseppe Cerbara, H. Conradsen, Giovanni Dies, Luigi Dies, Giuseppe Girometti, Clemente Pestrini, Luigi Pichler, Tommaso Saulini, Antonio Santarelli, Giovanni Settari and the Neapolitan Zavagnini.

<sup>6</sup> Examples, among others, in Athens, Numismatic Museum; London, British Museum; Padua, Archaeological Museum; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet de Médailles; Venice, Museo Correr; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. I am grateful to Alfred Bernhard-Walcher for personal communications about the Pichler gems in the Vienna museum, and to Mathilde Brousset for access to Pichler gems in the Cabinet de Médailles. On Luigi Pichler's life and works, see Mugna 1844, who was a personal friend: this work was published during the artist's lifetime in the city where they met; Rollett 1874 is largely based on Mugna; Bernhard-Walcher 1996 discusses and illustrates the artist's work in Vienna; Seidmann 1996b is a brief assessment.



*Fig. 1. Jason Διοσκυριδου, Cornelian intaglio, 31 x 18 mm, inscribed in reverse mounted in gold swivel ring (Private Collection). (Photo Robert L. Wilkins)*



*Fig. 2. Bertel Thorvaldsen Jason with the Golden Fleece, marble, 2m42, (1803–28) (Thorvaldsen Museum, Copenhagen, A 822) (Photo Robert L. Wilkins).*



fifteen gems after Canova, who was a close friend, and at least twelve derived from Thorvaldsen<sup>7</sup>; he also cut the two sculptors' portraits, both widely circulated in the form of moulded glass pastes.

Pichler's claim to *Jason* rested on circumstantial evidence of various kinds – first and foremost on stylistic considerations. The great majority of his stones were cut in intaglio, of which he was, as a follower of his brother, an outstanding protagonist. Among the list of other contemporary copyists of Thorvaldsen gathered from the cast collections, Giovanni Beltrami is represented by a single intaglio from the collection of Count Sommariva, for whom he worked, and Giovanni Settari by a number of small two-figure scenes, not only signed with his name, but displaying prominently the legend THORVALDSEN INV. During the first half of the 19th century, however, most practitioners turned to cameo, more attractive and 'readable' in jewellery, and the even more showy shell cameos which were much easier to cut and produce in quantity. The manufacturer Tommaso Cades, whose Thorvaldsen collection is characterised by casts of enormous size (up to 7 cms and more), obligingly informs the buyer that these are taken from shell cameos, by Pestrini, Saulini and Giovanni Dies; the few intaglio cutters still present are Luigi Dies with one example, Settari and Luigi Pichler.

Gem-engravers of the neo-classical era habitually modelled in the company and in the studios of sculptors, and Thorvaldsen's, where the figure of *Jason* remained for many years on view, was one of the show-pieces of Rome; but relations between Thorvaldsen and Luigi Pichler seem to have gone beyond this: the sculptor entrusted Pichler with taking his design for the Schwarzenberg monument to Prince Metternich (patron of both) in Vienna<sup>8</sup>; personal contacts may originally have been established through Canova. Furthermore, there is no reason to doubt that Pichler's portrait of Thorvaldsen was cut from life.

Thorvaldsen's statue of *Jason* underwent many vicissitudes<sup>9</sup>. The sculptor created a first, lifesize model in 1800 but destroyed it: living on a meagre stipend, he could not afford even to have it cast in plaster. He recreated it in its later over-life size form in 1802, when it almost suffered the same fate; but in the nick of time the poet Friederike Brun, then resident in Rome, had it cast at her own expense. Nevertheless, despairing of success in the artistic metropolis, its creator was preparing to leave the city forever, when the grandiosely conceived sculpture was finally saved by the timely commission of a marble version for the wealthy English collector and patron, Thomas Hope of Deepdene. The figure, which took shape over many years, created a sensation in Rome and

earned Thorvaldsen the name of the 'Danish Phidias'; it was the first of the heroic sculptures in a neo-classical style, characterised by Canova as 'un stile nuovo e grandioso'<sup>10</sup>.

The intaglio copy of *Jason* may have been cut during the early years of the statue's fame; though in truth the engraver did not have to hurry, as the work remained in the sculptor's studio for twenty-five years, much to the patron's distress. The gem is not an exact copy of the statue in its final form, but nor was Pichler's *Vulcan's Forge* after Thorvaldsen<sup>11</sup>; in both cases the artist has assumed a certain liberty in re-interpreting the model. But in attributing this stone to the master who was also responsible for at least twelve other copies after Thorvaldsen, we must further take into consideration the problem of the fake signature.

Firstly, it would not be the only one of Pichler's gems with a false Greek name attached to it: his work list compiled by Herman Rollett enumerates several others<sup>12</sup>, and in the nature of the case there may be more, hitherto unrecognised. Pichler's friend and first biographer, the abbate Pietro Mugna, reports that some of his gems were passed off as antique – surely with the customary help of a judiciously applied fake signature; this would have assisted sales during the anxious years after the death of his elder brother and the failure of the family workshop in 1798<sup>13</sup>. A *Jason* gem with a fake signature could very well have originated from the Pichler workshop at that time; but there seemed to be a further reason for attributing this gem to him, for Pichler – although he did not own up to this<sup>14</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Works after Thorvaldsen, according to list in Rollett 1874, 61–68: intaglio nos. 20, 39, 40, 53, 91, 146, 150, 164, 199, 227; Thorvaldsen's portrait is no. 206; a second version of *Vulcan's Forge*, Tassinari 1993, 251–254; another assigned to Pichler on the basis of a receipt, Di Majo, E., B. Jornaes and S. Susinna, 1989–90, 100. These may not be the only versions by Pichler of this device.

<sup>8</sup> Letter to Pichler's patron Prince Metternich in Vienna, dated 12 October 1821, drafted in Rome by the Danish consul Brøndsted in Thorvaldsen's name: Thiele 1852–6, 2, 65–6.

<sup>9</sup> On the statue, its genesis and significance, see von Einem 1975; Di Majo, Jornaes and Susinna 1989–90, 27–41.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*, 39.

<sup>11</sup> For Pichler's variations on Thorvaldsen's *Vulcan's Forge* relief, see Tassinari 1993, 250–254.

<sup>12</sup> Rollett 1874, 60–68, lists five gems with Greek signatures, three of them copies from ancient gems (intaglios 44, 61, 170, 185, 200), while numerous other copies from ancient models are either unsigned, or signed with Pichler's own name.

<sup>13</sup> See Mugna 1844, 31–2 on periods of financial distress and gems by Pichler 'passed off' as antique.

<sup>14</sup> He once rather disingenuously remarked to the Director of the Vienna Cabinet of Antiquities, in talking about his much less distinguished second brother, that Giuseppe had 'produced virtually nothing but forgeries, especially for Prince Poniatowski' (personal information from Alfred Bernhard-Walcher).

– was involved with Prince Stanislas Poniatowski (1754–1833), that most notorious creator of a vast contemporary collection of similar fakes, the ‘Poniatowski Gems’.

<sup>15</sup> The nephew of the last king of Poland, Prince Stanislas had enjoyed an excellent education, including several months at Cambridge University (he had had an English tutor) and had travelled widely as a young man, acting as his uncle’s emissary. His charm was legendary, his intellect sharp, and his travels, which brought him contacts with the circle of advanced thinkers in Paris, and his experience of England, helped to hone very progressive ideas: as the owner of vast estates in Poland and Lithuania, at one time ‘the richest man in Europe’, he freed his hundreds of thousands of serfs, established modern manufactures and instituted a land reform in favour of the peasants whom he said he loved (an action he referred to proudly many years later in his Will): this was almost a century before the serfs were freed in Russia. At the same time, he was embarked on a brilliant political career; but Poland’s dire situation with its constant upheavals and the ruling oligarchy’s resistance to his uncle’s progressive ideas, culminating in a decree which would make Poland return to a hereditary monarchy devolving on Saxony, disgusted him sufficiently to make him resolve to make his home abroad. As a lover of the arts, especially music, a collector of antiquities and a patron of contemporary artists and architects, he was, like many cultivated and aristocratic Poles particularly drawn to Italy<sup>16</sup>, which he had already visited more than once; a full-length portrait of him as a most engaging young man by Angelica Kauffmann is a memento of his first visit to Rome in 1785–6. In 1791, he settled in a palazzo in Rome’s Via della Croce, acquired a villa on the Via Flaminia outside the gates, which he had transformed by the Papal architect Giuseppe Valadier<sup>17</sup>, acquired other Italian properties and promoted excavations; he also accumulated fabled collections of antiquities<sup>18</sup>, among them engraved gems, swiftly growing and catalogued progressively, as more were acquired, by the antiquary Ennio Quirino Visconti<sup>19</sup>, who called it ‘one of the richest in Europe’. A fierce opponent of Napoleon and on good terms with the Habsburg emperor, the prince left Italy to spend some years in Austria, where he acquired lands which he still owned at his death, and continued his former lifestyle, including his collecting of antiquities<sup>20</sup>, until he was able to return to Italy. But the political upheavals in Europe, not least in Poland, which suffered its second and third partition, the forced abdication of the king and the Russian occupation had left Prince Stanislas with his estates sequestered and for a time in such dire straits that

he considered himself penniless. He was, however, able to regain part of his fortune and continue his former way of life, until a further upheaval impelled him to leave his home in Rome and settle in Florence.

He was already a batchelor in his fifties, when he took up with a pretty young bourgeoisie, Cassandra Luci Benloch, whose husband was missing in the wars<sup>21</sup>. The birth of a daughter was followed by that of a son, which made him consider it his duty to undergo a morganatic marriage; but its legitimation found surprising resistance in the curia which demanded a wait of ten years for the missing husband. Angrily, the Prince had a private marriage ceremony performed by his chaplain in his own oratory; the recognition of his children (eventually there were three sons and two daughters) as legitimate by the Habsburg Grand Duke of Tuscany persuaded him to move to Florence. Cassandra’s husband having reappeared, the official marriage did not take place until the Prince was seventy years of age, just three years before his death, when he had the satisfaction of seeing his children recognised as legitimate by Pope Pius VIII. In his years of retirement in Florence, he thought and wrote about the fate of his country and pursued his interest in Renaissance music and drama<sup>22</sup>; his clear mind and amiable temper shine from his memoirs, the few preserved letters and his intimates’ description of his last days and the night he refused to call his doctor on his deathbed because of the lateness of the hour<sup>23</sup>. It seems almost incredible that a man of his temperament and wide culture who was respected, almost revered as a connoisseur and collector of antiquities in his lifetime, should also have been engaged in his last years in assembling that

<sup>15</sup> The following account of the prince’s life draws largely on Busiri Vici 1971, 94–451; Michalski 1983; Korzenowski 1895.

<sup>16</sup> Mikocki 1988.

<sup>17</sup> Janowska, A. and Antonelli, V. 1991.

<sup>18</sup> On the prince as collector, see *Indicazione* 1821; Busiri Vici 1971, 313–365.

<sup>19</sup> Visconti’s manuscript notes, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises, vols X–XII, 5973–5977, in both French and Italian; the Italian version was published as ‘Catalogo delle gemme antiche di S.A. il Sig. Principe Stanislao Poniatowski’ in Visconti 1827–31, 2, 372–386.

<sup>20</sup> His famous marble Kore is now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

<sup>21</sup> What follows is based on a MS ‘Second Supplement’, dated 1947, by Prince Andrea Poniatowski, the prince’s great-grandson, to the Prince’s manuscript volume *Notices Biographiques 1769–1831*. I am most grateful to Prince Michel Poniatowski for permitting me access to the family archives deposited in the Archives de France.

<sup>22</sup> MS letters from the prince dated 3 July 1793, 28 June 1794, Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana, BIII 34–35.

<sup>23</sup> (First) *Supplément to Notices Biographiques* (see Note 21).

extraordinary collection of fakes, with which his name is forever associated.

The 'Poniatowski Gems'<sup>24</sup> were entirely distinct from the perfectly respectable collection catalogued by Visconti, which included a (genuine) *Io* by Dioscourides; it also included postclassical Renaissance and neoclassical gems not listed by Visconti from 1794. The fate of this collection – which we might call 'Poniatowski One' – is mysterious. Was it sold with the Via Flaminia villa, which was bought by one Richard Sykes 'of York'?; yet Tommaso Cades, in his list of Giovanni Pichler's gems refers to a *Head of Agrippa*, 'già nella collezione Poniatowsky, poi scomparsa con molte altre gemme preziose', while he describes a *Cicero* and a *Neptune* by the same artist as still in the collection, which was not included among that which created such a stir when it came to auction 35 years later. (The Dioscourides gem is probably that now in the Archaeological Museum, Florence).

In their definitive form, the often described fraudulent 'Poniatowski Gems' consisted of 2601 engraved stones, most of them depicting in minute detail long series of episodes from ancient mythology and the epics; 1737 of these bore the 'signatures' of Greek engravers known and unknown to history, including hundreds by Dioscourides, whose 'rare and beautiful works... are made by this collection as common as the adventures of Mr Pickwick'<sup>25</sup>, – as compared to the seven known at present, by or attributed to Dioscourides. It may seem strange that the earliest scholars to discuss this 'preposterous collection'<sup>26</sup> were so much in awe of the Prince's reputation that they assumed he was duped by Italian engravers<sup>27</sup>. This is an impossible assumption: there can be no doubt that *one* mastermind was behind this remarkably consistent, amazing programme; brief manuscript notes in his handwriting among the few documents in his archive read like drafts for the composition of its catalogue<sup>28</sup>. What has not so far come to light is documentary evidence about his relations with the contemporary engravers who produced this hoard with its fake signatures<sup>29</sup>.

But it is not the signature alone which associates the *Jason* gem with the fakes made for the Prince – after all, forgeries for sale to the tourists were almost a commonplace in late neo-classical Rome. There is the material, an exceptionally fine, large cornelian, not easily obtainable at the time, yet the commonest stone among the Poniatowski Gems<sup>30</sup>; the gold swivel mount, not unique among collectors' rings, but commonly used for Poniatowski's<sup>31</sup>; and finally the subject: the legend of Jason and Medea, rare on gems, is present in super-abundance among the Poniatowski Gems: it is depicted on a series of no fewer than twenty-nine stones<sup>32</sup>.

The gem under discussion, however, is not among those recorded there<sup>33</sup>. A different gem, depicting Jason, after he has killed the guardian dragon, in the act of snatching the golden fleece from the tree on which it is suspended, is supposedly 'by' Dioscourides, while the single figure called 'Jason emporte la toison d'or'(34–25) is supposedly 'by' Pyrgoteles. But the title of this last gem may afford a clue to the absence of the stone under discussion from the final collection: was the heroic figure after Thorvaldsen too static for the Prince's taste? Judging by the collection as a whole, he seems to have preferred gems showing violent movement; this is one of the distinguishing stylistic features of many of the Poniatowski Gems<sup>35</sup>. Yet not all are – or given the sheer quantity, could have been – by the same hand, and there are other gems, particularly those depicting

<sup>24</sup> Published by the prince in the *Catalogue* c. 1830, they were offered at auction by Christie and Manson in London, as the 'very celebrated collection of ANTIQUE GEMS of the Prince Poniatowski, Deceased', on 29 April 1839 and the following eleven days; discussed from 1831, when news of the catalogue first leaked out, by Raoul-Rochette 1831, 338; by E. H. Toelken, 1832, 309–20, and Creuzer II/3, 367–9; it was the visible evidence in Christie's sale which elicited two sound judgments by Ogle 1840 and 1842; he had been asked by the naive purchaser of most of the fake medallions, John Tyrrell, to prepare a catalogue for sale; Tyrrell 1842 attempted a refutation; Reinach's summing-up, 1895, still stands as an admirable résumé.

<sup>25</sup> Ogle 1842.

<sup>26</sup> Somers Cocks 1976, 376.

<sup>27</sup> Toelken 1832 concluded his review with an aspersion on those Italian – he uses the derogatory German word 'wälsch' – engravers whose cunning 'got the better of a naive northern enthusiast'.

<sup>28</sup> MS *Fiches pour un catalogue de pierres gravées* in the archives.

<sup>29</sup> Among the small bundle of notes relating to gems in the archives, there is, however, one curious letter by Tommaso Cades, dated 7 August 1818, in which he states that 'l'attestato fattomi rilasciare da S.A. il Signor Principe Poniatowski... in cui vengo dichiarato come impiegato al Suo attuale servizio è stato un puro atto di Sua bontà, ed un onore che si è degnato di farmi, non intendendo per questo di mai affacciare alcuna pretesa di un corrispondente mensile onorario...' – in other words, he is honoured by being regarded as in the Prince's employment, without claiming a monthly honorarium! Cades, who was a manufacturer of casts from gems, and had produced three frames of gems from 'Poniatowski One', probably continued to assist the prince in making impressions which he expected to sell on his own account.

<sup>30</sup> The prince's connections with his homeland probably assisted him in obtaining gem material from Saxony.

<sup>31</sup> See the portrait rings from the Poniatowski collection in the Holburne Museum and Crafts Centre, Bath: Seidmann 1996a.

<sup>32</sup> *Catalogue* c. 1830, 49–51, nos. 153–181.

<sup>33</sup> It does not figure either in Christie's sale catalogues of 1839 and later, or in the catalogues of the collection of later owners, notably *Explanatory Catalogue* 1841.

<sup>34</sup> *Catalogue* c. 1830, nos. 169, 168.

<sup>35</sup> This was already pointed out by Ogle 1841: 'some very unclassical...extravagant attitudes'; see also Rudoe 1992, 25.



a single figure, of a more static, classical nature. The cornelian *Jason* may have been rejected, or later alienated from the collection, perhaps as a gift.

At any rate this would not have been the only Poniatowski Gem that 'got away'. An amethyst *Jason and Triton* at Karlsruhe, from the same series of the Argonauts, is identical with the cast of a Poniatowski cornelian<sup>36</sup>; an unsigned gem in the Hull Grundy collection at the British Museum is considered by Charlotte Gere to be another unlisted Poniatowski gem and ascribed by her to Luigi Pichler, as it is identical with one signed by this engraver<sup>37</sup>. Finally and crucially, there was the connection between Prince Poniatowski and Luigi Pichler. Several of Luigi Pichler's gems, according to a catalogue of his cast collection<sup>38</sup> are copies from 'Poniatowski One', to which access was jealously guarded<sup>39</sup>. The circle appeared to be closed by contacts between the prince and the sculptor, whose studio he is recorded as visiting in 1810, when the fame of *Jason* was at its height<sup>40</sup>, although he does not seem to have been carried away by the general fervour: when asked to head the subscription list for Thorvaldsen's equestrian statue of his cousin, general Joseph Poniatowski, Prince Stanislas sent a very cool answer. This, however, was less a reflection on Thorvaldsen (in any case, Canova was the committee's first choice) than of the Prince's distaste for the glorification of his cousin's military exploits rather than his uncle's, the King's, peaceful if short-lived achievements for his country<sup>41</sup>.

These triple links, between the sculptor, the gem engaver, and the patron who commissioned the fake gems, seemed to make an attribution of the *Jason* gem to Luigi Pichler plausible – until a symposium of glyptologists on eighteenth and nineteenth century engraved gems held at Udine in September 1998<sup>42</sup> opened up a new vista on a quite different engraver, who collaborated largely on Prince Stanislas's collection of fakes, and incidentally seemed to solve the problem of the origin of the *Jason* gem. Gertrud Platz-Horster, who had previously studied glyptic copies of statuary among ancient artists<sup>43</sup>, presented visual proofs, in the form of drawings by the prolific and skilful Roman Giuseppe Calandrelli (1784–1852) from his archives preserved in the Berlin Antikenmuseum, that he designed and cut numerous gems for Prince Stanislas: one of the drawings reproduced Thorvaldsen's *Jason*. An examination of Calandrelli's cast collection – incidentally preserved by the same Tommaso Cades who was involved with the prince over the years and wrote that strange disclaimer – revealed a *Giasone col vello d'oro. Opera dal marmo di Thorvaldsen* of precisely the dimensions of the ring – without any signature, either that of Calandrelli or of Dioscourides (Fig. 3).

Calandrelli does indeed appear in the reference books as a notorious faker<sup>44</sup>, but, perhaps because of the removal of his person and his archive to Berlin in 1832, – he was called there to teach, as Luigi Pichler was called to Vienna – his involvement with Poniatowski has not hitherto been specially remarked on. The revelations in Platz-Horster's paper (publication forthcoming in the symposium papers) therefore provided an important new contribution to one of the problems connected with the Poniatowski Gems.

Calandrelli's choice of a Thorvaldsen motif, however, still remains puzzling. The *Jason* is the only one of his gems after the sculptor: unlike Pichler, Settari and others, he did not proceed to copy other Thorvaldsen subjects. Although he was in Rome for many years during its presence in the sculptor's studio, did he, in fact, model directly from the statue itself? One may ask this question, for there is a further puzzle: the cast preceding *Jason* in his collection, also unique among his gems as a copy from a contemporary, is a Luigi Pichler fake, complete with signature. The catalogue entry reads *Ercole battante colleone*. Α. ΠΙΧΛΕΡ. I. What does this mean? Clearly, Calandrelli had access to Pichler's casts – but it still seems strange that among the many representations of this popular subject he should have chosen to copy Pichler's and fake his signature, and follow it with his only Thorvaldsen motif. Is it possible that his *Jason* was also copied from a Pichler design, rather than from the statue?

Be that as it may, this still leaves a fundamental puzzle about the 'Poniatowski Gems' unanswered, which has been all but ignored among the outraged

<sup>36</sup> Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum: information kindly supplied by Peter-Hugo Martin. The identical cornelian is no. 580 in the *Catalogue* c. 1830. Both stones are 'signed' 'Gnaios' in Greek letters.

<sup>37</sup> Gere 1984, 124–5, no. 836.

<sup>38</sup> Collection of casts from Pichler's works in the possession of Warsaw Castle, MS Catalogue titled *Tomo 6 – 16 17 18 – Collezione di No. 180 Impronte Opere di Luigi Pichler*. Cat. nos. 323, 353, 368 are each annotated 'da una gemma nel Museo Poniatowski'. I am grateful for access to this collection to the courtesy of Professor Andrzej Rottermund, Director of Warsaw Castle, and Mgr. Bogna Arnold-Rutkiewicz, Curator.

<sup>39</sup> e.g. *Apollo radiato*, Warsaw Castle collection no. 290 = *Catalogue* c. 1830, no. 279; Billing 1875, 119, states that a 'beautiful Pichler with forged Greek name cost Poniatowski £20–30': he gives no source for this statement, which sounds plausible; although Billing cannot always be relied on, he had close links with the gem-engraving trade over many years.

<sup>40</sup> Busiri Vici 1971, 338.

<sup>41</sup> Family archives, letter to Countess Potocka, 18 March 1814.

<sup>42</sup> 'Continuità nella tradizione classica. Le gemme incise nel Settecento e Ottocento' on 26 September 1998, Musei Civici, Castello, Udine, under the chairmanship of Maurizio Buora.

<sup>43</sup> Horster 1970.

<sup>44</sup> cf. Babelon 1894, 312; Forrer, 1904–30, 1, 327; 7, 145.



Fig. 3. Guiseppe Calandrelli, Giasone col vello d'ora. Opera dal marmo di Thorwaldsen, impression (Photo Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome).

comments: what could have prevailed on this cultivated man of taste, who collected genuine antiquities and even promoted excavations, to perpetrate such a preposterous fraud – and get away with it during his lifetime? <sup>45</sup>

I believe that the answer lies in the extraordinary swings of fortune he had experienced, and in his anxiety to leave his descendants well provided for. His will is the clue<sup>46</sup>: having mentioned the difficulties his heirs might have in disposing well of the art collections, ('abbiamo...avuto riguardo alla somma difficoltà che incontreranno i nostri Eredi Universali nella realizzazione dei molti oggetti d'Arte'), he enlarges especially on the 'Collezione di Pietre incise' and their impressions, with their already printed catalogue, situated in the Museo on the second floor of the Palazzo in via Larga, 'formando questo un oggetto di molto valore'. If not previously sold my him, he entreates his sons to explore the means of selling this collection in the best possible way and most advantageously. He must have thought that a huge hoard of engraved gems, those much-collected, greatly desirable

objects, enhanced by the names made famous by Pliny and backed by his own reputation, would ensure them riches. Christie's 1839 sale, six years after his death, of 'the very celebrated collection of ANTIQUE GEMS of the PRINCE PONIA-TOWSKI, Deceased' created the well-known, often described, scandal: Lord Monson's sale in 1854 was, more modestly, entitled 'The very valuable collection of *exquisite* [my italics] GEMS selected from the celebrated (or, by then, notorious) PONIA-TOWSKI COLLECTION'. Contemporary comments make entertaining reading, especially those by writers who tried to persuade themselves that the prince had been deceived – though nothing like as much as the naive Englishman John Tyrrell, who bought the bulk of the collection after the sale, and subsequently spent a fortune publishing and trying to sell his flawed acquisition. The family, too, cannot have benefited to anything like the extent that the Prince must have envisaged: he did not live to see that in this, he himself *was* finally duped.

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<sup>45</sup> He sent a catalogue of his second collection in 1830 to the University of Cracov, drawing attention to its unique importance. Busiri Vici 1971, 442–3.

<sup>46</sup> Published in Busiri Vici 1971, 445–451.

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## Reviews

KATRIN KALVERAM, *Die Antiekensammlung des Kardinal Scipione Borghese*.

Worms am Rhein: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft mbH, 1995. 269 pp., figs., 139 pls.; 24cm (Römische Studien der Biblioteca Hertziana, Bd 11). ISBN 3-88462-116-5. DM 115.

In her comprehensive archaeological and art-historical research (abridged version of a 1991 dissertation) Katrin Kalveram (art-historian, b.1958) reconstructs the antiquities collection of Scipione Borghese as it existed in the 17th century. The importance of the Borghese collection is widely recognized and the architecture of the Villa Borghese, as well as the 18th century decoration have been the subject of thorough research. In spite of earlier studies by several scholars (F.Noach/1929, R.Lanciani/1912 and P.Moreno/1976, L.Lachenal/1982), a systematic research of the roots and contents of the 17th century collection has never been carried out.

A characterisation which comes to mind when reading the book is: *Deutsche Gründlichkeit*. In Kalverams search for primary sources no stone has been left unturned. Account sales, assignment books, as well as old inventory lists and even secret Vatican archives have been systematically studied and analysed. Some of them are reproduced and added as appendices to the book. All this has enabled her to reconstruct the original exhibition of the antique statues in the most representative of the Borghese villas, the *Villa Pinciana* in Rome. The villa was completed in the year 1613. Between the years of 1624 and 1628 the entire collection of the Borghese antiquities was brought here where the statues graced the halls of the *casino* and the gardens. The art collection testified to the noble status of the Borghese family while it increased their fame.

The villa also had a cultural function. It was visited by an élite of humanistically trained art lovers: *professori* and members of the *Nobilità di Roma*. It became a sanctuary that provided learned man with a visual backdrop for his intellectual discussions, which were common in circles of Cardinal Borghese (p.140). But the antique statues also united many interests: one worth mentioning is the Hermaphrodite (Kat. 134, Abb.116, 117) which had an erotic attraction. The antique statues were often displayed together with modern contemporary sculpture, including works of Gian Lorenzo Bernini, and paintings. The exact reconstruction of the location of the ancient statues, plus the combination of ancient and modern, sheds more light on the criteria by which the antique sculptures were judged and collected. It also tells us something about their place in the hierarchy of the iconographic decoration program of the villa. The location of the statues in the different rooms, including those in the niches of the façade of the villa, plus the layout of the garden are recorded in detail in the groundplans which are added as folding leaves in the book. Furthermore Kalveram has drawn an extensive catalogue of the 261 pieces of sculpture.

An important question Kalveram addresses is to how far the 17th century alterations and restaurations are

archaeologically correct. One should realise that a piece of ancient sculpture was rarely found in an undamaged state. By means of an autopsy of the statues now in the Galleria Borghese in Rome and in the Louvre Museum in Paris she reviews all the masterpieces of the Borghese collection. Her research has proven that in those days antique sculptures were relatively inexpensive, certainly cheaper than modern contemporary sculpture. Restauration, which in most cases meant reconstruction, was often more expensive. For instance, the Three Graces [Kat. 152, Abb. 98-101] was purchased at the low price of 77 scudi, which is an indication of the condition it was in. The restauration by Nicolas Cordier cost 100 scudi. Although when antique sculptures were purchased restaurationwork was often included in the price. With convincing arguments Kalveram disputes the prevailing view that technical perfection rather than archaeological correctness was the criterion. She points out that great collectors like the Medici, Ludovisi and Borghese only trusted the best artists to the restauration of their antiquities. Established sculptors like Gian Lorenzo Bernini and Nicolas Cordier had a wide knowledge of ancient sculpture owing to the fact that the restauration of ancient sculpture was one of the most frequent assignments in Rome during this period. Moreover several artists were also antiquitydealers (p.97).

Detailed accounts of 17th century restaurationwork on antique sculptures are rare. One exception is Allein Orfeo Boselli's *Osservazioni della scultura antica*, which provides explicit information on the restauration of ancient statues, although it was never printed in the 17th century. Kalverams analysis of this manuscript offers valuable insight into the 17th century restauration methods.

As a complementary source, the high-quality photographs add clarity and an aesthetic touch to the book.

Rotterdam, March 1999

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G. GARBRECHT, H. MANDERSCHIED, *Die Wasserbewirtschaftung römischer Thermen. Archäologische und hydrologische Untersuchungen. MittInst-Wasser* 118 A-C, 1994. Band A 412 S., 125 Abb.; Band B 385 S.; Band C 273 Abb. ISSN 0343 1223

In den zahlreichen bisherigen Publikationen über römische Bäder und Badekultur wurden die Wasserversorgung und -entsorgung kaum behandelt, da vor allem die Architektur und die Ausstattung der Bäder sowie soziale Fragen der Badekultur hervorgehoben wurden. Darüber hinaus gab es bislang namentlich im Bereich der Wasserbewirtschaftung viele Unklarheiten und Probleme und wurden fehlerhafte Darstellungen ständig wiederholt. Die vorliegende Studie war somit schon längere Zeit ein Desiderat. Die beiden Autoren haben sich in früheren Publikationen ausführlich mit römischen Thermen und antiker Hydrotechnik auseinandergesetzt; G. Garbrecht ist Wasserbauingenieur, H. Manderscheid Archäologe. Ihre Studie ist ein Musterbeispiel eines überzeugenden interdisziplinären Forschungsunternehmens.

Ziel der Autoren ist es, "(...) den Aspekt der Wasserbewirtschaftung in römischen Thermenanlagen auf archäologischer und ingenieurwissenschaftlicher Basis näher zu untersuchen und damit einen Beitrag zur Kultur- und Technikgeschichte des römischen Altertums zu leisten" (S. I). Dabei wird eine Badeanlage als "homogenen Baukörper, in dem alle Teilbereiche hinsichtlich der 'Gesamtfunktion' gleiche Wertigkeit besitzen" betrachtet, was zu einer grundlegenden Untersuchung der Wasserbewirtschaftung römischer Thermenanlagen berechtigt. Die Studie gliedert sich in drei Bände: Forschungsbericht (Band A), Katalog der Befunde (Band B) und Bilddokumentation zum Befundkatalog (Band C). Der Forschungsbericht (Band A) ist sehr vollständig und einleuchtend strukturiert. Teil I dieses Bandes (S. 13-89) behandelt die Grundzüge der Wasserbewirtschaftung. Zuerst werden die Wasserversorgung (Kap. 1), die Wassernutzung (Kap. 2) und die Wasserentsorgung (Kap. 3) besprochen. Es folgen Kapitel über Betriebsmodi (Kap. 4), Dekor (Kap. 5), Thermalbäder (Kap. 6) sowie bauliche Veränderungen und ihre wasserwirtschaftlichen Konsequenzen (Kap. 7). Teil II (S. 91-153) enthält zwei Fallstudien: die Versorgung und der Betrieb der Caracalla-Thermen und der Trajans-Thermen in Rom. Eine Schlußbetrachtung (Teil III, S. 155-166) bietet u.a. Überlegungen zur Bauplanung und -ausführung und einen kurzen Ausblick.

Ausführliche Beschreibungen der Befunde und deren Interpretation finden sich im Katalog (Band B). Dieser wird von einem Illustrationsband (Band C) mit 273 Abbildungen (Photos, Zeichnungen, Plänen) guter Qualität unterstützt. Die Bände B und C sind somit als Grundlage des Forschungsberichtes zu betrachten. Der Katalog (Band B) enthält 372 Befunde aus 163 öffentlichen, Privat- und Militärbädern des gesamten Römischen Reiches. Dabei sind namentlich Befunde aus Italien (insgesamt 109 Katalognr.) stark vertreten. Die inhaltlichen Kriterien, nach denen die Auswahl erfolgt ist, werden jedoch nicht deutlich formuliert. So ist schwer verständlich, warum die Funde aus der Vesuvregion im Katalog außer Betracht gelassen werden, obwohl diesen im Band A selbstverständlich und mit Recht großer Wert beigemessen wird. Man hätte diesen durchaus wichtigen Befunden eine vergleichbar sorgfältige und sachverständige Beschreibung und Interpretation im Band B gewünscht, zumal gerade diese Befunde bisher häufig unvollständig oder falsch interpretiert worden sind. Der Katalog kann dank dem ausführlichen Register als Nachschlagewerk benutzt werden und so Vergleichsmaterial und Parallelen bieten.

Die Wasserbewirtschaftung (Band A, Teil I) wird anhand von zwei Schemata dargestellt, wobei zwischen primären und sekundären Abnehmern unterschieden wird. Vor allem die Kapitel über die Wassernutzung (Kap. 2) und die Wasserentsorgung (Kap. 3) bringen viel Neues. Die Warmwasserbereitung wird ausführlich behandelt. Diese bildet den "Teilaspekt (...), mit dem sich die bisherige Forschung wohl am intensivsten auseinandergesetzt hat (...)" (S. 27), vor allem aufgrund einer komplett erhaltenen Kesselanlage in Boscoreale (Villa 'La Pisanella') und einer häufig zitierten Vitruvstelle (*De Arch.* V 10, 1). Mit

Recht wird aber bemerkt: "Der Versuch einer Synthese aus den Aussagen der Quellen und den archäologischen Befunden und Funden ist jedoch nie über die Anfänge hinausgegangen. Dabei hat gerade die 'berühmte' Vitruvstelle zu Mißverständnissen geführt, die sich bis heute gehalten haben" (S. 28). Vitruv spricht nämlich von drei Kesseln aus Bronze, für kaltes, lauwarmes und warmes Wasser. Außerhalb der Vesuvregion (vgl. die Stabianer Thermen und die Forums-Thermen in Pompeji) sind aber nirgendwo Kesselanlagen mit Platz für drei Kessel nebeneinander vorgefunden. Die Grabungsbefunde zeigen eine andere Baupraxis: Ein oder mehrere Kessel versorgten die jeweiligen Badebecken mit Warmwasser und befanden sich stets in der Nähe dieser Wassernutzer, statt direkt hintereinandergeschaltet zu sein. Darüber hinaus scheinen die Kessel vorwiegend aus Blei hergestellt zu sein, weil dieses Metall viel billiger war. Nur der Kesseluntersatz, eine Art Schlüssel, war aus hitzebeständiger Bronze. Die 'Bauanleitung' von Vitruv scheint somit eher die Ausnahme als die Regel zu bilden.

Auch die Verschlusssysteme für Auslaßöffnungen werden besprochen. Einzigartig ist eine Anzahl von Verschlussklappen, die vor allem aus dem Rhein-Mosel-Saargebiet stammen und in der bisherigen Forschung kaum beachtet worden sind. Es handelt sich bei diesem System um Zylinder aus Bronze mit beweglichem Deckel, die in den Boden eines Beckens eingelassen wurden. Der Deckel konnte mit einer Kette oder Schnur hochgehoben werden, wodurch der Abfluß geöffnet wurde, ohne daß man in das Becken hineinsteigen mußte.

Den Betriebsmodi ist das 4. Kapitel gewidmet. Hier wird zwischen mehreren Möglichkeiten unterschieden: ständig frisches Fließwasser, täglicher Wechsel, periodisches Nachfüllen und gelegentliche Nutzung. Fließwasser war in der Regel nur den Badebecken und den *natationes* der *frigidaria* vorbehalten. Das Warmwasser wurde nur einmal täglich gewechselt, vermutlich aber regelmäßig nachgefüllt, weil Wasser beim Ein- und Aussteigen über den Rand des Beckens schwappte. Ständiger Wechsel des Warmwassers wäre zu kostbar (Brennstoff!) und aufwendig gewesen: Die Kapazität der Kessel war dafür nicht ausreichend. Über die Folgen für die hygienischen Verhältnisse äußern sich die Autoren übrigens nicht.

Die zwei Fallstudien zeigen den Erfolg der angewendeten Methoden, wobei Ingenieurwissen und archäologische Kenntnisse in vorbildlicher Weise kombiniert werden. Dabei ist der Text durchaus verständlich für nicht-Ingenieure, ohne daß er unnötig simplifiziert. Ausführliche Berechnungen und Überlegungen zur Leistungsfähigkeit der Aqua Antoniniana, die die Caracalla-Thermen mit Fließwasser versorgte, und zu den verschiedenen Szenarien der Betriebsmodi zeigen, daß täglich 20.000 m<sup>3</sup> zur Verfügung standen, was eine maximale, sogar verschwenderische Versorgung ermöglichte. Ergebnisse wie diese machen die Bedeutung dieser Studie deutlich.

Mit der vorliegenden Arbeit wird demnach ein Rahmen geboten, auf den Thermenforscher bei neuen Ausgrabungen oder der Auswertung älterer Grabungsbefunde zukünftig nicht werden verzichten können. Die Studie ist reich an sorgfältigen Interpretationen, Lösungsvorschlägen und anregenden Denkansätzen, die zu weiteren

Untersuchungen einladen. Somit ist nicht nur weitestgehend Neuland betreten worden, sondern weisen die Autoren auch die Richtung für zukünftige Projekte und zeigen, daß die richtigen Fragen und Methoden zu überzeugenden Ergebnissen führen.

Nathalie De Haan

SEALEY, PAUL R., *The Boudican Revolt against Rome*, Princes Risborough, Shire Publications, 1997.

In the attractive series *Shire Archaeology* the latest monography is dedicated to the devastating insurrection against Roman rule by Queen Boudica in AD 60. The Roman rule of Britain was at that moment less than two decades old, and much beginner's faults were made by overzealous, avaricious and insecure generals and administrators. Subjected and allied tribes suffered from heavy taxation, had to hand over their youths for military service in the auxiliary troops and lost their lands by means of semi-legal or illegal annexation. The Roman way of life was regarded with suspicion as contrary to the old Celtic values.

The revolt against Roman rule germinated in the tribe of the *Iceni*, ruled by King Prasutagus, who had remained in power by accepting the status of a client kingdom for his tribe. Facing the end of his life Prasutagus tried to safeguard this position by naming the emperor Nero joint heir with his own daughters, but the Roman administrators decided otherwise. With the death of the king they treated the *Iceni* as a defeated nation, and took over rule completely. The procurator of the province, Catus Decianus, pillaged the countryside and the royal household. The aristocracy of the *Iceni* was chased away from their possessions. Extremely cruel was the fate of the widowed queen Boudica and her daughters: the queen was flogged and her daughters raped before their mother's eyes by Roman troops. These nasty specimens of Roman rule started the revolt of Boudica, which devastated large parts of England and lasted more than a year.

At first the *colonia* of Colchester was attacked by the *Iceni*, who joined forces with the tribe of the *Trinovantes*. The town was pillaged and burnt to the ground. No hostages were taken, the carnage was complete. The Roman military commander, Gaius Suetonius Paullinus, was on a campaign far away in north Wales. When the Roman town of London was attacked by Boudica, there was nothing Suetonius could do. London, and the people living in it, took the same fate as Colchester and was sacked, destroyed and burnt completely. The third town to suffer from the ferocious hordes of Boudica was Verulamium, the capital of the *Catuvellauni*, near the modern St Albans in Hertfordshire.

General Suetonius kept his nerves. Although faced with an enormous quantity of victorious tribes, and abandoned by his faint-hearted colleague Poenius Postumus of the *Legio II*, he engaged in battle, counting on the foolhardiness and overconfidence of the Boudican forces. Roman discipline once again demonstrated its value and the victory was complete. According to Tacitus eighty thousand Britons, men, women and children, fell in the slaughter, against the loss of only four hundred Roman

lives. Although the victory was complete, the enormous losses of lives, towns and crops made the Romans aware of the dangers of creating an empire in this way. The emperor Nero even thought for a moment of abandoning England all together. Nine years later the Batavian insurrection in Germania Inferior faced the Romans with similar and even more destructive results of their imperial politics.

The value of Sealey's book lies in its archaeological approach to the Boudican Revolt. No new historical facts can be expected after the fundamental studies of Dudley/Webster (Dudley, D.R./Webster, G.A., *The Rebellion of Boudicca*, 1962) and Webster (Webster, G.A., *Boudica: the British Revolt against Rome AD 60*, 1993), but this new book does give an important addition by describing the archaeological remains of the Boudican campaign. The finds in the destruction horizons shed light on the daily life in Britain during the early years of the Roman occupation. It is very interesting to see the degree of trade with the mediterranean area with witnesses as burnt dates and figs in Colchester, a rich native grave with a wine amphora from the Pompeii region and the very important hoards of coins and metalwork, hidden during the revolt. The datation of the so-called Samian ware depends partly on finds in these interesting destruction horizons. The human aspect of the Boudican massacre is testified by the gruel finds of skulls and decapitated bodies. They remind us of the grim words of Tacitus that the Boudican warriors didn't bother to make hostages, but lusted after slaughtering, hanging and crucifying their enemies.

Ruurd B. Halbertsma

Greek Vases in the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C. by Shirley J. Schwartz, 1996

This Catalogue contains all Attic vases of the Museum of Natural History (and one Ionian and a Laconian cup); most of the pieces were unpublished so far; the quality of the vases is not extraordinary, but their interest considerable. Therefore, it is a useful and interesting publication, but the reader is likely to ask why it has not been published as a fascicule of the CVA; besides, he will be puzzled by the complicated way in which the vases and sherds are indicated, *viz.* by means of three systems used simultaneously: catalogue numbers (this 'catalogue' being, I assume, the museum register of the objects), accession numbers (*e.g.*, 42207 which is used for the 35 odd items bought in 1904 from the estate of Thomas R. Wilson, who once was the curator of archaeology of the Smithsonian) and Old Negative Numbers (the use of which remains unexplained). This complicated situation is made somewhat less confusing by the extensive indexes and concordances at the end of the book. Incidentally, the following entry should be added on p.76, in the concordance of inventory nos.:

Cat. no. 136405 (presumably accession no. 42207): now on indefinite loan in Amsterdam (inv. no. B 11002), see CVA Amsterdam 1, p.116, pl.61.5, 63.3; fig.55, given in exchange for the sherd Amsterdam 2779, now inserted in Washington 136385, here no.46, pl.60.



And *sub* no.46 p.44 the same information should be added and, besides, that the join is due to Bothmer. There are 87 plates of good quality, though a dozen small, very slight lekythoi have got more than their due in size and space (pls.23-33).

Some of the plates with red-figure pots are truly surprising, for the author has been unusually successful in assembling *disiecta membra* in photographs: there are joins with fragments in Chicago, Erlangen, Freiburg, Göttingen, Mainz, Vienna and Amsterdam; impressive examples are found on the pls.64-85; no.50 is perhaps the most exciting one, due to Bothmer, Guy and Reich! A considerable number of the discoveries of these joins are by the author, who realized that joins should be sought in Chicago because in 1896 – that is eight years before the acquisition of the vases and sherds from the Wilson estate (see above and p.9) – a sale of sherds took place by the Smithsonian to the University of Chicago: numerous fragments in Chicago are illustrated here in nos.50, 53, 55, 56, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66 and 69.

Attributions to painters are by Beazley, Bothmer or other nearly infallible specialists, but not a few are by the author herself. Unfortunately, the present reviewer is conscious of not being a true specialist in the different fields, yet it should be noted that no.70, pls.86-7, is by the somewhat awkward Splanchnopt Painter and not by his more expert master, the Penthesilea Painter; cf. no.53, pls. 68-9 and CVA Amsterdam 1 pls. 46-8 (incidentally, the girl in the centre of A, pl.87.1 is provided with the head and hair of the boy in the centre of pl.68.1!). Also in other cases I feel some doubt (no.38, for example, pl.54, reminds me of the Sabouroff Painter). In short, one has, I fear, to be a little cautious in accepting all her attributions: mistaken attributions should, one would wish, be pointed out systematically by the specialists in question, the more so since the importance of attributions to individual painters has lately been called into question; this fashionable misconception seems to mean that we should forget that it is the individual Greeks who have fascinated Europe the last two millennia and that Beazley and others have added to the lists of great men of literature, art and wisdom an astounding series of truly great vase painters, individual artists whose character we know better than that of most Greek poets; it is the acquaintance-ship with individuals, preferably as many as possible, which enriches historical research; the knowledge of even such weak artisans as the Splanchnopt painter or the Painter of London D4 adds to our feeling of intimacy with the living Greeks of the fifth century. Therefore, it is of importance to keep the lists of their work free from incautious attributions or misunderstandings, which do much harm when they are widely accepted.

The descriptions are detailed and full but often unorthodox and sometimes misleading, and the *comparanda* are not rarely hardly relevant, or even superfluous. The reader can check this by studying the texts of, e.g., nos.30, 32 and others. As regards no.30 (pls.44-6), the two young men are not 'warriors' but travellers who have got into a deadly quarrel (one is reminded of myths relating such meetings). How a 'muzzled' hand (meaning: one wrapped in drapery) can thrust a spear in a fight is puzzling but the detail is invisible in the photographs.

The left hand of the other youth is also said to be 'muzzled', he has wrapped it inside his chlamys to protect it against his opponent's blows. Nothing is said of the abominable rendering of the eyes on side B.

As regards no.32, pls.47-9; 'width of mouth' is meant to indicate the width of the lip or rim; the outside of the mouth is not 'in two degrees'; 'vine ivy' is used instead of 'ivy branch'; the himation of the woman is not 'striped' but there is a stripe along its border (similar also, e.g., the 'striped Doric peplos' of no.50). The black cups without handle should not be called 'skyphoi'; and the comparanda for foot stools and three-legged tables are too obvious and therefore superfluous. The inscriptions of no. 26 are wrongly transcribed ("Narkos" in stead of the genitive 'Narko'). On nos. 27 and 28 the stems of the vines which fill the background of the scenes rise from the ground line under the handles elegantly intertwining, but they are apparently misunderstood for they are indicated as 'hanging interlace between the handles'. The edge of the delicately thin foot plate of the cup no.51 type B (pls.66-7) is misleadingly called a 'torus foot' etc. etc. In short, descriptions and comparanda are not up to the standards of the texts of the CVA of the USA and this may perhaps explain why this catalogue has not been published in that series.

Also the interpretations and explanations are not always satisfactory. Let us take the nicest item in this catalogue as an example: the bearded man on the fine fragment of a dinos attributed to Exekias no.9, pl.20, is hardly to be identified as Dionysus: for one thing, his moustache is too slight, or rather, the incision may indicate sexual excitement(!), and he is stretched out full-length on his back (in the nude? – the prints of the photographs should be turned 90 degrees), possibly masturbating – though we should expect the 'penis' to be red and incised (or at least its *glans*); compare the cup by the Amasis Painter in Boston, Boardman, Att.B1. Fig. Vases pl.82.2. It must have been hard to paint so fine a figure inside a dinos with a rim diameter of only 37.5 cm!

Though there is probably much reason to be cautious in using the texts of this catalogue, we may be grateful that these vases have finally been published so lavishly.

J.M. Hemelrijk

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Russia I, II, and III, Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, fasc.I and II and III. In all three the plates are bound with the text.

Fasc. I by Natalya Sidorova (in collaboration with O. Tugusheva), 1996

This first fascicule, which deals with Attic black-figure, contains a Foreword by Henri Metzger, who hails with joy the appearance of the first Russian fascicule of the CVA which appears no less than seven decades since Pottier in the twenties unsuccessfully urged the head of the Department of Antiquities of the Hermitage, Oscar Waldhauer, to start the series. In 1955 this attempt was renewed, now by Charles Dugas, but again in vain. The third generation, however, is more fortunate. Metzger

(who is thanked in the Introduction by VI. Tolstikov for an important contribution to this project) sketches a short, interesting history of the Russian collections and their publications, which, however, cannot be summarized here.

After the Foreword, there is an Introduction and a Preface, with information about the part collectors (Golenischev and others) and scholars such as Karl Herz and Helbig played in the growth of the collections and about the importance of certain excavations, especially of Panticapaeum (very many vases in this fascicule are from these excavations).

Descriptions and attributions do not not always seem satisfactory. Some instances may be mentioned. The sherd pl. 7.4 (a nude fluteplayer?) is much later than the Acheloos painter to which it is ascribed; it seems nearer the time of the Achilles Painter. A similar mistake is made when the Leagros Group is mentioned in connection with the Painter of Louvre F6 *ad* pl. 1. The amphora of pl. 11 should not, I think, be called a "neck-amphora of standard type". Pl. 66.5 is, it seems, erroneously called a top-band stemless cup (see Boardman, ABFV p. 109, fig. 184).

The quality of the vases and fragments is low - for example, there are small amphorae of the Light-make Class (pls. 14-6), some very negligent olpai (pls. 29-30) and numerous slight lekythoi (pls. 32-45, some of which are from Panticapaeum or Olbia) - but there are also some notable exceptions as regards quality: for example, the famous fragment by Klitias of Per(s)eus fleeing with the *kibisis* over his shoulder (pl. 25.1) and a fine amphora lid (pl. 8, with a battle scene with two chariots, about 540). Besides, there is the very interesting, though fragmentary amphora by the Andokides/Lysippides Painter (pls. 2-4) on which, it should be noted, there is no smile on the face of Heracles (who is coaxing the somewhat flurried, two-headed Cerberus into a big chain); this in strong contrast to the sly and highly amusing smile of Heracles on the r.f. vase in the Louvre (Arias Hirmer, *Tausend Jahre Gr. Vasenkunst*, pl. xxix). The amphora by the Chiusi Painter, pl. 6, with Heracles fighting Triton (pl. 6.1) is a very close parallel to the sherd Amsterdam 2100 (ABV 368.102 and 389), which may perhaps also be by the painter himself (and not 'close to him' as Beazley says). Further, it is always a pleasure, at least to the present reviewer, to meet vases by the DiosPhos Painter (pls. 12-3) whose pictures, though far from artistically satisfactory, are full of zest (see the horses racing through the air on pl. 12.2 and the exuberant delight displayed by Athena and Hephaestus in fighting the Giants, on the other side of the same vase).

There are 66 plates, the prints of the photographs are sometimes very weak (e.g., pl. 5); pl. 31.3 should be turned 90 degrees and pl. 7.3 180 degrees. Pl. 65.5 is printed too large (we are not told whether this cup is of type A, as the photo pl. 65.4 suggests). The numbering on pl. 36 is all wrong and should be read from left to right: 1, 2, 3 and then below, 4, 5, 6 and, with it, the captions indicating the inv. nos. should be changed (pl. 36.5 is not II 1 1093 but belongs to 36.2, both of which ought to have been indicated as pl. 62.3-4 etc). Also on pl. 66

the pictures and descriptions have gone wrong: 66.2 is repeated in 66.4 and the cup described *sub* 66.2 is not reproduced.

More such criticism might perhaps be ventilated (e.g., an index of inv. nos. is lacking), but there is no need for it and certainly no doubt that this first Russian volume is very welcome indeed.

CVA Russia ii, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts 2, South Italian Vases: Apulia, by Olga Tugusheva, 1997

This second fascicule contains the Apulian vases (inclusive of two local Peucetian and Messapian pots, nearly all red-figure, and the Gnathia ware) - but not the pottery with decoration in superposed colour, such as the Xenon group (Apulian, according to Beazley) and the Red Swan group (Beazley: Apulian?), which are published in CVA iii; on the other hand, a jug that is nearly exclusively decorated in superposed colours is included in this volume (pl. 25).

In the Preface we read that two South Italian vases come from South Russia: the skyphos of pl. Rus. 102, here pl. 36.3-4, and the lekanis of the Xenon group, pl. Rus. 147 (CVA iii pl. 40.5-6). One wonders how such trifling items could travel all the way from Italy to the Crimea. There are 40 plates, most of which are far better than those of fasc.i, but then, red-figure is more easily reproduced and printed than black-figured ware. However, sometimes the pictures are rather small (pl. 8).

There are numerous attributions to painters. The present reviewer cannot judge their validity but the author not rarely modifies Trendall's attributions and this self-confidence may prove justified (pls. 5, 15, 17, 27.1-2 etc.). The descriptions are good, though sometimes incomplete and interpretations are scarce or lacking: e.g., why should the youth on pl. 5 be Pylades rather than Orestes? There is no explanation of scene A of pl. 12.1 and no description of the 'cista' of pl. 15.4, which seems to be an inlaid chest or embroidered rectangular basket, decorated, on a long and a short side, with humans in action. And what are we to think of the intimate couple on the pelike of pl. 18.1; is this a kind of marriage proposal? The weakest point of this volume is the English translation which is unnecessarily defective (it is by Maria Tugusheva, a sister of the author?). The reader has to get used to frequent, very unorthodox use of the definite (and, less so, the indefinite) article and other slight mistakes, such as 'behind of', 'some above' (p. 19 somewhat higher up?), 'few' instead of 'a number of', 'mascaroons' for masks (pl. 7; or is this useable?), 'clue' for key and 'ksoan' for xoanon (*ad* pl. 5; and what a remarkable xoanon it is!); 'alike stripes' for similar stripes (p. 16), 'the sufficient chip on the neck' (? p. 18) etc. In fasc.iii, unfortunately, this defect is not sufficiently mended.

All in all, however, the reader will find this volume useful and interesting.

CVA Russia iii Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow iii. South Italian Vases. Lucania, Campania, Paestum, Sicily. by Olga Tugusheva, 1997

As the title indicates, the contents are varied, the 44 plates are good, the vases neither better than might be expected nor devoid of interest.

Right at the beginning we find the most interesting vase of all: a bell krater by the Amykos Painter with a funny scene to be described, according to Brommer, as follows: "Silene setzen eine Maus auf einen Kandelaber" (pl. 1). This would be odd: clearly the three satyrs are moving forward with great caution towards the lamp stand stretching their hands nervously at the mouse on top of the stand (one satyr is actually on the point of grasping its tail - he is not, I believe, putting it on the little platform) but the tiny animal (its soft hair delicately indicated with minute light dots all over its body) seems wholly unconcerned, lapping oil from the snout of a small, very ordinary lamp (this misbehaviour put Athena in the *Batrachomyomachia* in such a rage that she refused to come to the rescue of the mice). The drawing of the mouse on top of the lamp stand is truly excellent and the tension of the scene is palpable, but what curious story is depicted? How we should like to know the satyr play to which this picture refers! Unfortunately we are not told what explanations have been proposed, if any. A second interesting comedy scene - or rather a scene from a satyr play - is found on a Paestan krater (pl. 32) which may depict Antigone being led away by two of Creon's bodyguards, or perhaps rather Briseis being taken to, or from, Agamemnon. Other interesting or funny items are: the doodle of a phallus under the foot of a rather unattractive Lucanian hydria with a mourning woman on an altar (Sydney Painter), "probably of tragic inspiration" (pls. 3-4); the skyphos pl. 5.1-3, which looks very Attic but has been identified as early South Italian by N.M.Loseva - to whose memory fasc. ii is dedicated -: on it we see a very youthful Dionysus (or a youth) on one side and, on the other, a satyr in the guise of a tramp with a stick and luggage hanging from a stick on his shoulder (a half empty wine skin!). He is wearing only one boot which reminds one of the myth of Iason (no comment is given).

Very interesting is a sherd that is inserted in a skyphos by the Lewis Painter, pl. 5.4 (the skyphos is not shown), of very good quality and attributed by the author to the Creusa Painter: a smart woman veils or unveils herself, her face expressing tense earnestness (her breasts are curiously pointing upwards); one wonders if the drawing is not too good for the Creusa Painter and whether the date proposed (370-60) is not too late.

There is also some black-figure: apart from the usual, nearly black Campanian pottery with black motives on the shoulder (pl. 12), there is a very curious slender Campanian bail amphora, pl. 16, which is painted entirely in the black-figure technique; it is ascribed by the author to the Painter of N.Y. GR 1000, but she seems mistaken in calling the right-hand figure on B a woman (compare Trendall LCS pl. 189.5).

As is indicated above, comments are a little sparse: we look in vain for an explanation of the curious 'cushion'-like ornaments on the lids of Sicilian pyxides, pls. 34-5, decorated gourd-shaped balloons inserted in, or stuck on, wreaths of laurel branches. Nor are we told why, for example, the cup pl. 40.1,3 belongs to the Swan Group and pl. 40.2,4 to the Xenon Group. Besides, both are regarded as Apulian by Beazley (EVP 223-4 and 218 ff) and, if this is still the opinion of the specialists, they are

perhaps not quite in place in this fascicule. Interesting are the two skyphoi of pls. 38-9 with rather elegant ladies, a youth and a satyr also painted in added colours (the second is called 'Paestanizing', see Beazley EVP 226).

On the whole this is an interesting fascicule though it does not always satisfy the curiosity of the reader.

*J.M.Hemelrijk*

#### HELMUT KYRIELEIS, *Der Grosse Kuros von Samos. Samos X.*

The colossal kouros dedicated by Isches, the son of Rhesis, in the Hera sanctuary of Samos is one of the three most spectacular discoveries of the last four or five decades: it is hardly less important than the Riace bronzes and more monumental than the far smaller but equally astounding youth of Mozia. It stood on the north side of the Sacred road, probably near its beginning, facing south (p. 5), turned towards its counterpart at the end of the road. Of this kouros, the Southern colossus, little is preserved and hardly anything is illustrated in this beautiful publication (pls. 31 and 32.2). It may have stood at the N.E. corner of the later Rhoikos temple, the lower steps of which were constructed so as to leave room for what may have been its base and platform (pp. 3 and 15): thus, the southern kouros was placed at the end of the Sacred Road (where it turned left towards the altar). Both kouroi stood to the same height in identical square areas. Thus, I imagine, they may, as it were, have looked at each other, all along the Sacred Road, for, at that time (about 600 B.C.), this road was probably still relatively free from buildings (pp. 15 and 48-9). This reconstruction of the relation between the two colossal figures, though not proposed in so many words by the author, seems attractive: it is unlikely that the two kouroi, which must have been nearly identical, did not belong together, forming some sort of a pair, rather like Cleobis and Biton but separated by a distance of, if I am not mistaken, perhaps some 125 m. Here we meet one of the few defects of this book: a map of the sanctuary and of the places where the fragments were found, is lacking, and so are all measurements of the fragments; nor is there a discussion of the relation between the two figures.

However to read this publication is a privilege and, for most of the time, a pleasure.

The discovery of the fragments now assembled in the huge figure took more than fifty years (p. 7), but the main find occurred in 1980 when the torso cropped up, weighing not less than two tons (p. 16), lying face down (the face broken off) and showing its brilliantly preserved smooth, softly undulating back and beautiful hair. To accommodate this huge beauty, the floor of the newly finished museum had to be dug out! Then, in 1984, when the colossus has just been installed, the face was found, not far from the spot where the torso had lain! So, part of the museum roof had to be taken down and replaced by glass in order to light this most fascinating, almost Chinese-looking head. Exactly when the two colossi were demolished is unknown, probably before or in Hellenistic times (p. 2), but it was not before the fourth century AD



that the torso was laid down where it was found. Such colossal statues, we are told, were *mnemeia* of *bestimmter Personen* (p. 117) and the superhuman size evoked the greatness of the Heroic past (p. 118); they were meant to exalt the clan of the dedicant representing its heroic founder (*archegetes*, p. 98). Isches may be content that his dedication of the family hero is again standing in nearly its full glory not far from the place where he intended it to stand until eternity.

The book contains four Chapters and 48 excellent plates, many with three or four photographs each. The first chapter deals with the statue itself and is the most exciting. First we read about the discovery of the different parts. One of the earlier finds, the right lower leg (pl. 7, 1-2) is now lost: 'modern barbarians have demolished it during the second world war' (p. 7). Fortunately, with the help of what has been recovered and of old photographs (pl. 7, 1-2), it could be reconstructed to perfection. The left foot (pl. 29, 2-3) is not included in the reconstruction. Its shape is remarkable: the toes curve in an ancient, claw-like fashion! The total height of the figure was ca 475-480 cm (pp. 7 and 30). The plates illustrating this section are dramatical (pls. 1-5).

The next section deals with the base which stood inside a square platform (drawings on pp. 9-14 but the pictures on pl. 8 are difficult to relate to them). The platform measured exactly ten Samian cubits (5,25 m, p. 10), the statue measured 9 1/6 cubits but must have stood on a base of 5/6 cubit (43,5 cm), thus rising to a height of also ten cubits (p. 12).

There is a short entry on the restoration and the erection of the figure in the museum (pp. 15-18), accompanied by truly sensational photographs (pls. 9-14).

The following section deals with the sculptural style, the main impression being that of: "Der Fluss der aufsteigenden und weit gespannten Konturen", interrupted only here and there by stressed anatomical accents (knees, elbows etc., pp. 19 ff). Incidentally, the curving ridge surrounding the wrist bone (pl. 31) is not, I believe, a *Haufalte* but a vein (p. 20). The face seems surprisingly Oriental (pl. 5), rather reminiscent of Lydian ivories such as the little priest from the Artemision or the woman with children from Tumulus D near Bayandir. The outlandish impression may also be due to a groove above the upper lip (p. 21) which, as the author suggests and I like to believe, is a trace of a thin, painted moustache (p. 24: cf. the upper lip of Eurytion on the Samian bronze relief with Heracles and Geryoneus; and the gentleman-like moustache of the beardless Apollo on the fragmentary Caeretan Tityos hydria in the Louvre; see also n. 59). The remarkable, early stylization of the hair (pls. 12,1; 22-3; 36-7; 48) is like that of the Istanbul-Samos kouros head (pls. 36-7) and comparable to the hair of the Sounion kouros (p. 58).

Then follows a discussion of the traces of painting (pp. 23-6): originally the whole statue was painted (or rather tinted?) with red-brown ochre; this concealed the numerous dark veins that run through all Samian marble and now badly impair the appearance of many sculptures. The hair and pubes must have been dark-blue to black (p. 25), something I find hard to visualize. Further, it is shown that the slight ridges observed in the iris and the pubic

hair are due to differences in weathering between the ordinary surface and those places where extra paint protected the surface from weathering (such ridges can be observed more often, but I doubt if this can have caused the delicate ridge around the root of the fallus of pl. 34,3). The next section, called 'hidden movement', deals with the hardly noticable deviations from symmetry: the whole figure is slightly 'opened' to its left, a movement that clearly shows in the hair (e.g., pl. 48), but appears only very subtly elsewhere as can in the section drawings on pp. 27 and 29.

The module system is described under the title 'das unsichtbare Mass' (pp. 30 ff), in reference to a saying of Heraclitus: *harmonie aphanés phanérés kreitton* ('unnoticeable harmony is better than clearly apparent harmony', – or perhaps 'symmetry' – p. 43). The module used is the Samian cubit and its earliest instance (52.2 cm, with a foot of 35 cm); it is the same as the Egyptian cubit. The module grid is shown on p. 33, the head being one ninth of the whole figure – which is remarkably small, especially since it was seen high up in the glaring Greek light. In this Isches' kouros differs from its closest parallel, the fine kouros Samos-Istanbul (pls. 16 and 35). The depth of the figure is, however, not discussed in connection with this module. Metronomical problems and the emphasis laid by philosophy on *metron ariston* and similar notions are discussed at length. Surprisingly, we are told that Cleobis is also proportioned according to this Samian system (p. 37). As regards the use of modules in architecture (p. 38) one may suggest, as Prof. J.A.K.E. de Waele from Nijmegen does, that the module of a building was often not related to any existing foot but was designed so as to fit the available space. The author explains Polycleitus' use of the word 'symmetria' as the rational relation between proportions and calculated measures (p. 39).

Isches' inscription is discussed on pp. 45-6; the very large letters (4.5 cm, p. 67) and the shape of epsilon and theta seem later than the early sixth century, but the author does not accept that it is a restoration of an originally painted dedication (pp. 65 ff).

Chapters ii – iv study the origin and meaning of kouros statues in general. This discussion cannot be summarized here, but a few remarks may be made. Ch.ii contains a lengthy discussion of the date and style of our kouros (p. 47-65). The smaller colossus Samos-Istanbul, already mentioned, is, I think rightly, dated to the sixties (p. 50, see the ear pl. 37.2). Therefore, Isches' kouros must date from the beginning of the century (p. 51; knees on the Nessos amphora are compared, p. 55).

From p. 65 onwards the author turns to Egyptian sculpture and its impact on Greek sculptors, especially as regards the tendency to colossal size. Interesting observations abound, e.g., about grooves and bulges in shoulders, arms and knees (pls. 42-6), which prove direct imitation by early Greek artists. This part of the book deserves close study; the Egyptian influence is manifest in many respects, yet, the very curious 'fluent' style of Isches' kouros seems foreign to Egypt and perhaps more related to certain Lydian examples, such as have been mentioned above.

J.M. Hemelrijk

La collezione Casuccini: ceramica attica, ceramica etrusca, ceramica falisca [E. Paribeni et al.] – Monumenta antiqua Etruriae; vol 2 (Museo archeologico regionale di Palermo; Soprintendenza archeologica della Toscana; Istituto di archeologia dell'Università di Palermo), Roma, "L'ERMA" di Bretschneider, 1996. XIV, 163 S., Abb., 29 cm. ISBN 88-7062-902-3

Der vorliegende Band ist der zweite Teil einer auf insgesamt 12 Teile angelegten Publikationsreihe unter dem Titel 'Monumenta Antiqua Etruriae'. Es handelt sich dabei um einen Katalog der attischen, etruskischen und faliskischen Keramik aus der Sammlung Casuccini, die heute im Museo Archeologico Regionale von Palermo aufbewahrt wird. Diese Privatsammlung umfaßt die Artefakte, die im Zuge der im 19. Jh. durchgeführten Ausgrabungen in Chiusi zusammengetragen wurden.

Die Arbeit beginnt mit zwei Beiträgen, die E. Paribeni (1911-1993) gewidmet sind, der den Abschnitt über die attische Keramik geschrieben hat, jedoch vor Veröffentlichung des Bandes verstorben ist. Im ersten Teil (S. VII-X) würdigt L. Beschi voller Respekt Lebenswerk und Arbeitsweise von Paribeni, der bis an sein Lebensende in seinem Fachbereich aktiv gedient hat. Paribeni hatte sich umfangreiche Kenntnisse auf dem Gebiet der griechischen und insbesondere der attischen Plastik und Keramik angeeignet. Ein kurzes in memoriam hat E. Schwarzenberg verfaßt (S. XI-XII).

Im ersten Kapitel über die attische Keramik (S.1-93) behandelt Paribeni im Anschluß an eine kurze Einführung insgesamt 59 attische Vasen der Casuccini-Sammlung. Er ist sich dabei wohl darüber bewußt, daß diese Vasen zum Teil bereits im 'Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum di Palermo' besprochen wurden, doch ist Paribeni der Ansicht, daß die besondere Eigenart des keramischen Imports von Chiusi bislang nicht sorgfältig genug zur Kenntnis genommen wurde. Ergänzt wird das Kapitel durch einen Anhang von A. Villa (S.95-102), worin sie weitere sechs attische Vasen bespricht, von denen Nr. 5 jedoch mit demselben rotfigurigen Skyphos Nr. 53 im Beitrag Paribenis übereinstimmt.

Das zweite Kapitel (S.103-111) widmet sich der etruskisch-korinthischen Keramik aus der Sammlung. M.T. Falconi Amorelli bespricht sechs etruskisch-korinthische Alabastra, allesamt mit Tierornamentik bemalt, deren Dekorationsstil deutlich eine typologische Entwicklung erkennen läßt. Sie werden in die erste Hälfte des 6. Jh. v. Chr. datiert.

Anschließend liefert Falconi Amorelli im dritten Kapitel (S.113-126) die Analyse von neun etruskischen schwarzfigurigen Vasen, die der Sammlung Casuccini angehören. Hier behandelt sie zunächst fünf Amphoren aus Vulci und Umgebung, die der Schule des Micali zugeschrieben werden und somit eine Datierung in die 2. Hälfte des 6. Jh. v. Chr. nahelegen. Des weiteren werden vier spätarchaische Vasen – eine Amphore und drei Stamnoi – besprochen, die aus Vulci stammen und Ende des 6., Beginn des 5. Jh. v. Chr. entstanden sind.

Gegenstand des letzten Kapitels (S.127-163) ist die etruskische und faliskische rotfigurige Keramik. An dieser

Stelle erörtert M. Harari acht Vasen, von denen vier Exemplare aus Nord-Etrurien stammen, drei aus Falerii und eine Vase wahrscheinlich aus Vulci. Wenngleich die geringe Zahl der Vasen eher den Eindruck einer Stichprobe vermittelt, so beleuchtet doch diese Gruppe nicht unwesentlich die ökonomischen und kulturellen Beziehungen einer der wichtigsten *poleis* Etruriens des 5. und 4. Jh. v. Chr.

Insgesamt vermag der Katalog eine gute Übersicht der attischen, etruskischen und faliskischen Keramik zu dokumentieren, die Bestandteil der Sammlung Casuccini bilden. Die Autoren bearbeiten das ihnen übertragene Material jeweils auf ihre eigene Art und Weise, wobei bisweilen unterschiedliche Schwerpunkte gelegt werden. Über die obligatorische Katalogisierung der Objekte hinaus mit Angaben zu Inventarnummer, Höhe, Durchmesser, Datierung und bibliographischen Hinweisen, werden in erster Linie die Darstellungen auf den Vasen eingehend untersucht. Sofern sich die Vasen bestimmten Künstlerschulen zurechnen lassen können, werden diese ausführlich in die Analyse einbezogen und ebenso auftretende Parallelen besprochen. Im übrigen werden bei einigen Stücken vorhandene Inschriften vermerkt.

Der Katalog ist reich illustriert mit guten Schwarzweiß-Abbildungen von den Objekten. Diese tragen wesentlich zur Veranschaulichung der Keramikdekorationen bei und vermögen die Beschreibungen gleichsam zum Leben zu erwecken. Bedauerlicherweise entbehrt die Besprechung der attischen Keramik einiger Fotos, die das Bild der Sammlung hätten vervollständigen können. Auch gibt es meines Erachtens zu wenige Abbildungen von Inschriften bzw. Transkriptionen dieser. Insgesamt legen die Autoren im Rahmen der Analyse der Keramik einen starken Akzent auf die rein kunsthistorische und ikonografische Erörterung der Objekte, wohingegen andere Aspekte, wie zum Beispiel der Kontext der Funde, vernachlässigt werden.

Janneke van de Kerk

MANUELA FANO SANTI (ed.), *Venezia, l'Archeologia e l'Europa, Congresso internazionale, Venezia, 27-30 Giugno 1994* (Suppl. Rivista di Archeologia Vol. 17). Rome / Giorgio Bretschneider 1996, ISSN 0392 0895, ISBN 88 7689 123 4. 23,5 x 39,5 cm, 208 pp., 68 pls. Lit. 750.000.

Upon receiving this volume for review, I was slightly disappointed. Its title had at first stirred some deep longing to revisit my sophomore reading of Gilbert Highet's wonderful *The Classical Tradition* (1949) that had opened my eyes to the amazing worlds that had transmitted Antiquity to our own times. The book now held was one of those dull, awkwardly presented collections of rhetorical congress articles on abstruse, secondary subjects that one only hears talking about on congresses! I was therefore surprised, when finally working through *Venezia, l'Archeologia e l'Europa*, to find not a few scholarly gems and other glittering rewards for the lover of cultural continuity and obscure links among the thirty contributions reported here.

First of all: the serious study of classical archaeology's history has been long overdue. It is therefore an exemplary

initiative of the universities of Venice and Padua, and of the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, to try their hands at so ambitious a project as to sketch Venice's role in the awakening of Western classical culture. The first step was taken in 1988 with the congress *Venezia e l'Archeologia* (proceedings published in 1992), apparently with much success. The next step was the congress reported in the present volume, which aims at highlighting the relationships, during the larger part of the second millennium, between art collectors, antiquaries, and Venetian and European merchants, in, or loosely around, the *Serenissima*.

Do these proceedings deliver what they promise? I think they do, for the range of subjects, the chronological perspective, and the variety in points of view all live up well to the truly Gargantuan richness of the reality studied, or so it seems to me. To give just a few examples: the first contribution deals with a Pentelic marble head of a young man, reworked in the facade of a townhouse near Padua. Its author, Girolamo Zampieri, not only skillfully interprets it as a *membrum disiectum* of a late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC funerary stele, but also reconstructs the vicissitudes of its long journey in a punctilious, Holmesian manner. Or take the meta-analysis of Maximus Planudes's anthology (c. AD 1300) of Greek epigrammes on ancient monuments and works of art, now a rare Codex marciana. In it, Antonio Corso eloquently shows it as one of those forgotten 'filters' through which our tastes and views of the mythical ancient world were formed. Or again, enjoy our predecessors' shifting receptions of Venice in Raymond Chevallier's small study of French learned travellers' appreciation, since the 15<sup>th</sup> century, of several highlights of ancient art in Venice. Or, just to end this tentative circumnavigation, take the extraordinary Asian travels of 15<sup>th</sup> century Giosafat Barbaro, reported by Patricia Fortini Brown, who excavated a Scythian tomb in what probably was the first systematic archaeological dig on record, in search of proper building material for Venice, *Roma revivida*. In fact, the realm of the transmission of Antiquity to the West through the portal of Venice would deserve a complete series of studies, whose surface has barely been scratched even by the present volume.

The congress apparently was truly international. The pages are peopled by learned collectionists, strange fortune seekers and early museum founders from literally all over Europe during the last thousand years. This calls for more than Italian scholarship, if only because the national backgrounds are often indispensable for a proper understanding of the pursuits of all the protagonists. The presence of French, German, English and Eastern European contributors to this volume is therefore very welcome. I particularly liked the contributions of Central European scholars, from Russia and Poland.

For all this enthusiasm, let me make some critical remarks. Admittedly, the area of this study is new. A basic handbook is therefore understandably lacking, as are explicit method and systematic approaches. But let the forms and fashions not linger in too much tradition taken from elsewhere. I can think of no reason why today potentially important books like this should still be designed as they were a century ago: awkward size, bad typography (although I found only one printing error:

Gerritt Reynst, p. 92), hardly any visible editing between spoken word and printed text (which is especially annoying in the Italian articles, which are sometimes unnecessarily verbose), illustrations separated from text (no excuse), and, worst of all, no index (unforgivable!). Still I hope this courageous initiative is followed up soon, and will quickly lead to a handbook that opens up Venice's once remarkable function as the number one gateway to Antiquity.

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BRIGITTE KNITTMAYER, *Die attische Aristokratie und ihre Helden. Darstellungen des trojanischen Sagenkreises im 6. und frühen 5. Jahrhundert v.Chr.* Heidelberg: Verlag Archäologie und Geschichte 1997. 147 S., 24 T., 30 Zm. (Archäologie und Geschichte Band. 7). ISBN 3-9804548-0-6.

Die Verfasserin analysiert nach einer sehr kritischen Einführung zu aktuellen ikonologischen Methoden auf diachronische Weise fünf Themen aus dem trojanischen Sagenkreis auf attischen Vasen: a) die Presbeia. Individuum und Gemeinschaft infolge der Kleisthenischen Reform, b) Hektors Lösung. Gelage und Geschenke als Ausdruck aristokratischer Lebensweise, c) Der mythische Held als Krieger. Aufbruch, Kampf und Tod der Hopliten, d) Achill und Troilos. Hoplit und Reiter, e) Psychostasie. Die Macht der Götter und das Handeln der Menschen. Die fünf Kapitel werden abgeschlossen mit einer Zusammenfassung und einem Ausblick, einem Denkmälerverzeichnis (das leider nicht die Vasenformen und Fundorte erwähnt), einem Index und 24 Tafeln vorzüglicher Qualität. Die Verfasserin untersucht die Themen, wie E. Panofsky es uns gelehrt hat, auf umfassende Grundlage, das heisst in ihrem Bezug zu ihrem historischen und ikonologischen Kontext. Das Buch geht auf ihre Dissertation von 1993 zurück. Neue ikonographische Studien nach 1992 sind leider nicht berücksichtigt worden (z.B.: J.B. Carter and S.P. Morris, *The Ages of Homer*. Austin 1995, S. 449-465). Die Forschungsergebnisse können wie folgt kurz zusammengefasst werden: 1) die Ikonographie der mythischen Bilder orientiert sich am zeitgenössischen Lebensstil der Aristokraten (so wird z.B. Achill in den Szenen von Hektors Lösung nicht sitzend, sondern auf einer Kline lagernd wiedergegeben); kurz, die Vorstellungen werden aktualisiert, ohne die Welt der Vergangenheit zu evozieren. Manche Vorstellungen zeigen nackte Krieger (körperliche Schönheit), Pferde, Reichtum (Geschenke), agonale Elemente, das Verhältnis des Individuums zur Gemeinschaft, das letzte im besonderen in Presbeia-Szenen, die nur nach der kleisthenischen Reform erscheinen. Es gibt ihrer Meinung nach keine Indizien dafür dass die Wahl von trojanischen Szenen einen politischen Hintergrund habe. Die Verfasserin kommt zu dem Schluss dass mehrere Faktoren bei der Wiedergabe eines Mythos zusammenwirkten. Was die Presbeia-Szenen anbelangt, so verneint sie Einfluss von Homers Ilias. Eher sei



Aeschylus' Tragödie "Myrmidonen" Anlass zur Wiedergabe des trauernden, verhüllten Achill gewesen. Auch Hektors Lösung zeige keinen homerischen Einfluss. Priamos und die Trojaner seien nicht mit den Persern identifiziert. Immer zieht die Verf. anonyme oder vergleichbare Darstellungen in ihre Untersuchungen. Sie erkennt aber an, dass eigentlich alle mythischen Darstellungen in der Periode von etwa 600 bis 480/470 v. Chr. in die Forschung Berücksichtigung hätten werden sollen (S. 119). Dass die Themenwahl von mehreren Gesichtspunkten aus zu Stande kam, kann man nicht leugnen. Rätselhaft bleibt immerhin dass manche Themen, die zwischen ca. 570 und 550 beliebt waren, nach ca. 530/520 (bis ca. 470) wieder auftauchen und dann ganz verschwinden. Die Verf. konstatiert dass die "tote" Periode zwischen ca. 550 und 520 v. Chr. zusammenfällt mit der dritten Tyrannis des Peisistratos aber kann nicht erklären, warum bestimmte Themen dann fehlen. Man kann meiner Meinung nach, mit Friis Johansen, nicht leugnen, dass manche Themen nach ca. 520 v.Chr. besser mit dem Text von Homers Ilias übereinstimmen als zuvor. Das mag mit der schriftlichen Fixierung der Ilias unter Hipparchos zusammenhängen. Im grossen Ganzen überzeugen die Schlussfolgerungen der Verf. Es gibt nur einige Bedenken. Zuerst wird nicht klar gemacht, wie eine trojanische Vorstellung auf der einen Seite einer Vase sich zu der auf der anderen verhält (die andere Seite wird, wie im LIMC, auch nicht im Katalog genannt). Es ist nicht zu leugnen dass es in der attischen Keramik oft einen Bezug zwischen Vorder- und Rückseite gibt (s. S. 23-4, S. 73, ad T. 13.2). Zweitens ist der literarische Einfluss nicht ad fundum untersucht. Beispielsweise sei erwähnt, dass die Verf. meint, die erhaltenen Fragmente von Stesichoros ermöglichen keine Interpretation der Darstellungen (S. 20). Der François-Krater aber zeigt an der Stelle von Terpsichore, was darauf hinweist dass das ikonographische Programm der Vase mindestens teilweise von dem genannten Chorlyriker beeinflusst wurde. Einen unsicheren Faktor bildet auch die Käuferschicht. Sie ist unbekannt. Dass z.B. lokale Themenwahl eine Rolle gespielt hat, zeigt das Vasen-Fragment von Sophilos mit den Leichenspielen für Patroklos (s. 110, Anm. 554, 1). Es wurde in Pharsalos, nicht weit von Achills Geburtsstelle, gefunden! Man muss also mit einer "special commission" rechnen. Knittlmayers wichtiges Buch bietet sehr viele Anhaltspunkte und stimuliert die weitere Forschung zweifellos.

*L.B. van der Meer (1998)*

#### Recent publications on Etruscan archaeology

LUCIA CAVAGNARO VANONI, Tombe tarquiniesi di età ellenistica (*Studia archaeologica*; 82). "L'ERMA" di BRETSCHNEIDER, Roma 1996. 475 p., ill., 25 cm. ISBN 88-7062-920-1.

Molto è stato scritto sulle tombe arcaiche di Tarquinia, poco su quelle del periodo ellenistico. Per colmare questo iato il libro di L. Cavagnaro Vanoni e di molti suoi collaboratori è importantissimo. È un catalogo di corredi di tombe, scavate dalla Fondazione Lerici negli anni

1959-61 e 1966-77 nella necropoli di Monterozzi detta Calvario a Tarquinia. La prima parte presenta 20 corredi violati con – fra l'altro – ceramica etrusca a figure rosse; la seconda parte descrive 6 corredi di tombe a camera intatte. Le due appendici sono dedicate a frammenti in pietra lavorati (sarcofagi e teste) e alle iscrizioni che fra l'altro menzionano magistrati (zil-). I corredi sono generalmente databili fra la fine del quarto e l'inizio del terzo secolo a.C. Il limite cronologico superiore è ca. 350 a.C., il limite inferiore l'inizio del secondo secolo a.C., benché alcune tombe siano state usate fino al periodo di Tiberio. Dal momento che una valutazione o riassunto manca, significanti sono gli indici delle classi ceramiche, oggetti metallici ed altri materiali. Nella ceramica etrusca a figure rosse si possono distinguere prodotti locali, ceretani e falisci. Nelle altre categorie (ceramica con decorazione a silhouette, con decorazione sovraddipinta, lineare, a vernice nera (abbondante), a vernice rossa, a pareti sottili le origini sono meno chiare. Particolarmente interessanti sono le tombe intatte. Gli scheletri sono stati esaminati dal prof. F. Mallegni. In media quelli di uomini misurano 164 cm. e quelli di donne 154 cm. Le età oscillano tra 30 e 50 anni ca. Generalmente le descrizioni, datazioni e le analisi del materiale sono molto precise e bene illustrate (con innumerevoli disegni di profilo). Mancano solo le misure precise delle tombe, banchi e sarcofagi. Sono doverosi i complimenti agli autori per la presentazione di questa pubblicazione che ci informa sull'orizzonte cronologico del 300 a.C. ca., un periodo in quale Tarquinia si trovava già sotto dominio di Roma.

Etrusca et Italica. Scritti in ricordo di Massimo Pallottino. 2 vol. A cura di G. Nardi e M. Pandolfini. Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali. Pisa/Roma 1997. 598 p., ill., 24 cm. ISBN 88-8147-025-x.

Questa raccolta di 32 articoli specialistici di allievi e collaboratori della scuola di M. Pallottino è dedicata alla memoria del Loro Maestro. La massima parte riguarda l'Italia etrusca. Dal momento che manca un indice, faccio un breve elenco dei soggetti in ordine topografico. Si tratta di Cerveteri (Tomba Regolini-Galassi; nuovi bracieri), Marta (tomba arcaica), Monteriggioni (Tomba dell'Alfabeto), Narce (Tomba 4 della Petrina A), Orvieto (uno specchio con "Turan, Atunis, Apulu e Turnu con iynx" che imita parzialmente lo schema di "Dionysos e Semele"), Pyrgi (ceramica del Seven Lobster-Claws Group), Roma arcaica (rinvenimenti sotto il Palazzo Apostolico Laterense; l'Asylum; "Iunum ad infimum Argiletum"; lo spazio metropolitano; stoviglie), Tarquinia (buccheri con decorazione a "false punte di diamante"; necropoli dei Monterozzi), Tuscania (sarcofagi fittili), Veio (Grotta Camicia), Volterra (statistiche multivariate e le urne con "viaggio in carpentum"), la zona adriatica e una rotta tra Etruria, Sicilia e Cartagine. Per quanto riguarda l'Italia non etrusca si presta attenzione ad Anagnina, Caudio, e Norba, ed ai fenomeni come Gorgo Blosyropis (una specie di Gorgo/Helios), alle oreficerie dalla Puglia ed al torques. Alcuni articoli sono di carattere linguistico (Etr. zich- = "ritzen"), epigrafico o museale. Ci sono due articoli sull'archeologia romana:

su due arcosoli della necropoli di Porto (Isola Sacra, c. 150 A.D.) e su due strumenti sacrificali romani: la secespita ed il praefriculum sarebbero rispettivamente i nomi di coltelli e calefattori arcaici. Come i due libri precedenti dedicati a Pallottino (Gli Etruschi e Roma, e Miscellanea etrusca e italica), anche questi studi sono di alto livello, stimolanti e molto bene curati.

FRANÇOISE-HÉLENE MASSA-PAIRAULT, Marzabotto. *Recherches sur l'insula V,3* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome – 228). Rome/Paris 1997. 212 pp., 38 tav., 8 piante, 28 cm. ISBN 2-7283-0373-8.

Questo libro presenta in modo esemplare i risultati degli scavi condotti dalla Scuola francese in collaborazione con la Soprintendenza archeologica di Emilia/Romagna negli anni 1971-1976 nella parte settentrionale dell'insula V,3 nella parte meridionale della città. La parte meridionale dell'insula era già stata studiata da E. Brizio. Il blocco di abitazioni è diviso da un muro mediano, orientato come i cardines. La zona I (nordovest) presenta un cortile in forma di croce con basino di travertino (o calcare?). La funzione della zona II (nordest) non è chiara. La zona III presenta probabilmente un'unità di abitazione e un laboratorio e la zona IV può essere una domus con impluvium. La zona V presenta di nuovo un cortile a forma di croce con succursali. La zona VI è stata una bottega di bronzisti. Come risulta da questo breve riassunto non si può parlare di un'insula con isonomia, come avviene per esempio nell'insula IV. Nei capitoli più interessanti e leggibili vengono discusse la tecnica delle costruzioni, il lavoro in bronzo, le fibule (di tipo Certosa e Hallstatt), i graffiti, la ceramica (vasi attici, bucchero ed altri vasi locali), e varia (analisi di ossi). L'insula V,3 conosce due fasi. La prima fase (ca. 520-500 a.C.), già chiamata Marzabotto I, presenta indicazioni della lavorazione di oggetti metallici, destinati come ex voto per il santuario al nord del sito. La fase seguente, cioè la pianificazione ortogonale (Marzabotto II), deve essere datata fra ca. 510 e 480 a.C. La storia dell'insula V,3 va fino ca. 400 a.C. Per chi vuole rapidamente orientarsi, sono utili le mappe indicanti la distribuzione dei resti di tegole del tetto, gli oggetti di bronzo, i graffiti ecc. Dalla ricerca architettonica risulta che si faceva probabilmente uso del piede attico soloniano di 29,6 cm. Ma non è chiaro quali altri principi di organizzazione spaziale siano stati applicati dagli architetti. Mancano monete ma abbondanti sono i frammenti di aes rude in moduli di ca. 5 grammi. I graffiti appartengono alla fase più antica della scrittura etrusca nella Padana (ca. 500 a.C.). Generalmente forniscono solo delle lettere (indicazione di peso o iniziali di prenomi). Questo libro è un utile supplemento agli studi di G. Sassatelli su Marzabotto.

FRANÇOISE-HÉLENE MASSA-PAIRAULT, *La cité des Étrusques*. CNRS Éditions, Paris 1996. 255 p., ill., 30 cm. ISBN 2-271-05000-6.

Nonostante il titolo in questo libro non si tratta di città etrusche ma piuttosto della storia materiale di città-stato

e necropoli nell'Etruria propria, nella Padana e nella Campania dal punto di vista sociale. La produttrice etruscologa francese vede il contenuto come un "progetto di società". L'ordine del saggio è cronologico. Nel primo capitolo la Massa-Pairault discute le origini etrusche e il mondo mediterraneo. L'autrice presume che gli Etruschi siano di origine orientale, viste – fra l'altro – le iscrizioni di Lemno. I capitoli seguenti sono dedicati alla formazione del nomen etrusco, cioè alla genesi della città, allo sviluppo della città nel settimo e sesto secolo a.C., alla scomparsa della città arcaica, alle trasformazioni della città arcaica, alle battaglie del nomen etruscum (396-264 a.C.) e all'incorporazione dell'Etruria nello stato romano (III-I a.C.). Poi segue una bibliografia selettiva ma non completamente aggiornata. Le fotografie, parzialmente a colori, e le mappe sono di ottima qualità. Manca un indice. Per quanto riguarda le origini rimane il dubbio perchè Omero non menziona Tirreni o Pelasgi su Lemno ma Sinties dalla Tracia (cf. C. de Simone, *I Tirreni di Lemno*, 1996). Non è escluso che i Tirreni siano arrivati dall'Italia od altrove a Lemno dopo il IX o VIII secolo a.C. Il libro, come le altre pubblicazioni, è suggestivo, stimolante e ricco di idee e punti interrogativi. Purtroppo alle volte nei particolari l'Autrice non è precisa e critica; commette errori non infrequentemente, specialmente nel campo linguistico e mitologico. Per esempio: a p. 53 traduce un'iscrizione etrusca su un vaso protocorinzio da Cuma "hisamenetinnuna" con: "io sono il dono di Hisa Tinnuna." Questo è impossibile perchè il nome è scritto in nominativo (mene è un verbo ma non significa "io sono"). Che Tinnuna sia uguale al greco Diogenes, è anche sbagliato perchè gr. Dio- diviene in etrusco Ziu-! (cf. Gr. Diomedes > Etr. Ziumithe). P. 20: morinail non è il genitivo di Morinai ma di Morina (Myrina). P. 80: Mamarce al posto di Amnuarce o Ammarce (= Mamarce?). P. 82: Arimnestes al posto di Arimnestos. P. 118: Tideo non consuma il cervello di Partenopeo ma di Melanippo! Ecc. Il materiale fotografico presenta alcuni oggetti che non sono stati quasi mai pubblicati, per es. lo splendido trono di legno da Verucchio (presso Rimini, p. 63). Ottimo anche il disegno illustrante il programma iconografico della Tomba François a Vulci (p. 186). Il libro è di carattere divulgativo, idoneo per studenti e per il grande pubblico.

ALESSANDRO NASO. *Architetture dipinte. Decorazioni parietali non figurati nelle tombe a camera dell'Etruria meridionale* (VII-V sec. a. C.). (Bibliotheca Archaeologica, 18). "L'ERMA" di BRETSCHNEIDER, Roma 1996. 487 p., 20 p. di tav. color., ill., 29 cm. ISBN 99-7062-929-5.

Questo è un libro monumentale e ricco sugli affreschi in tombe etrusche che presentano strutture o elementi architettonici da ca. 675 fino a ca. 450 a.C. Il catalogo topografico elenca le tombe delle necropoli nei territori di Veio, Caere, Tarquinia, Vulci, Tuscania e nel territorio volsiniese e ne segnala altre, meno documentate. Il catalogo ragionato è di grande valore perchè con eccezione delle tombe di Tarquinia tutte le altre sono datate sulla base del loro corredo! Seguono poi ottime analisi

dell'architettura funeraria e delle decorazioni dipinte, una sintesi, una buona bibliografia ed indici analitici. Le decorazioni architettoniche sono presenti prima a Caere (ca. 675-650 a.C.). Queste subiscono l'influsso dalla ceramica cerite coeva. All'inizio si rappresentano sopra tutto columnina e porte come imitazioni di elementi nell'edilizia domestica. Alcune decorazioni che sembrano imitare tessuti suggeriscono che già nel settimo secolo alcune strutture richiamino tende posticce per la cerimonia della prothesis come vediamo molto più tardi frequentemente nella tombe tarquiniesi dopo ca. 525 a.C. La pittura architettonica si diffonde nella seconda metà del settimo secolo da Cerveteri verso Veio e verso Vulci, Toscana e Bisenzio, probabilmente tramite pittori itineranti. Specialmente l'influsso della ceramica white-on-red è chiaro. Il colore rossastro sulle pareti tombali è identico allo sfondo scuro di questa ceramica. Nel periodo di ca. 600 fino ca. 550 a.C. il repertorio diviene più uniforme e ricorre non soltanto in tombe aristocratiche ma anche in quelle di strati sociali subalterni. Nella seconda metà del sesto secolo ci sono solo due centri principali. A Caere si vedono modanature a becco di civetta presso porte e finistrelle interne dipinte in nero. A Tarquinia sopra tutto false porte e sostegni centrali dei columnina sono visibili. Qui le strutture dipinte si richiamano sia all'architettura domestica sia ai padiglioni lignei per la già menzionata prothesis. Nel corso del quinto secolo tombe con motivi architettonici divengono sempre più rare. Il libro è un supplemento utile ai lavori di Fr. Prayon (*Frühetruskische Grab- und Hausarchitektur* (1975) e di S. Steingraber (ed.) (*Catalogo ragionato della pittura etrusca* (1985), specialmente perchè l'autore presta anche molta attenzione alla struttura e agli aspetti sociali di necropoli meno note. Sono doverosi i complimenti all'autore per questo opus magnum.

L.B. van der Meer (1999)

HARALD MIELSCH / HENNER VON HESBERG, *Die heidnische Nekropole unter St. Peter in Rom. Die Mausoleen E – I und Z – Psi*, Roma, "L'Erma di Bretschneider" 1995 (= Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Serie III. Memorie XVI, 2). ISBN 88-7062-903-1; pagine: 206 (69-275); fotografie e disegni in bianco e nero: 240 (63-302); fotografie a colori: 42 (9-50); disegno a colore: 1; tavole: 30 (10-39); 35 cm.; Lit. 400.000.

Il volume è il secondo di una serie di quattro saggi in un programma di collaborazione tra la Rev.da Fabbrica di San Pietro, la Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia e l'Istituto Archeologico Germanico. Tutta la serie racchiuderà la documentazione completa della parte orientale della necropoli pagana sotto la Basilica di S. Pietro in continuazione alla pubblicazione della parte occidentale, pubblicata da B.M. Apollonj Ghetti, A. Ferrua, E. Josi e E. Kischbaum (*Esplorazione sotto la Confessione di S. Pietro in Vaticano*, Roma 1951). Il materiale in questione è venuto fuori durante gli scavi

condotti sotto il pavimento delle Sacre Grotte Vaticane negli anni 40 di questo secolo.

In questo volume, come nella prima parte uscita nel 1985, viene presentato un numero di mausolei, con l'accento sull'architettura e sulla decorazione di essi. Il libro è riccamente illustrato con fotografie e disegni molto nitidi e ben curati, certamente un miglioramento rispetto al primo volume della serie.

Nel primo e nel secondo volume la numerazione delle pagine, delle note e delle illustrazioni è progressiva. Nel secondo mancano una prefazione, una bibliografia e una legenda per le tavole, perchè i volumi sono da considerare come un insieme. Di conseguenza si ha sempre bisogno dei due volumi per poter capire il contenuto del secondo. Manca per di più una pianta della necropoli nella sua totalità (come fig. 107 nella pubblicazione sopramenzionata di Apollonj Ghetti e.a.). E' da sperare che questa lacuna sarà colmata in uno dei volumi ancora previsti, perchè sia indispensabile per le parti già uscite. La divisione in quattro volumi e specialmente la separazione del materiale architettonico e decorativo dalla informazione epigrafica ha come difetto che nel volume in questione vengono presentati nomi di persone delle quali non sappiamo niente, il che vale anche per i rapporti fra di loro (il trattamento del materiale epigrafico è previsto nella serie come parte del quarto volume curato da Werner Eck, volume nel quale Georg Daltrop si occuperà con i sarcofagi). Questo è particolarmente problematico per quanto riguarda il mausoleo H, dove ad alcune persone raffigurate in rilievi di stucco vengono attribuiti nomi senza che sappiamo la loro provenienza epigrafica (ci chiediamo se i nomi delle persone raffigurate abbiano sempre un'indicazione separata o se siano trattati dall'iscrizione sopra l'entrata?). Non è neanche chiaro perchè i nomi di alcune persone sembrano certi e di altri no (esempio dell'ultimo gruppo è Gaius Valerius, di cui il nome è indicato con punto interrogativo su p. 170 e nella didascalia di Abb. 187).

In continuazione ai quattro mausolei descritti nel primo volume (A-D), nel volume in questione ne vengono trattati altri nove (E – I e Z-Psi). Due piccole parti sono state date alla descrizione di vani intermedi, chiamate Z 1 (p. 223) e Phi 1 (p. 257). Questi ultimi probabilmente sono da interpretare come sepolture tarde, come dimostra anche la muratura abbastanza rozza in opus vittatum mixtum. Di ogni mausoleo la descrizione è composta da quattro parti: "Baubeschreibung" (1, curata da H. von Hesberg), "Dekoration" (2a, curata da H. Mielsch), "Stilistische und Ikonographische Bemerkungen" (2b, curata da H. Mielsch), "Lose Fundstücke" (3). A nostro parere, una presentazione a cominciare da una caratterizzazione globale di ogni monumento, sarebbe stata meglio, dopodichè si sarebbe potuto seguire le parti come presentate nel volume, concludendo con un resoconto breve con un'indicazione della relativa posizione del mausoleo nella totalità della necropoli finora scavata (o la ricchezza relativa) e la sua datazione. L'andamento non sempre logico delle descrizioni – non sempre dal totale al dettaglio – causa a volte un difficile orientamento.

La descrizione comincia al lato nord (E-I) dopodichè vengono presentati quattro mausolei posti al lato sud della necropoli finora esplorata (Z, Phi, Chi, Psi).



Il mausoleo E (pp. 71-91) è di dimensioni relativamente piccole. Ha però una decorazione parietale abbastanza elaborata su fondo bianco. Viene datato nel periodo tardo-adrianeo o prima-antoniniano.

Nell'interno del mausoleo F (pp. 93-121), con decorazione molto ricca, le pareti sono articolate in molte nicchie ed edicole sopra un podio con arcosoli. La sua datazione nel primo periodo antoniniano (140-150 d.C.) attraverso bolli laterizi viene confermato dallo stile della decorazione.

La datazione del mausoleo G (pp. 123-142) precede quella degli adiacenti F e H ed è da datare nel periodo adrianeo. Come confronto per la sua decorazione, prevalentemente con colori pastosi, viene menzionata tra l'altro la tomba 2 di Via Taranto a Roma. La datazione di questo monumento del periodo traiano, non menzionata dall'autore, dimostra la durata più a lungo di sistemi di questo genere. A nostro avviso è troppo azzardata l'idea di Mielsch che la maschera di Oceano e gli attributi di Poseidone siano da considerare rimandi al mestiere del defunto come commerciante via mare (si può anche paragonare l'Oceano con quello in stucco nel mausoleo H, nella calotta sopra uno dei filosofi, dove il significato è molto più chiaro a causa del parallelismo con Gaia in una calotta sopra un secondo filosofo, rimandanti al contenuto del pensare degli uomini dipinti).

La parte più estesa dello studio è dedicata alla descrizione del mausoleo H, la più grande della necropoli (pp. 143-208) e databile attorno a 160 d.C.. La sua decorazione è per gran parte in rilievo di stucco bianco con alcuni colori. Resta per il momento incerta la ragione per cui i nomi delle tre figure raffigurate in stucco nelle nicchie nel muro ovest sono noti, mentre quella nel muro est è indicata con il nome di G. Valerius con l'aggiunta di punto interrogativo. Qui sentiamo la mancanza della quarta parte della serie sull'epigrafi.

Uno dei più piccoli dei mausolei, quello I (pp. 209-212) comincia con una descrizione globale; manca però una caratterizzazione breve della decorazione del monumento. Dopo la descrizione dei mausolei al lato nord della strada, segue quella dei tre mausolei sul lato sud della strada esplorata con nomi di lettere greche. Segue il mausoleo Z (pp. 225-233) nella quale motivi egizi sono dipinti su fondo rosso chiaro, databile in età tardo-antoniniana o inizio severiana.

Nella descrizione dell'architettura della tomba Phi (pp. 235-255) è anche inserito il mosaico (p. 236) il quale in altre descrizioni fa parte della decorazione (ad esempio I). Il mausoleo è databile negli ultimi anni del II sec. o inizio del III. La divisione tra descrizione (pp. 238-250) e gli appunti stilistici ed iconografici (pp. 250-255) non è sempre felice perchè l'interpretazione delle decorazioni così è divisa in due.

L'ultimo settore è dedicato alla descrizione del mausoleo Chi (p. 259-274). Nella descrizione dell'architettura è inserita parte della descrizione dei rilievi in stucco mentre una parte è inserita nel trattamento della decorazione (p. 272). Diferisce per quanto riguarda la descrizione dal mausoleo H in cui i rilievi di stucco vengono inseriti nella parte sulla decorazione. Il mosaico frammentario sul muro nord difficilmente identificabile forse fa vedere Priamo che supplica Achille di cedere il corpo di Ettore. La donna

posta all'estrema destra potrebbe essere Briseide (cf. LIMC I 152 no. 668: coppa, Copenhagen, Nat.Mus. 3886; LIMC I 158 no. 716: pannello di terracotta tardo-antico).

Possiamo concludere che il volume è molto utile poichè dà una descrizione molto dettagliata di una parte molto importante della necropoli pagana sotto S. Pietro, pubblicata e documentata in modo esemplare. Auguriamoci molto presto una pubblicazione delle altre due parti della serie, cosichè sarà disponibile la documentazione di tutta la necropoli.

Stephan T.A.M. Mols

ALESSANDRO VISCOGLIOSI, *Il tempio di Apollo 'in Circo' e la formazione del linguaggio architettonico augusteo*. Roma: "l'Erma di Bretschneider" 1996 (Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma Supplementi 3), ISBN: 88-7062-942-2; pagine: VIII + 242; fotografie in bianco e nero e disegni: 229; 28,5 cm. Lit. 250.000.

Il libro sul tempio di Apollo nel Campo Marzio meridionale, di Alessandro Viscogliosi, uscito nella serie dei supplementi redatti dalla Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma, è frutto di un dottorato di ricerca presso il dipartimento di Storia dell'Architettura della Facoltà di Architettura dell'Università di Roma "Sapienza". E' la prima monografia sul tema dopo quella di Delbrück (*Das Capitolium von Signia. Der Apollotempel auf dem Marsfelde*) del 1903. Nella sua introduzione, Viscogliosi esprime l'intenzione di fornire una nuova lettura per il tempio di Apollo attraverso la combinazione di osservazioni archeologiche con valutazioni storico-critiche.

Nel I capitolo (*Vicende storiche*, pp. 1-14) l'autore dà un'immagine del culto di Apollo a Roma dall'introduzione nel VI sec. a.C. Il noto tempio di Apollo Medicus viene dedicato nel 431 dal console Cn. Iulius. Sappiamo dalle fonti scritte, soprattutto da quelle di Livio, che il tempio fu restaurato nel 353 a.C. dopo l'incendio gallico e da parte del Senato veniva adebito a ricevimenti di delegazioni stranieri, o per magistrati rivestiti di *imperium*. Nel 179 a.C. un sostanziale rifacimento dell'edificio viene combinato con la costruzione di un teatro nelle vicinanze immediate, creando così – attraente ipotesi dell'autore – un complesso tempio-teatro di stampo ellenistico.

Un intervento sostanziale veniva effettuato da C. Sosius, già luogotenente di Cesare negli anni 30, operazione dalla quale viene il nuovo nome, Tempio di Apollo Sosianus. Alcuni anni dopo il tempio viene dedicato per conto di Augusto e da questo momento viene nominato Tempio di Apollo in Circo.

Nella tarda antichità un ulteriore restauro viene operato dal *praefectus urbi* Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus (356-359 d.C.) dopo di che il tempio è probabilmente in uso fino al V sec. Nel 2 capitolo (*Da Apollo Medico ad Apollo Sosiano*, pp. 15-34) vengono presentati i resti attuali ed i vecchi scavi. Interessante è l'ipotesi che il tempio di Apollo Medicus, costruito nel II sec. a. C. sia da identificare con il tempio *diastylus* di cui parla Vitruvio nel *De Architectura* (3.3.4).

Di grandissima importanza per l'analisi storico-archeologica e cioè per la conoscenza dell'ultima ricostruzione del tempio sono i resti del *porticus Octaviae*, poichè il lato orientale del *porticus* si trova sopra il lato occidentale del podio, quindi questa parte del tempio è da datare anteriormente al portico. Dopo aver iniziato questa ricostruzione negli anni 30 del I sec. a.C. Sosius fu costretto a fermarsi, poichè fu condannato a morte a causa della sua presa di posizione nella battaglia di Azio. Gli argomenti per una datazione della prima parte della ricostruzione tra il 37 e il 34 a.C. sono convincenti.

Dopo questi capitoli introduttivi il libro si concentra sul tempio di Apollo in Circo, (Capitolo 3, pp. 34-112). Segue un'analisi di tutti i resti, con particolare interesse per la cella. La quantità dei materiali è enorme, nonostante la conservazione sia frammentaria. L'autore sostiene che Augusto ha avuto un ruolo preponderante nel rifacimento del tempio, ma il fatto che Plinio lo menziona di nuovo come tempio di Apollo Sosiano sottolinea un ruolo importante per C. Sosius anche nella ricostruzione augustea del tempio. E' però molto probabile che, dopo la sua grazia, egli abbia finito il tempio così importante per il nuovo Augustus, diventando così come si esprime Viscogliosi: "garante della continuità della gens iulia". L'autore conclude che nei resti sono visibili due fasi, una databile negli anni 30 e una nell'età protoaugustea, come rivelano anche le fonti scritte. Nella descrizione dei resti architettonici descrive prima l'architettura esterna (pp. 43-52). Segue la descrizione dei materiali architettonici della cella. Per la ricostruzione di elementi non più visibili l'autore ritiene che sia molto importante il diario di scavo redatto dall'assistente di scavo di Colini, Lamberto Macchini, negli anni 1937-1939 e fotografie dell'epoca. La parte più estesa della descrizione è dedicata all'identificazione e alla descrizione dei materiali architettonici della cella, al fine di poter arrivare ad una ricostruzione della cella ed all'interpretazione storico-critica nel quadro dell'architettura augustea (pp. 57-112). Viscogliosi distingue vari sistemi nel materiale proveniente dalla cella: sistema 1 (pp. 59-92) consisteva in due ordini sovrapposti, dei quali egli suppone che tre lati erano costituiti da colonne, mentre sul lato di fondo vi erano due ordini di paraste (vedi disegno ricostruttivo: tav. 6 e fig. 63). Molto probabilmente erano coevi i materiali del sistema 2 (pp. 92-102), e formavano tre specie di edicole distinguibili fra di loro nei marmi usati per le colonne e i frontoni. Segue il terzo sistema (pp. 102-111), ricomponibile in due elementi sovrapposti di lesene. Un quarto gruppo di cornici modanate fa parte del podio o base del I. sistema. I tantissimi frammenti di un ultimo sistema (5) in stucco dorato e dipinto non sono attribuiti dall'autore ad una parte della cella. A nostro parere potrebbero provenire dal soffitto.

Segue uno studio morfologico della decorazione architettonica, collegando i resti in un contesto più grande (Capitolo 4, pp. 112-138: *Il tempio di Apollo in Circo nel quadro dell'evoluzione della decorazione architettonica di stile corinzio*). L'autore ritiene che per un'esame dello sviluppo dell'architettura secondotriumvirale e protoaugustea anche i dettagli possano far riconoscere tendenze comuni. Come esempio prende la tipologia dell'acanto (divisa in una parte parlando del periodo secondotriumvirale,

pp. 117-125, e una del periodo protoaugusteo, partendo dal 28 a.C. fino al inizio della costruzione del Foro di Augustus, che però non è incluso in questo studio, pp. 117-131). Vede una certa schematicità nei capitelli del primo periodo e caratterizza il periodo protoaugusteo come (p.130:) un periodo di sperimentazione con la fase matura nel *Forum Augustum* (4.3 *Effetti postumi del cantiere del tempio di Apollo in Circo*: pp. 131-138). Salvo proprie citazioni gli schemi di lavorazione di questo periodo non provengono dalla Grecia, ma, secondo il parere dell'autore, sono da considerarsi più legati all'esperienza del tempio di Apollo in Circo e l'influenza neoattica era molto più limitata. I modelli, forniti da scultori di formazione micrasatica e neoattica, erano standardizzati dagli atelier già attivi nei grandi cantieri secondotriumvirali e protoaugustei. Nel capitolo 5 (*L'ordine corinzio nel tempio di Apollo in Circo*, pp. 139-160) l'autore conclude che il grosso della decorazione architettonica dell'interno è protoaugusteo, mentre una parte è attribuibile al periodo secondotriumvirale. Questo gli fa ipotizzare due fasi di costruzione, in parte simultaneamente presenti nell'edificio fino al collasso finale. Al cambiamento del progetto nella fase protoaugustea dovette corrispondere un nuovo architetto, che formulò un progetto più elaborato. Tutto questo ci sembra molto probabile tranne la supposizione che i capitelli a doppio sigma delle edicole sarebbero un esplicito richiamo ai celeberrimi capitelli bronzei della Porticus Octaviae, il che ci sembra troppo ipotetica.

Dopo aver concluso l'analisi dell'ordine corinzio l'autore passa ad una ricostruzione della cella del tempio (cap. 6, pp. 160-187). Critica dei tentativi precedenti e propone una nuova ricostruzione per l'interno della cella, il che sarebbe databile nella fase protoaugustea. La soluzione con la parete di fronte "piatta" e le altre pareti con decorazione "tridimensionale" è da capire quando si ipotizza la prima fase della decorazione totalmente piatta e la seconda tridimensionale, con eccezione della decorazione della parete di fronte. Ne consegue che il secondo sistema è modellato almeno metricamente sul primo, anche se ci sono delle differenze. Sulla base di un frammento in *opus caementicium* ricostruisce poi un podio continuo sotto le edicole nel registro inferiore. Sulla parete di fondo della cella fu fatta una versione bidimensionale riprendente i motivi dei lati lunghi. Il ritmo si basa necessariamente sul ritmo delle lesene del periodo 'Sosiano'. La conclusione è che sia nelle fonti storiche che nelle fonti archeologiche si possono riconoscere due fasi, una secondotriumvirale ed una protoaugustea. Gli esperimenti sull'ordine architettonico sarebbero da attribuire a tentativi di creare un linguaggio nuovo.

Presenta un'immagine dello stato al momento della interruzione del lavoro dopo la battaglia di Azio: "E' quindi ammissibile, almeno in linea di principio, che al momento della postulata interruzione dei lavori sosiani, il tempio si presentasse con la cella costruita e con la decorazione interna abbastanza avanzata, se non ultimata; al suo esterno erano già in opera i blocchi di travertino della decorazione architettonica, forse solo sbazzati, che dovettero comunque ricevere un 'energico 'restyling' una volta montato e rifinito il pronaio marmoreo."

Viscogliosi prosegue nel 7. Capitolo (*La cella del tempio di Apollo in Circo: l'architettura del Museo*, pp. 187-196)

con la supposizione che dopo la ricostruzione l'accento non fosse solo diretto sulla statua di culto, adesso un'opera d'arte tra tante altre. La cella invece era diventata una specie di museo, nella quale si può ipotizzare una divisione di sculture nelle nicchie formate dalle colonne e lesene. Propone una divisione, però non confermabile, di 2 x 12 statue: sotto le muse, Apollo, Diana e Latona e sopra le 12 Niobide.

Segue uno studio dello sviluppo dell'architettura degli interni templari dal periodo Greco-arcaico fino al periodo augusteo (capitolo 8 *Per una storia degli interni templari augustei*, pp. 196-221). Il più somigliante, il Santuario della sorgente a Nîmes, secondo l'autore ha come esempio il tempio di Apollo in Circo. E' vero che a Nîmes e nelle vicinanze molti edifici sono ispirati sull'arte romana, ma un legame così stretto ci sembra troppo azzardato. Ci possiamo per di più chiedere se l'elenco da lui dato sia necessario, anche perchè, come pone l'autore, il tempio di Apollo Sosiano è praticamente l'unico edificio conservatosi della "renovatio urbis" protoaugustea. Questo vale soprattutto per gli esempi databili nell'età claudiana ed il Pantheon (p. 220).

Nell'ultimo capitolo (9. *Considerazioni sulle origini del linguaggio architettonico protoaugusteo*, pp. 221-227) ritiene il tempio "una eco marmorea degli edifici templari in pietra stuccata oggi scomparsi." Questo ci sembra troppo un *argumentum ex silentio* anche se l'ipotesi è, come molte altre presentate nel libro, assai interessante. In questo modo il tempio viene presentato come punto chiave, concludendo la fase sperimentale dell'approccio romano al marmo e precludendo ad un arricchimento formale, che però ha il suo apice nel tempio di Marte sul Forum Augustum.

Purtroppo sono da notare alcune trascuratezze, soprattutto al livello bibliografico. Alcuni libri citati nelle note mancano nella bibliografia: Amy-Gros 1979 (n. 12, p. 113; n. 14, p. 167); Ricci 1927 (n. 89, p. 213); Lugli 1938 (n. 89, p. 213); Fiorini 1951 (n. 89, p. 213). Di alcuni titoli citati probabilmente l'anno è sbagliato: Colini 1941 (vedi bibliografia, deve essere 1940, cfr. n. 51 e 56, p. 4 e n. 64, p. 6); Heilmeyer 1974 (n. 6, p. 113; n. 53, p. 119; n. 59, p. 120; n. 82, p. 127; n. 109, p. 131; n. 115, p. 132); Leon 1970 (n. 7, p. 223 = probabilmente 1971); Picard 1962 (n. 60, p. 120 = probabilmente 1963); Roux 1953 (n. 7, p. 197, = 1961) e Reusser 1973 (n. 77, p. 209 = sicuramente 1993). Anche se abbastanza rischioso nelle tante ipotesi proposte, il libro di Viscogliosi è molto ricco di materiale, anche perchè dà una documentazione fotografica e grafica di alto livello, e soprattutto per l'approccio multidisciplinare.

Stephan T.A.M. Mols

TONIO HÖLSCHER, Öffentliche Räume in frühen griechischen Städten, Schriften der Philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Band 7 (1998). Universitätsverlag C. Winter, Heidelberg. 133 S., 25 Abb. ISBN 3-8253-0747-6. DM. 40,-.

In recent years many books and articles have been published on the perception of the early Greek *polis*, particularly

on the meaning of public and private space. Tonio Hölscher tries to recapitulate and disclose these publications for a German audience. He concentrates on the emergence of politics within the early *polis*. This indicates that he is primarily interested in public spaces. He distinguishes three public domains, which are the *agora*, the sanctuary of the main deity of the *polis* ('*Heiligtümer der poliadischen Gottheiten*') and the necropolis. A chapter is dedicated to each of these domains which cover more than half the book. Other chapters include a discussion on city walls and gates, sacred axes within the urban layout and the political process of the 5th century BC that is historically documented.

Hölscher focuses on the era before the 5th century BC, that is the period before the classical *agora* and the classical temple complex. He is conscious of the notion that form follows function, which means that the monumental architecture from the archaic period onwards should not be the frame of reference when studying early towns in Greece. This makes him agreeable to archaeologists who have demonstrated by their excavations that monumental architecture before the 6th century BC is rare. Hölscher writes that these excavations have led to disenchantment amongst many since they had to acknowledge that classical public architecture has an unpretentious origin. Early *poleis* are more like large villages. The *polis* as a political entity emerges from collective activities that rise above the particular activities of individual families thus creating a community of 'citizens'. The origin of the *polis* is not so much an architectural phenomenon within a static urban plan but rather the structuring of communal life within proto-urban space. This structuring process took place in Greece from at least the 8th century BC. From this period onwards one can notice a fundamental advance of the material culture indicating social differentiation in combination with increasing division of labour. These aspects are mentioned but not discussed due to deficient investigation according to Hölscher. Instead he examines the topographic and conceptual distinction between town and *chora* while concentrating on the public functions of the urban centre.

The three main aspects reflecting public life in a *polis* are, as mentioned above, the *agora*, the communal sanctuaries and the *necropoleis*. In time these aspects became more and more separated from each other and in fact became centres by themselves. Especially religion and politics obtained gradually a distinct position within the classical Greek *polis*. From the 8th century BC the most important area of the town for the *polis*-community was the *agora*. Hölscher presents some early examples of central areas within towns where public functions met, such as Corinth and Athens. Most of the early *agorai* were previously used as a burial ground. This quality was lost though many *agorai* incorporated a place for hero-worship usually based on the tomb of a hero. Another aspect is the separation between *agora* and main urban sanctuary. Early *agorai* had strong religious connotations but apparently these usually had a political meaning such as the temple of Zeus Agoraios at Metapontion. The sanctuaries of the main urban deities were often located away from the *agora* since they represented the religious, ritual pole rather than the pole representing the communal political activities. Hölscher gives some examples of



towns where *agora* and *polis*-sanctuary are related though not identical. Other cases clearly differentiate between political and religious centre. The third main feature of the *polis* is the necropolis, which is hardly examined by the author. From the 8th century BC burial grounds were located outside the settlement, in specific areas.

Hölscher's three poles of ancient Greek towns can be summarised as:

- *agora* representing the politics of the free male population,
- main sanctuary reflecting the whole *polis*-community and their god and
- necropolis personifying the individual and his family commemorating the deceased.

These three poles were in many Greek towns linked by sacred axes such as the Street of the Panathenaia in Athens or the main axes in Sparta. In due time monumental buildings were erected along these axes leading from the territory outside the town to the main sanctuary. In the chapter discussing the situation during the 5th century BC, the author starts with an historical summary. From the 8th to 7th centuries BC, central areas of towns obtained their specific function for communal institutions, activities or rituals. From around 650 to 500 BC these areas became marked by monumental buildings and statues emphasising their character. The monuments gradually became larger thus illustrating increasing political awareness of the residents. The 5th century BC is distinguished by political monuments such as statuary groups or monuments commemorating the wars against the Persians. Major towns became involved in a competition that led to considerable building programs around the political institutions. Originally Sparta was trend setting though gradually Athens took over the lead.

The epilogue emphasises that the semantics of public spaces are manifold. Public spaces were often characterised with symbols, emblems and monuments stressing the importance of communal institutions and rituals.

Hölscher wrote a conscientious summary of recent literature on early *poleis*. The book is a skilled introduction to early towns in Antiquity. For me it was interesting that the author occasionally refers to the situation in Rome from the 8th to 6th centuries BC. It is unfortunate that the illustrations are not always clear since they have not been adapted for the author's intentions. Also, I am not convinced that the book contributes to a more concrete vision of the *polis*. For example, Hölscher and others consider market trade to be a later development of the *agora*. I distrust this point of view since politics and early market trade have always been intertwined in anthropological studies dealing with pre-monetary exchange mechanisms. It is obvious that the author concentrates on public functions of urban life but more mundane aspects may have enlivened the book. Social-economic aspects are hardly mentioned thus creating a compartmentalised *polis* with lifeless spaces full of politics and meaning.

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T. HACKENS AND M. MIRO (edd.), *Le commerce maritime romain en Méditerranée occidentale* (Coll. Intern. Barcelona, 16-18 Mai 1988; PACT 27, 1990; Brussels 1995); 390 pp., 87 illustrations; B.F. 4000.

In his *The Lever of Riches. Technological Creativity and Economic Progress* (Oxford 1990), J. Mokyr writes on p. 5: 'Economic growth caused by an increase in trade may be termed *Smithian* growth', referring to Adam Smith. The book under review deals with one very important branch of trade, viz. maritime trade in the western part of the Roman Empire. It is the outcome of a colloquium organized by the group 'PACT' of the European Council, and the Catalanian Archaeological Society. For the uninitiated, to whom your reviewer is happy to belong, PACT is a periodical of and for scholars applying techniques of science to archaeology. We seem to have here another example of taxpayers' money distributed among groups we could perhaps do without by that vast organization in Brussels.

The book consists of three sections. The first (pp. 21-89) deals with 'the structure and general character of maritime trade' and consists of five Spanish contributions (without summaries!), one English and one French. The Spaniards discuss legal problems concerning maritime loans and loss of cargo (*iactus*), the responsibility of *nautae*, searoutes and meteorological conditions; a fifth deals with *centuriatio* in Roman Catalonia and its impact on the rise of productive estates, whose products could conceivably have been traded overseas; in fact, however, the latter aspect is not discussed in any detail. Finally, A. Bonanno briefly touches upon the essential problem of the nature and size of private entrepreneurial trade in relation to the transportation of state commodities, i.e. tax-goods or goods requisitioned or bought by the government. The more one downplays the former and focuses upon the latter, the less important *Smithian* growth becomes. At least, that is the view of the so-called 'primitivists' or 'minimalists' among ancient economic historians. Bonanno seems to accept Whittaker's view that transport of state goods 'allowed comparatively very little space for private entrepreneurial trade' (p. 51) but on the other hand emphasizes the indirect involvement of elite members in trade through *clientes* (free-born, freedmen, slaves), who sold surpluses from their masters' estates and in addition ran entrepreneurial businesses (in)dependently. The vital question is whether one is entitled to infer from the comparatively low social status of traders that the size of market-trade was equally low. That question is not posed and therefore not answered by B. The second and third sections deal with technical aspects of maritime trade (harbors, commercial searoutes, the iconography of ships, sea and river trade) and the goods traded (marble, bricks, ceramics, glass, wine, oil) respectively. I cannot possibly do justice to the wealth of information provided by all these contributions. I single out A.J. Parker's paper on the evidence of shipwrecks and his conclusion that 'we seem to be dealing, for the most part, with a market, rather than a tied system of commerce' (p. 165). J. Remesal Rodríguez disagrees and underlines the prime importance of 'el sistema annonario como base

de la evolución económica del Imperio romano' (pp. 355-367). This elicits from B. Liou, who contributed a nice little piece on '*Les amphores et le commerce du vin*' (pp. 327-332), a forceful intervention (pp. 365-367) including the pronouncement: 'Je suis proprement scandalisé par les constructions artificielles qu'il nous présente'. Although we shall probably never be able to determine what percentage among the goods traded across the Mediterranean and its main rivers and found in shipwrecks and amphoras was 'state'-goods versus that of 'private trade'-goods, I do feel that especially for wine and olive oil (and for pork, wool and cloth, for that matter) private production and commerce were of prime importance during the Principate, though I would not recommend words like 'scandalisé'. Apart from all that, it remains to be seen to what extent a 'command-economy', if it predominated at all during the first 250 years of the Empire (Remesal), would have been detrimental to preindustrial, i.e. by definition very modest, economic growth, i.e. increase of income per capita. I do not have an answer to that question as yet; perhaps a professional economist who has an inkling of preindustrial realities could help us here.

Oegstgeest.  
H.W. Pleket.

YASEMIN TUNA-NÖRLING, *Die Ausgrabungen von Alt-Smyrna und Pitane. Die attisch-schwarzfigurige Keramik und der attische Keramikexport nach Kleinasien*, Tübingen, Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, 1995, 192 pp, 48 plates with 470 black and white illustrations, (Istanbul Forschungen Band 41), ISBN 3 8030 1762 9/ISSN 0723 4333

Traditionally, Asia Minor is an underexposed area in studies of Attic pottery and its distribution, which tend to focus on the overwhelming finds from the Greek mainland and Italy. This "western" perspective might at least in part be biased by the history of excavation and publication, as becomes more and more evident from the slowly but surely increasing number of publications on Attic pottery found East of Athens. Here, Yasemin Tuna-Nörbling's study is an important contribution, which may radically change the traditional view of Attic Black-figure export. As will appear from its extended, slightly confusing title, the book consists of two separate yet related parts. The first part is a catalogue of the Attic Black-figure fragments and pots from the recent excavations in Old Smyrna (Bayrakli) and Pitane (Çandarli), that is, of two major "new" collections of finds from the west coast of Turkey. The second part is a general study of the distribution of Attic Black-figure pottery over Western Asia Minor and the Eastern Aegean islands. As usual with the Istanbul Forschungen-series, the volume is of exquisite appearance. Binding, typography and paper are of high quality, lay-out and printing are exceptionally clear, while most photographs precisely show what they should, barring just a few that are darkish or smallish. The catalogue is at once very thorough and to the point. Even the smallest, seemingly insignificant, fragments are

treated in full detail, the descriptions are concise and perspicuous. Photographs illustrate each fragment and pot of any significance, (rather small) profile drawings are presented where possible. Stylistic and iconographic comparisons and references are never unduly given, the ensuing attributions and interpretations of scenes seem sensible and well-founded. Pot shapes and dates are explicitly mentioned, thus guiding especially the less initiated and those who like using catalogues like Tuna-Nörbling's as the bases of calculations or inter-site comparisons of pottery collections. The completeness of the catalogue is perhaps at once its major yet quite inconsequential weakness. Much of the catalogue contains series of tiny fragments with simple bits of decoration. Though one cannot but applaud their availability for comparison, and, especially, for "statistics", one wonders whether they might not be presented more efficiently, thus economizing paper and enhancing readability.

A more fundamental problem is in the fact that the fragments and pots are published with little or no information on their archaeological contexts, information not (yet) available elsewhere either. The authoress surely is not the first person to blame for this. No less the pity that such incompleteness should still hamper modern archaeology. In this particular case, publication without contexts is all the more regrettable as many of the presented items are of little scholarly value by themselves, whereas they could be valuable sources of information when placed in their stratigraphical or "functional" (i.e. mainly tomb) contexts. Unfortunately, even where the Pitane catalogue mentions other finds from individual tombs, the lists are too incomprehensive to be of much use. In consequence, Tuna-Nörbling's few conclusions as to the general characteristics of the gifts in the Pitane graves and the role of Attic Black-figure pots among them are of limited scope. In the second part of her book, an extensive study of the distribution of Attic Black-figure pottery over the Eastern Mediterranean area, Tuna-Nörbling presents a much wider perspective. Proceeding from an observation by John Boardman, she tries to answer five important questions on pottery trade and "consumption" in the area: (1) How many pots of which shapes were imported into the Ionian area in the Archaic period? (2) Are there any regional differences of distribution pattern in this area? (3) Are there any differences of shape and quantity between Attic pottery from Ionian sites and it from Athens (i.e. Acropolis and Agora), Northern Syria/Cyprus (together) and Egypt? (4) Which Attic Black-figure painters, "groups", potters and "classes" are represented among the finds from Ionia? (5) Might some of these craftsmen have produced specifically for the Ionian market?

To answer these questions, Tuna-Nörbling has made elaborate, most impressive lists of the published and unpublished Black-figure pottery known to her from eight areas in Asia Minor and the Eastern Aegean, as well as of museum pieces of unknown provenance yet belonging here. For each site of each area, the number of pots of each shape per quarter of a century is listed separately. These lists, then, are combined to yield quarter-century tables and distribution maps containing lists per area for eight categories of shapes. Apart from these tables and maps, important features and trends are also briefly and

clearly described in the accompanying text, so that going through the story is not an exercise for die-hards only. At the same time, the unswerving reader is offered references to each pot in the lists. This by itself suffices to render the book an inseparable companion to everyone studying Attic pottery from the wider Aegean area.

The lists and tables are, of course, wonderful too. Yet, it should be borne in mind that this way of presenting data tends to look more reliable than it is. Even if one proceeded from the (disputable) assumption that there are enough known archaeological sites to yield a fair sample of Archaic pottery distribution, the reliability of data of individual sites would remain highly questionable. Until fairly recently, small fragments with little decoration from many excavations were not always duly and properly registered or published, not even when Attic. Similarly, patterned Attic, which is not distinguished from "real", figured, Black-figure pottery in Tuna-Nörbling's lists, probably has a much poorer recording and publication coverage. Thus, there might be serious distortions in Tuna-Nörbling's figures, possibly even for the sites known to her by autopsy. Moreover, the amounts of excavated material relative to the capacities of their sites vary considerably, and sites of different spheres (tombs, sanctuaries, houses) may yield different pottery collections, as also Tuna-Nörbling acknowledges in a later part of her book. It is, therefore, not really surprising, but awkward all the same, that the finds of well excavated Rhodes and Samos (including material from the Heraion soon to be published) should amount to 786 and 426 fragments of a total of about 3285<sup>1</sup> respectively, while those of the major cities of Miletos and Ephesos, where little Archaic material was excavated, amount to no more than 28 and 31. Direct comparison of such sites may be of little help and could evidently lead to dramatically different results if an excavation campaign hit upon a rich Archaic deposit. In the face of all these problems, which would seem to be too easily overlooked by Tuna-Nörbling and, for that matter, many others, one has to admit there is no alternative to her method but to abandon distribution studies altogether. To submit to this alternative would be unduly defeatist, there being results, in particular more general trends, which, even when carefully analyzed, do appear to be "real" and interesting. There have clearly been regional differences and chronological developments of Attic Black-figure export, which can be studied using the data collected by Tuna-Nörbling. The, as yet unexplained, continually changing preference of shapes sweeping the entire studied area is a particularly fascinating phenomenon. Thus, at first, large closed vessels were the favourite Attic imports, soon to be superseded by cups, which constituted the majority of Attic imports during the second half of the 6th century B.C. Finally, from the beginning of the 5th century B.C., lekythoi were the vogue.

The continued imports of Attic Black-figure pottery into Ionia until well within the 5th century B.C., while Red-figure pottery appears to have remained rare, is another phenomenon perhaps well worth examining. It is a pity Tuna-Nörbling, noting this apparent oddity, should not have attempted to interpret it beyond calling Ionian taste "conservative". Could it be that Ionia was comparatively poor in the period, so that relatively few people could

afford buying much Red-figure pottery, which apparently was more prestigious (or less unattractive?) than the sloppy, late Black-figure pottery?

Next in her study, Tuna-Nörbling compares her data for Ionia with similar though less elaborate data from elsewhere. Here at last, distinctions are made between sanctuary, domestic and funerary sites. Nevertheless, I think, this is the weakest part of the book, primarily so because Tuna-Nörbling's data for Asia Minor are so much better than those used for comparison. Thus, the tables given for the pottery from the Agora and Acropolis, which are partly based on previous work by Lise Hannestad, do not even offer a complete picture of the published pottery.<sup>2</sup> Tuna-Nörbling's own collection of published data for North Syria and Cyprus is equally unsatisfactory, and "Egypt" amounts to little more than Naukratis and the very peculiar site at Tell Defenneh. Besides the observed, questionable completeness of both Tuna-Nörbling's compilation and the studies quoted, most of the latter (or their sources) have surely left out many of the "patterned" items and small fragments which she herself tried to count. Tuna-Nörbling's conclusions, often hardly transcending the descriptive level, may therefore be of limited moment.

The final pages of her work, where the makers of the pots appear on the scene, are more interesting again. Here too, the list of attributed pots itemized for each Ionian area is impressive, even though Tuna-Nörbling's analysis is flawed again by the comparison of her own data with less comprehensive collections, notably with a sample of 14 chiefly Beazley-based lists of artistic oeuvres (instead of the better option of comparison with other regional studies). In consequence, "East Greece" is most probably over-represented in Tuna-Nörbling's very clear graphs. Indeed, in some cases the numbers given for other areas can easily be supplemented with published material not yet known to Tuna-Nörbling and/or her sources, e.g. Brijder's continually increasing lists of

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that the "Gesamtüberblick" of table 7 leaves out 68 before-mentioned fragments which fall outside the strict quarter-century scheme. Apart from this, from my check for Samos and Rhodes there appear to be quite a few inconsistencies in tables 3, 4 and 7. For instance, the number of Siana cups from Labraunda (under note 435) should be 14 instead of 1; the number of amphorae from Ialysos (under note 519) 10 instead of 1; only 1 of the 4 cups under "Ionia 600-575" in table 7 appears in table 3.

<sup>2</sup> See L. Hannestad, *The Athenian Potter and the Home Market*, in J. Christiansen and T. Melander, eds., *Proceedings of the Third Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery*, Copenhagen 1988, 222-230. The combined figures of Hannestad and Tuna-Nörbling, 1842 items for the Agora and 1538 for the Acropolis, are well below those of the site publications: M. B. Moore and M. Z. Pease-Philippides, *The Athenian Agora XXIII. Attic Black-figured Pottery*, Princeton 1986, arrive at a catalogue of 1949 pieces, which is not complete and can be supplemented with other publications (and inventories). B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die Antiken Vasen von der Acropolis zu Athen*, vol. I, Berlin 1925, catalogue around 2150 Black-figured pots and fragments, mentioning almost 4000 other ones, including 2000 cup fragments; here again, more published material is available.



Siana cups<sup>3</sup>, or the hundreds of late Black-figure pots from the Athenian Agora recently collected in Shear's lists of deposits filled with debris after the Persian destruction.<sup>4</sup>

In spite of these flaws, which can more or less reliably be sifted out, Tuna-Nörthing's figures do seem to support her conclusions that "East Greece" was a more important export target for Attic Black-figure pottery than often surmised, and that a relatively great part of the productions of some workshops crossed the Aegean eastwards. Here again, the export quality seems to have declined from the second half of the 6th century B.C., in which Ionia sank to be a destination for second and third rate pots.

These and other, more detailed, conclusions beg many questions, which Tuna-Nörthing leaves unanswered. She primarily sticks to a descriptive approach of her "finds", seeming to avoid any deeper, and therefore, of course, more hypothetical interpretations. Issues of trade and consumption remain out of sight altogether – perhaps wisely so. All the same, given the generally meticulously collected and well presented mass of data in her book, this would seem a pity. But then, this offers many opportunities to those wishing to think and hypothesize beyond the point reached by Tuna-Nörthing. Indeed, I do hope and think this wonderful collection of data will prove a rich source of inspiration for many present and future scholars.

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MORITZ KIDERLEN, *Megale Oikia. Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung aufwendiger griechischer Stadthausarchitektur. Von der Früharchaik bis ins 3. Jh.v.Chr.*, Hürth, Martin Lange Verlag, 1995, Band I, 270 (+ 8) pp., Band II, 58 figs., 164 plans, 8 maps, ISBN 3-9804934-0-7, 138 DM

The house, in particular the urban house, is a neglected item in the study of Classical Greek architecture. What studies on Greek domestic architecture there are focus on earlier periods, rural houses and houses as the products of city planning, surely partly so because so few classical houses have been properly excavated and published. Thus, the classical house as a domestic space, a place to live and work in, and focal point of private representation has been paid little attention to. Kiderlen's dissertation is one of several recent studies contributing to filling the gap. Whereas others opted for detailed spatial and functional analyses, Kiderlen has chosen a wider perspective, proceeding from a fairly traditional, typochronological study of the large urban house, the "megale oikia" in the title. In doing so, he quite arbitrarily defines large to be more than 400 m<sup>2</sup>.

The first chapter of Kiderlen's book contains a chronological survey of his collection of houses, focusing on layout and use of spaces as revealed by architectural remains

and, occasionally, by stratigraphy and small finds. The descriptions of individual houses are closely tied up with typological interpretations, which are the continuous thread of this chapter. Material from outside the large urban house category, that is, from rural and smaller urban houses, and some general historical and archaeological information are taken into consideration as well. At the end of the chapter, a general interpretation of the typological development of the "megale oikia" is given. Kiderlen's chief conclusions are that the development of the Greek "specialized" elite house began very early, perhaps even in the Geometric period, and that it especially favoured the "Hofhaus", the representative dwelling with differentiated groups of spaces built around one or more court-yards.

Following this extensive chapter on typology, there are three shorter chapters successively dealing with the functions of the house, paying for and building it, and the house as a focal point of luxury and representation. In these chapters, argument is mainly based on historical sources, including epigraphical documents. Here, Kiderlen seems primarily fascinated by data on the large house as a manifestation of elite life, rather than by its day to day use and similar down-to-earth subjects. Next, in a large synthetic chapter, the information of the previous chapters is tied up with historical background information in a series of studies of the houses in their local and regional, historical contexts. To this, a short conclusion, or rather summary, is attached. Finally, there is a brief catalogue, in which the information on all houses of Kiderlen's collection is efficiently summarized, and in which for each house references to previous literature are given. Likewise, in an appendix, there is summarised information on a few smaller houses from Olynthos.

The structure of the book seems quite complex and is a little confusing and not quite perspicuous indeed. Each house is dealt with in three separate sections, first as part of typological developments, then against its historical and geographical background, and finally as a catalogue entry. It must be added, though, that Kiderlen has admirably managed to present his threefold treatment without undue, tedious repetitions. Moreover, though not exactly easy to keep track of, the method of interweaving different view-points with more general issues yields an exhaustive and thorough overall picture. In it, each house is presented as part of an architectural development and as part of society, and invariably put in a historical perspective.

Yet, in practice, Kiderlen's approach turns out to be less flawless than the above analysis would lead one to think. For this, there seem to be two major reasons. Firstly, there simply are not enough archaeological and historical data

<sup>3</sup> See H.A.G. Brijder, *Siana Cups II: the Heidelberg Painter*, Amsterdam 1992, and H.A.G. Brijder, *Siana Cups III* (in preparation).

<sup>4</sup> T. Leslie Shear, jr., *The Persian Destruction of Athens. Evidence from Agora Deposits*, *Hesperia* 62 (1993) 383-482, lists (among many others) 247 pots of the Class of Athens 581, 77 in the manner of the Haimon Painter, 13 of the Leafless Group and 12 of the Cock Group; many of these went previously unpublished.

on large urban houses to support Kiderlen's interpretations. Secondly, his methods of research and approach of data are too abstract for an analysis of coarse "reality", too much steeped in ideal and simple views. For these two reasons, which reinforce each other's effects, many of Kiderlen's conclusions are dangerously speculative or positivist, especially where more intricate levels of analysis are concerned.

His very limited collection seems to be at the root of all this. For the entire period from the 7th to the 3rd century B.C., Kiderlen has collected no more than 32 houses from 11 sites: Antigoneia (in Epirus), Athens, Eretria, Iaitas (in Western Sicily), Maroneia (in Thracia), Megara Hyblaia, Morgantina, Neandrea (in the Troad), Olbia, Olynthos and Pella. At least 10 of these 32 are either very poorly preserved<sup>1</sup>, only partially excavated<sup>2</sup>, largely unexcavated<sup>3</sup>, or not excavated at all<sup>4</sup>. In six other cases<sup>5</sup>, the limits and/or lay-outs of the houses are unclear. Finally, according to the excavators and other scholars, three or four of the catalogued buildings<sup>6</sup> might not be houses at all.

Thus, at least 18 of the 32 houses in the collection, that is, all (= 21) Archaic and most of the Classical ones, are at least partially of questionable value. Much though an analysis of this collection, such as it is, can have its merits (as will appear from Kiderlen's study), I think it can hardly be taken as a representative sample to draw detailed conclusions from. Of the main Greek urban centres, only Athens is (poorly) represented, while the other sites in the list are not evenly spread, neither geographically nor chronologically. One could also dispute the inclusion of two houses from Iaitas and two from Morgantina, sites in inland Sicily, only just on, if not beyond, the fringes of the Greek World.

Not only their quantity, also the quality of Kiderlen's data poses problems. Most houses in his catalogue are only summarily published, often to the exclusion of the small finds. Even where small finds are known, they are selectively inserted, their find-spots mostly being unclear. Though Kiderlen does note these problems, they do not seem to bother him very much: Apparently, things not reported are non-existent to him. The demerits of this kind of positivism will be abundantly clear from comparison of his treatment of houses of Olynthos with that in N. Cahill's dissertation on "social and spatial planning" in Olynthos<sup>7</sup>, in which all recorded finds (still a selection) are taken into account. Not surprisingly, Cahill's interpretations of uses and lay-outs of domestic spaces and individual houses are often at variance with Kiderlen's and generally far more detailed.

At times, Kiderlen appears to be equally naive where he takes into account small finds to infer the uses of domestic spaces. Thus, he does not seem to have realized that fine ware "Bankettkeramik" is not necessarily a sign of luxury habitation. Not going into the disputed possibility that the very rich did not use any pottery at their symposia at all, drinking pottery generally constitutes more than half of the fine ware in any Greek archaeological context, whether domestic, ritual or funerary. Furthermore, Cahill observes that in Olynthos most pottery was not stored in the rooms where it is supposed to have been used. Functional analysis of Greek houses is a very tricky business indeed, even where all finds are available. Where

they are not, as often is the case, it might be better to leave out such analysis or to limit conclusions to obvious basics. There is, of course, no denying that some spaces, for instance court-yards and symposium rooms, are easily recognizable on ground plans. Furthermore, some evident typological developments, e.g. the growing emphasis on representation in house lay-outs, can fairly safely be considered part of a historical change of the role of domestic architecture. The question is, however, how much more we can infer from our present knowledge. What can the typology of excavated architectural remains tell us? Kiderlen, apparently a firm believer in typological studies, does not seem to have been worried about such questions.

His detailed and refined interpretations of barely preserved ground plans seem to root in the idea that the typological development of large houses was the result of a deliberate, intellectual attempt at architectural and social planning, assumed by him to be much the same as it is at present. As it is, however, we know nothing of the builders' considerations. Though, obviously, a certain degree of planning was required, one can still wonder whether many of the houses in Kiderlen's catalogue were built by what we would call architects. And then, how can we know whether the types we recognize in a few samples were also recognized in antiquity? How are we to infer how types and concepts pertaining to domestic architecture and building were transmitted at the time? And how were building typologies incorporated and received in daily practice? In other words: How did people live in, think of and respond to the *architecture* Kiderlen studies? He hardly seems to have given these and similar questions a thought, his abstract interpretations hovering in a world of their own.

A similar disconnection of ancient sources and modern interpretation seems to pervade Kiderlen's chapters of wider historical perspective. These offer a useful and complete survey of the historical and epigraphical data relevant to luxurious urban houses, their occupants and uses. Such issues as costs and perception of "megale oikia" life have not been overlooked. However, the story focuses on the large urban house as a concept, underexposing its architectural aspects. In consequence, it often is unclear how the historical information might be related to the archaeological remains presented elsewhere in Kiderlen's book.

This effect is reinforced by his approach of historical sources: On the one hand, Kiderlen generally takes texts

<sup>1</sup> The early Archaic "Megara Hyblaia 1".

<sup>2</sup> "Pella 5", "Pella 6", "Pella 7" and possibly "Pella 3".

<sup>3</sup> "Athen 4", "Eretria 5", "Iaitas 2", "Pella 1", "Pella 4" and possibly "Pella 2".

<sup>4</sup> "Neandrea 1".

<sup>5</sup> "Eretria 2", "Eretria 4", "Megara Hyblaia 3", "Morgantina 1", "Morgantina 2" and "Pella 3".

<sup>6</sup> "Megara Hyblaia 1", "Athen 1" (commonly referred to as Agora buildings F, C and D, underneath the later Old Bouleuterion and Tholos), "Pella 2" and possibly "Athen 2", also known as Kerameikos Bau Z.

<sup>7</sup> N.D. Cahill, *Olynthus: Social and spatial planning in a Greek city*, unpublished dissertation Berkeley 1991 (available through UMI).

at their face-value, quoting rather than interpreting them. On the other hand, he regularly builds elaborate historical frameworks that do not always logically follow from the sources. A striking instance of this is in his treatment of Xenophon's *Anabasis*, V.3.7-13, where the general buys an estate as a thank-offering to Artemis. Adding it to other evidence, Kiderlen cites the entire passage in proof of a growing preference among the elite to live in villa-like mansions in the countryside. Unfortunately, Xenophon does not mention any such house here, nor does he imply anywhere that there should ever have been one on this "holy" estate, which he may have maintained as an absentee from his nearby house and which cannot have been a luxury recreation garden.

Finally, a few words on the way the book has been edited and published. To be clear, there are undoubtedly better ways of presenting dissertations. One could live with the ugly, cheap-looking cover and the text resembling a (good) computer print, but the many misplaced footnotes are a running annoyance. Things are even worse with the plate volume, where quite a few illustrations are placed in wrong order and one is missing. Furthermore, the quality of most illustrations – all of which are reproductions – is below standard. The attempt to uniformize scale and orientation of ground plans has brought about total chaos: Originals merely having been copied, captions run in all directions. Some plans have been re-sized to ridiculous dimensions and/or inconveniently split in two in binding the volume. Pages have been left largely or entirely blank. Despite Kiderlen's efforts, quite a few of the plans given are unnecessary or unhelpful and his new interpretations could have done with more of his own drawing than his few additions to existing ground plans and reconstructions. Moreover, these additions are often less informative than they should have been.

All this leaves one wondering whether nowadays, if editors choose to be printers only, one might not be better off without them. For, as it is, studies like Kiderlen's can be printed and distributed much more efficiently using modern electronics. Thus, anyone aptly using the internet or a CD-rom could fairly easily and quite satisfactorily print a customized text and, especially, a set of customized plates. In other words, Kiderlen's study could have been produced and distributed more easily, at lower costs, and with greater peace of mind for both author and reader.

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N. BOOKIDIS-R.S. STROUD, *Corinth vol. XVIII, Part III: The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. – Topography and Architecture*. Princeton (N.J.): The American School of Classical Studies at Athens 1997. XXIII 510 pp., 66 pls., 12 plans. 30.5 cm. ISBN 0-87661-183-8. \$ 125.

The book under review constitutes the third part of the final publication dedicated to the Sanctuary of Demeter

and Kore, located on the north slope of the Acrocorinth in the southern area of ancient Corinth. The main excavations were carried out between 1961 and 1979, and test pits were sunk in 1994. A fire – a nightmare for every field director! – destroyed one of the excavation houses in 1972 so that three notebooks were completely lost. Luckily enough, the other field journals were preserved in microfilm: a warning for every excavator always to have copies made. The mass of finds had first to be cleaned and studied. The chronology employed in the book is based on the finds published in previous volumes on Greek pottery (Corinth XVIII, 1, 1989) and Roman pottery and lamps (Corinth XVIII, 2, 1990).

This volume is divided into 16 chapters. After chapters on the (1) 'Sources, location and excavation', and (2) the 'Mycenaean and Geometric Remains', the publication follows the chronological outline of the 'Lower and Middle Terraces' in the (3-4) 'Archaic Period', (5-6) 'Fifth century BC', (7-8) the period between 400 and 146 BC, and (10-11) the Roman period. The 'Upper Terrace in Greek and Roman Times' and the 'Later Remains' are discussed in chapters 9, 12, and 13. These are followed by chapters on (14) 'the Dining Rooms', and (15) the 'Historical Development of the Sanctuary'. An (16) 'Architectural Catalogue' (ch. 16) and indices conclude the book. Each chapter was written by the person responsible for the area of his excavation: Stroud wrote Chapters 1, 4, 6, 8, 11, 15, while Bookidis is the author of the remaining chapters on the Upper and Lower Terraces.

The Sanctuary covers an area of roughly 200 x 50 m, and is located on three terraces: the Lower (north), Middle, and Upper Terraces. The building activities within the Sanctuary date from LH IIIB (c. 1340 BC) to late antiquity including later Byzantine graves and finds (c. AD 1050). A gap exists only between 146 BC, the Mummius' destruction, and 44 BC, the date of Caesar's foundation of a colony.

The earliest finds related to the cult date to the Geometric period (c. 750 BC). In the Archaic Period (c. 500 BC; plan 3) an almost square *oikos* (25 by 26 ft) was built on the Middle Terrace. It is uncertain whether it was a cult room (somewhat like a *telesterion*) with a statue base or an offering pit in the middle. On the Lower Terrace thirteen dining rooms were erected in two areas; the west area contained five, the east area eight dining rooms. The latter series was built in two rows of six and two cubicles, separated by a narrow passageway. Around 400 BC the eastern half of the Lower Terrace was densely occupied by four rows of about twenty dining rooms, which were built after the installation of a monumental staircase (plan 4). These were replaced by other, similar buildings in the Hellenistic period (c. 275 BC; plan 5). During the Roman period (plan 6) three prostyle temples, probably of Demeter, Kore/Neotera and the Moirai (?) were built on the Upper Terrace. Access was offered by a monumental propylon on the Middle Terrace. On the Lower Terrace the Romans rebuilt an earlier Hellenistic construction, in the fill of which nine inscribed lead curse tablets were found. However, the dining rooms did not play a role in the Roman ritual.

The excavators have furnished with utmost care an ample description of the archaeological remains; plans, sections,



and reconstruction drawings satisfactorily illustrate their observations. The publication manifests a distinct flaw, however, which ought not appear in a book on architecture. The book was written from the perspective of the 20th century archaeologist, who often does not bother to understand architecture in its **ancient context**. Although the authors state that a large part of the buildings present standard plans, no attempt was made to view the buildings through the eyes of an ancient architect. No one single modern dimension in (centi)metres has been converted into foot units of about 30 cm. Had it be done, they would have understood that the interior dimensions of the buildings were composed of the additive lengths (and widths) of the couches, which fit human dimensions. The standard length varies from 5 ft (1.50 m), 6 ft (1.80 m) and 7 ft (2.10 m), with oscillations of half a foot. So the interior dimensions of the dining rooms are often: 15 ft in width (= 2 couch lengths of 6 ft + 1 width of 3 ft), and 17 ft in length.

Given the average wall thickness of 1.5 ft, the exterior dimensions are: 18 ft (= 15 + 2 x 1.5) in width, by 20 ft (= 17 + 2 x 1.5) in length.

The series of six contiguous archaic dining rooms (15 ft wide) with seven walls of 1.5 ft no doubt were planned as  $(6 \times 15 + 7 \times \frac{1}{2}) = 100$  by 20 ft. We see, then, that if converted into ancient dimensions, the architect's plans become clear. In spite of this 'final publication' it seems to this reviewer that the analysis of the buildings according to the ancient architect still remains to be done.

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JEAN-LUC LAMBOLEY, *Recherches sur les Messapiens, IVe-IIe siècle avant J.-C.* Roma: École Française de Rome, 1996. 493 pp., 149 figs., 11 pls.; 28 cm. – ISBN 2-7283-0360-6

*Recherches sur les Messapiens* is originally a *thèse de doctorat d'État* (1993). It is a truly impressive volume and deals with one (perhaps two) native groups in the heel of the Italian boot. In antiquity the area was often indicated as *Messapia* which – in pre-Roman times – is taken to be inhabited by the *Messapii* or the *Calabri* and *Sallentini*. At present the district which is part of the *regione Puglia*, is commonly indicated as Salento.

It is not just the size of Lamboley's book that inspires awe: the enormous quantity of documentation that oozes from most of the pages of the book is equally impressive. It is clear that the author of *Recherches sur les Messapiens* is well read and has, in some way, included almost all the information on pre-Roman Salento published till about 1993. Lamboley, moreover, is not a casual passer-by of Salento archaeology. He has worked in the area since the early 1980s and is intimately acquainted with the ins and outs of Salento's distant past.

The introduction starts with the geographic and chronological framework of the study. On p. 6 the author states the aims of the book. He has decided not to give a *histoire événementielle* of the Messapians: he wishes to offer a *description raisonnée* of Messapian society. The time span chosen is that between the last third of the 4th century BC and the Roman conquest which, according to Lamboley,

'disturbed' the hellenization process (p. 6). The period in which a strong hellenization of Messapian material culture took place, i.e. the late 4th and early 3rd centuries BC, therefore, appears to be the principal subject of Lamboley's investigations. The author stresses that in studying this subject, he is mainly interested in defining the cultural identity of the Messapians. This is done not only by tracing Greek elements in the material culture of the natives, but above all by searching for the factors of their internal evolution ('*en cherchant quels sont les facteurs de leur évolution interne*').

Lamboley's hellenization is strongly linked to the phenomenon of 'colonization' (this term should probably to be taken in a wide sense). The Romans who conquered Salento in the second quarter of the 3rd century BC, are fairly harshly treated by the author: the Roman incorporation of Salento is perceived as a political and economic *bouleversement* and a *moment de crise* (pp. 11-12). Of course, I was mildly surprised by these lines, having produced a paper on various aspects of romanization (in *BABesch* 70. 1995) which suggested quite the opposite. Lamboley – after all the time he has spent in Salento – has almost become a Messapian. His sudden burst of Messapian patriotism should be covered with the cloak of charity. Nevertheless, complicated concepts such as hellenization, romanization and ethnicity are somewhat lightly treated in this chapter.

The general introduction is followed by Part I of the *thèse* which contains the extremely rich documentation. The first part consists of a catalogue of sites (pp. 21-268). For each major site of Salento a host of information has been collected ranging from names given to the site by ancient authors to the inscriptions, coins and ceramics found there. This is a truly important and very substantial collection of information which does not only regard the relatively short period on which the book centres, but which covers a much wider chronological span.

The second part of *Recherches sur les Messapiens* deals with a number of aspects of the Messapian societies (pp. 299-466). In the best traditions of the *Annales* School Lamboley starts with the landscape as physical background of the Messapian world. His geographical tripartition of Salento is new and fairly convincing. One suspects that the more traditional division in two parts (northern Brindisi area, southern Lecce district) has been caused by both present-day administrative subdivisions and ancient texts mentioning only two tribal entities for Salento (Calabri and Sallentini). Next, the various names given by ancient authors to populations living in Salento come up for discussion. Here, much of the learned ideas of an older generation of ancient historians on this topic have been included, while there are only faint traces of the more subtle and sophisticated approach chosen by Lombardo (cf. Lombardo's paper in *I Messapi, Atti del Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia* 1990). New ideas, moreover, might have been generated on this subject, if the ethnic labeling by Greeks and Romans had been considered in the light of the ethnicity discussions which raged during the later part of the 1980s and much of the 1990s (cf. Edith Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian*, Oxford 1989; recently: Emma Dench, *From Barbarians to New Men*, Oxford 1995; Jonathan Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek*

*Antiquity*, Cambridge 1997; Sîan Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and the Present*, London/New York 1997). It should, however, be admitted that the majority of these new ideas on ethnicity was published after Lamboley had defended his thesis. In the following chapters of Part II Lamboley deals with the settlement types of Messapia (chapter 2), the different types of structures in native *oppida* (chapter 3), the socio-political organization (chapter 4), the economy (chapter 5) and language and religion (chapter 6). Here the documentary evidence is translated into pictures showing aspects of the Messapian societies. Some of them are more convincing than others.

In his conclusions (pp. 467-493) the authors warns against the idea that the cultural evolution of pre-Roman Salento was a steady progress towards an ever more urbanized and hellenized Messapian society. He stresses the discontinuities in both time and space in these processes. Taranto is believed to be the decisive factor in the hellenization of the native world, especially during the 4th century BC. This view is perhaps too Taranto-centric: there is ample evidence for contacts with transadriatic Greeks (e.g. Corcyra, Corinth) and various Greek (e.g. Metaponto) and non-Greek areas of southern Italy (see D'Andria, in: *Italia omnium terrarum alumna*, Milano 1988, 711). Salento was neither Taranto's nor Corcyra's backyard, but contained one or more independent native polities. Generally speaking, Lamboley's Messapians seem too receptive, too dependant on the Greek world. They must have been able to make their own choices and design their own strategies. Lamboley closes with a short chapter on romanization. Here, the harsh comments on the Romans aired in the introduction are replaced by a more gentle treatment (p. 485 ff.). Though they may be held responsible for some war damage (p. 486), Salento was certainly not poor in the middle and later 3rd century BC. Even the 2nd Punic War which so often has been considered to have dealt the final blow to the Messapian world, was not a real disaster according to Lamboley. Obviously, there is sufficient reason to investigate the district in the period following the Roman conquest.

In conclusion one may say that *Recherches sur les Messapiens* is a book with great merits and some flaws. The documentary part is exemplary and offers an incredible wealth of information. The interpretative parts are patchy. Some of them are almost proza versions of the documentary parts, other chapters supply ideas on, and images of the Messapian world. Theoretical concepts regarding the key issues colonization, hellenization and romanization which were launched during the 1980's, are only barely touched upon. But it should be admitted that theoretical 'correctness' has been decidedly over-emphasized in northwestern Europe and America in recent years. Archaeology is fun. It is clear from Lamboley's book that he studies his beloved Messapians with great pleasure and manages to uncover a great deal of information that is vital to the construction of their past. And that is what counts.

## Books Received

PAOLA BALDASSARI, *Edilizia monumentale ad Atene durante il Saeculum Augustum*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider, 1998. 282 pp., 51 figs., 59 pls.; 30 cm (Archaeologica, 124) – ISBN 88-7689-134-X.

(A cura di) GABRIELLA CAPECCHI, ORAZIO PAOLETTI, CARLOTTA CIANFERONI, ANNA MARIA ESPOSITO E ANTONELLA ROMUALDI, *In Memoria di Enrico Paribeni* vols. I/II. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider, 1998. 2 vols., 1: 378 pp., figs; 2: 161 pp., figs., 145 pls.; 32 cm (Archaeologica, 125).- ISBN 88-7689-141-2.

J.M.COOK and R.V.NICHOLS, *Old Smyrna excavations: The temples of Athena*. London: The British School at Athens, 1998. 214 pp., 42 figs., 30 pls.; 25 cm (The British School at Athens, Suppl. 30). – ISBN 0 904887 28 6. – GBP 55.

WOLFGANG EHRHARDT, *Casa di Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1.20), München: Hirmer Verlag, 1998. 172 pp., 487 figs./pls.; 49 cm (Häuser in Pompeji, 9), – ISBN 3-7774-7300-6.

JANE FEJFER, *The Ince Blundell Collection of Classical Sculpture, Vol.1, The Portraits, Part 2, The Roman Male Portraits*. Liverpool: University Press, 1998. 238 pp., 56 figs., 117 pls.; 32 cm. – ISBN 0 85323-832-4. – GBP 60.

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